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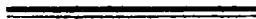


*BY JOHN WESLEY, M.A.*

LATE FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.



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A

*SUPPLEMENT*

TO

MR. FOX'S

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE

**CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.**

---

EXTRACTED FROM

MR. SAMUEL CLARK'S

*GENERAL MARTYROLOGY.*

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**A NARRATIVE**  
  
OF  
  
*THE BLOODY CRUELITIES,*  
  
Exercised against the  
  
**PROTESTANTS OF THE VALLEYS**  
**OF PIEDMONT,**  
  
*In April, 1655.*

---

UPON Saturday, April 17, 1655, whilst the deputies of the Protestants were detained at Turin, there arrived a great army at St. Giovanni, which was now, with La Torre, and all the lower parts, unpeopled by a late edict of the Duke of Savoy. This army continued there for some hours, and in the dusk of the evening fell into La Torre, where they met with none of the Protestants; only eight or ten persons, not thinking of an enemy, were seeking up and down for something to satisfy their hunger. As soon as they came near the convent, they were saluted with a volley of shot, which killed Giovanni Combe, and hurt Peter Rostain, whereupon the rest, seeing the danger, fled for their lives. The next day, being the Sabbath, the enemy ranged about, plundering,

and pillaging all before them. The day after, their number being increased to about 15,000, they set upon the Protestants in several quarters, amongst the little hills of St. Giovanni and La Torre. The poor people at length stood in their own defence, and the enemy was vigorously opposed on every side; in one place by Captain Jahier, and in other places by the officers of St. Giovanni, Angrogne, Roccapiaata, and their troops.

Tuesday, April 20, the Popish army made three several attempts to take away the bell of St. Giovanni, and to burn the church; but the people did so courageously resist them, that they were driven to a shameful retreat, with the loss of 50 men; and had not the cavalry defended the plain, they had been utterly routed. Only two of the Protestant party were slain. Wednesday, the 21st, which was the fatal day to the Protestants, the Marquis of Pianessa held the deputies of the valley of Lucerne in parley till noon, and then entertained them with a large dinner, and sent them away with many fair promises, that there should be no hurt done to any. Hereupon the agents of Angrogne bestirred themselves to dissuade their own party from making the least resistance. The same did the agents of Villars and Bobio. But no sooner were those troops entered, than they put all to fire and sword, slaying all they met with, and that in the most barbarous manner they could possibly devise. The following extract of a letter, written by some of those poor Protestants, contains a brief account of the barbarities exercised upon them.

“ The army having gotten footing, became very numerous by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants; who, hearing that we were given for a prey to the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. To these were added a great number of out-laws, prisoners, and other offenders, who thought hereby to have saved their souls, and filled their purses. We were also forced to receive five or six regiments of the French army, besides some Irish, (to whom, as it was said, our country

was promised,) and several troops of vagabonds, under a pretence of coming into the valleys for fresh quarters. The multitude being licensed by Pianessa, encouraged by the monks, and led by our wicked neighbours, fell upon us with such violence on every side, and in so treacherous a manner, especially in Angrogne, Villars, and Bobio, that in a moment all was turned into a confused heap, and the inhabitants constrained to flee for their lives, together with their wives and little children; and that not only the inhabitants of the plains, but of the mountains also. Yet all their diligence was not sufficient to preserve very many of them from destruction. For in many places they were so hemmed in, on every side, that there was no way left for their flight, but they were most inhumanly massacred. In one place they most cruelly tormented 150 women and children, and afterwards chopped off the heads of some, and dashed out the brains of others against the rocks. They took multitudes of prisoners; and such of them, from 15 years of age and upwards, as refused to go to mass, they cruelly butchered, hanging some, and nailing the feet of others to trees, with their heads hanging downwards; all which torments they constantly endured. They made such havoc of all, that there was neither any cattle nor other provision left in the valley of Lucerne, in the commonalties of St. Giovanni, La Torre, &c. A Franciscan friar, and another priest, set fire to houses and churches, so that they left not one of them unburnt. In these desolations the mother was bereaved of her child, and the husband of his wife. Those that were richest amongst us, are forced to beg their bread. Some are weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all outward comforts. There were some churches in St. Martin's, that were formerly reckoned a sanctuary to the persecuted; but they are now commanded to quit those places, and every soul of them immediately to depart, without any respite, and that under pain of death. The

pretence of these strange massacres and cruelties, are, that we are rebels to the duke's commands, in not performing a pure impossibility, by immediately departing from our habitations in Bubiana, Lucerne, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, St. Giovanni, and St. Secundo."

In a word, the cruelties which were there executed, would exceed the belief of any man, were they not so fully proved by the formal attestations of eye-witnesses, and by the woful cries of so many desolate and poor wretches, who have been miserably robbed of their relations, houses, lands, and all other comforts; yea, the formal oath of one of the chief commanders of the army that acted these cruelties, signed with his own hand in the presence of two authentic witnesses, and the voluntary confession of one of the soldiers, who told some of his comrades, that many times he had surfeited himself with eating the boiled brains of the Protestants, is sufficient to confirm the truth of what is here related.

The declaration of Monsieur du Petit Bourg, first captain of the regiment of Gransey, subscribed with his own hand, at Pignerol, Nov. 27, 1655, in the presence of two other commanders.

" I Sieur du Petit Bourg, being commanded by prince Thomas, to go and join myself with the Marquis of Pianness, who was then at La Torre; upon my departure, I was requested by the ambassador to speak to the marquis, and to use my endeavour to accommodate the troubles which were amongst those of the Religion, in the valleys of Piedmont, which accordingly I did, entreating him with much earnestness that he would give way thereunto, and I doubted not but I should be able to effect it. But he refused this my request, and that divers times, notwithstanding all the endeavours I could possibly use to persuade him thereto; and instead of the least mitigation, I was witness to many great violences,

and extreme cruelties, exercised by the soldiers of Piedmont, upon all sorts, of every age, sex, and condition, whom I saw massacred, dismembered, hanged up, burnt, and ravished, together with many horrid confusions, which I beheld with horror and regret. And without any distinction of those that resisted, and such as resisted not, they were used with all sorts of inhumanity, their houses burnt, their goods plundered; and when prisoners were brought before the said marquis, I heard him give order to give them no quarter at all, saying, ‘His highness was resolved to have none of the Religion within his dominions.’ And whereas in his declaration he protests, that there was no hurt done to any, but during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any persons that were not fit to bear arms; I will maintain that it is not so, having seen with my eyes many persons killed in cold blood; as also women, aged persons, and young children, miserably murdered.”

☞ The ensuing barbarous cruelties, which were exercised upon divers members of the evangelical churches, in the valleys of Piedmont, in the late massacre, in 1655, are attested by divers persons of honour and integrity, who were, for the most part, eye and ear witnesses thereof.

SARAH RASTIGNOLE DES VIGNES, about 60 years of age, being overtaken by divers soldiers, was commanded to say her prayers, and when she had done, they bade her say, “Jesus, Maria!” which the poor woman refusing, one of the soldiers thrust a sickle into the lower part of her belly, and ripped her up to her navel, and then dragged the poor creature upon the ground being half dead, till another came and cut off her head. The daughter-in-law of this poor woman, who hid herself in the snow for two days after, without any succour, was an eye-witness thereof.

MARTHA CONSTANTINE, of Giovanni, after she had seen several others most cruelly put to death, was herself first ravished, and afterwards had her breasts cut off; with other shameful acts of barbarity used upon her, by some of the soldiers. These inhuman wretches fried her breasts, and set them before some of their comrades, making them believe they were tripes. When they had eaten a good part thereof, they told them what it was, which caused a quarrel amongst them; and they that had eaten thereof were so sick, that some of them died soon after. This was certified by a Papist, to one Andrea Javel, of Einachia.

A man of Thrassaniere, being taken prisoner, received divers stabs in the soles of his feet, and in his ears, by two of the soldiers, who afterwards more severely mangled him, and then applied a burning candle to the wound, frying it with the flame thereof, that so the blood might be stopped, and the torments of that miserable creature prolonged. Then they tore his nails off with burning pineers to force him to renounce his religion. When nothing would do, they tied one of his legs to a mule, and dragged him through the streets, till he was almost dead; and then binding a cord about his head, they twisted it with a staff till his eyes and brains dropped out, and then they cast his carcass into the river.

PETER SIMOND, of Angrogne, about eight years of age, was tied neck and heels together, and in this posture violently thrown down a fearful precipice. By the way he fell upon a cragged branch of a tree, and hung there in a most languishing condition for several days together, (a most lamentable spectacle,) being neither able to help himself, nor capable of receiving help from others; the precipice being inaccessible.

GIOVANNI ANDREA MICHIALIN, of La Torre, being taken prisoner, escaped miraculously, having first seen three of his children torn in pieces limb from limb before

his eyes, and the fourth, being about six weeks old, snatched out of the mother's arms, stripped of its swaddling-clothes, and its brains dashed out against the rocks.

JACOB PERRIN, an elder of the church of Villars, and David, his brother, being taken prisoners in their beds, were carried to Lucerne, and cast into the marquis's prison, where they were most barbarously and cruelly handled. The soldiers stripped off the skin of their arms and legs, in long slices like leathern points, till the flesh was left quite bare. After which they were starved to death in the prison, and their carcasses left to rot there.

GIOVANNI PELANCHION, a young man, about 25 years old, having been taken prisoner, had made his escape; but being taken again by the soldiers, they tied one of his legs to the tail of a mule, and so dragged him through all the streets of Lucerne. And because the poor wretch sometimes lifted up his hands and head, through pain and anguish, that he suffered by the grating of his body against the ragged flints, the merciless villains battered and bruised his body with stones and brickbats, crying, "He is possessed with the devil, which keeps him from dying." Then, after many strange, shameless, and unheard of cruelties, they chopped off his head, and so dragging him to the river's bank, they left him there unburied.

MAGDALEN, the daughter of Peter Fontana, a beautiful girl, about ten years old, being taken by some of these brutes, they tore her in so inhuman a manner, that she was afterwards found half dead, wallowing in her own blood.

A poor woman, apprehending her danger, having a sucking child in the cradle, took the child and cradle upon her head, and fled. Some of the soldiers seeing this, pursued her; and she perceiving that she was like to be overtaken, left her cradle in the way, supposing that those butchers could not have such hearts as to hurt her

innocent babe, and so hid herself in the cleft of a rock not far off. But these hell-hounds finding the infant in the cradle, took it out, and tore it in pieces; and afterwards finding the mother, they first ravished her, and then cut off her head, and left her dead body in the snow.

At Villa Nova, the daughter of Moses Long, about ten years old, as she was fleeing upon the snow, some soldiers of Piedmont took her, broached her upon a pike, and roasted her alive with a fire made upon a broad stone; and after a while they cut off a slice of her flesh, intending to have eaten it; but finding it not well roasted, their stomachs would not serve them to eat it.

JACOBO MICHELINO, one of the chief elders of the church of Boby, being taken prisoner, was hung upon a gate in a shameful posture. But the shame was nothing to the torments; the whole weight of his body hanging upon a tender part, which caused most exquisite and almost incredible pain. And this they did to force him to renounce his religion. When this prevailed not, they took him down, and carried him away amongst other prisoners. Afterwards, having with incredible constancy endured a world of other cruelties, he at last exchanged this life for a better.

GIOVANNI ROSTAGNAL, of Boby, being 80 years old, had his nose, ears, and other parts of his body, cut off, and was left languishing upon the snow for a long time, till at last he gave up the ghost.

DANIEL SALVAGIO and his wife, GIOVANNI DURANT, DANIEL REVEL, LODOWICK and BARTHOLOMEW DURANT, all brothers, and PAOLO REYNAUD, being taken by the soldiers, had their mouths and throats stuffed full of gunpowder, and then fire being set to it, their heads were torn all to pieces.

JACOB DI RONE, a school-master of Roras, being stript stark naked, after they had torn off his nails with pincers, and made a thousand holes in his hands with the point of a dagger, they dragged him, by a cord fastened about his

middle, through Lucerne. At almost every step, one soldier on one side cut off a piece of his flesh with a faulchion, and another on the other side gave him a great blow with a staff, crying, "What sayest thou now, Barbet? Wilt thou go to mass?" To which the poor creature, with admirable constancy, as long as he was able to speak, answered, "Rather death than the mass. Despatch me quickly, for the love of God." A while after came a notorious cut-throat, who, as soon as he saw him, cried out, "Lo! here is the minister of Roras." With that he gave him a deadly blow athwart the head with a back-sword. From thence they dragged him to the bridge; there they cut off his head, and then threw him into the river.

PAOLO GARNIER, of Roras, being taken by these murderers, they first violently pulled out his eyes, and in this state they exposed him to publick scorn for several days together. Afterwards they flayed him alive, and then cutting his skin in four parts, they hung it in the windows of four of the principal houses of Lucerne.

DANIEL CARDON, of Roccappiata, being taken by some of the soldiers, they cut off his head, took out his brains, and frying them in a pan, eat them up. They had cut open his breast also, and were taking out his heart to fry and eat, but being frightened by some of the poor people's troops that were coming that way, they made off.

MARGARET REVEL, of La Cartere, aged 85 years; MARY DI PRAVILLERM, of St. Giovanni, who was blind, aged 90 years; as also MADONA LENA, a blind woman, aged 80 years; and JEANNA BATZAN, aged 90 years, were taken, and in a most barbarous manner burned alive.

Some of these murderers having taken 11 men at Gar-cigliana, they heated a furnace red hot, and forced these poor creatures to throw one another into it; and when it came to the last man, they themselves threw him in also. These sons of blood pursued and hunted out multitudes of these poor Protestants amongst the rocks and moun-

tains, by the traces of their bleeding legs and feet, which were cut and mangled with the ice and flints which they met with in the way, and having found them, basely murdered them.

FRANCIS, the son of Mr. Gros, a minister, being taken, had his body cut into small gobbets, whilst he was alive, and that in the presence of his wife; and then they took two of his small children, and most inhumanly murdered them.

GIOVANNI PULLIUS, a poor peasant of La Torre, being taken by the soldiers, after all manner of reproaches and scorns cast upon him by the friars and others, in words and actions, was by the command of the Marquis of Pianessa, dragged by the hangman to a place near the convent to be hanged. The marquis commanded the hangman to place the ladder against a tree, and to prepare for his execution. The monks and priests all the while ceased not to use all the arguments which the devil and their own wicked wits could possibly furnish them with, to shake the faith and constancy of this poor creature; yet they could not prevail. Yea, by all his gestures and expressions, he shewed the inward joy of his soul, that he was *counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ*. And when they had oft pressed him to remember the sad state that he should leave his children and family in, he answered, "It is my hearty prayer to Almighty God, that my children may follow their father's steps, and die like him." Whereupon, the priests seeing all their labour lost, assisted the hangman to end this poor man's life, and quickly turned him off the ladder.

SIEUR PAULO CLEMENT, an elder of the church of Rossana, was shortly after brought to the same place by the monks and priests, and shewed the dead body of Pullius, in order to scare him from his principles and profession. But he answered them with an undaunted courage, "You may kill the body, but you can never be able to prejudice the soul of a true believer." He said

to them also, "God will assuredly avenge the innocent blood that you have spilt." Having by some ejaculations prepared to resign up his soul unto God, he desired the hangman to do his work, which he accordingly did. And three or four days after, the Marquis of Pianessa coming that way, one of the soldiers discharged a musquet at his dead body, whereupon there gushed out a stream of fresh blood. The marquis observing this, said to some that were present, "This blood cries for vengeance." Afterwards they took both these dead bodies, and hung them up naked by one foot near to La Torre, and when any prisoner of the Protestants passed that way, they forced him or her to go and kiss those parts of them as might put a like scorn upon the living as had been put upon the dead: but by reason of the multitude of bullets that were shot through them by the soldiers, they at last fell to pieces.

MARY, the widow of Daniel Pelanchion, of Villars, being taken by the soldiers, after they had basely abused her, they shot her, and then threw her into the river. This poor woman not being quite dead, with much pains, got out of the river again. Hoping to be somewhat revived by the warm sun, she laid her down where it shone. Some of these bloody villains espying her, they fastened a rope to her feet, and dragged her to the bridge, where they hung her up by the legs, and shot her to death, afterwards leaving her stark naked upon the rock.

MARY, the wife of Daniel Monino, was taken by the soldiers, who having broken her jaws in pieces, they gave her a deep cut in the neck, and left her in that languishing condition, till, after having endured extreme torments for divers days together, she at last yielded up the ghost.

JACOB BARIDONO was taken prisoner at Villars, and from thence carried to La Torre. There the tormentors cruelly afflicted him with burning matches placed between his fingers, to his lips, and other parts of his body, till

he died with the intolerable pain. Then they caused his dead corpse to be carried out by two of his fellow-prisoners, and thrown into the river Pelice. But thinking that too honourable a burying-place for an heretic, they forced them to fetch it out again, and to lay it on the brink of the river; where, after they had exposed the same to all manner of ignominies, it was at last eaten up by dogs.

ISAIAH MONDON had a long time hid himself in the cleft of a rock, where, for many days together, he had nothing but a few leaves of unwholesome herbs to eat. At last he was found out by the soldiers, and most unmercifully handled by them. From thence they drove him to the town of Lucerne, being half dead. At last, when the poor creature could march no further, he fell down upon his knees, and besought them to despatch him at once; which they accordingly did.

GIOVANNI BARROLINO and his wife were cast alive into a pool, and often plunged and thrust under the water with staves and pitchforks, and at last despatched with stones.

MARY REVEL, receiving a shot in her body, fell down in a manner dead, yet afterwards she recovered so much strength as to get upon her knees; and as she was praying to God, the bloody enemies despatched her.

GIOVANNI SALVAGIOT, as he was returning from Bagnol, after the peace was concluded, passed by a chapel; and because he put not off his hat, and made obedience thereto, was murdered, and his body left unburied.

GIOVANNI GAYO, and divers other men, women, and children, hid themselves in a cave, where for a time they continued in safety. At last, they were discovered by some of these blood-hounds; most of whom had been their neighbours and familiar acquaintance, and such as had pretended great friendship to them, whereupon they fell upon their knees, and begged their lives of them. But the kindest salute they could afford their old acquaintance was with swords, muskets, and pistols. The

poor people perceiving this, and not desiring to behold the lamentable misery of each other, they kneeled down in a ring, in which posture they were all shot to death, and their dead bodies cut in pieces.

There were very many others, besides those here mentioned, which might have been inserted, whereof some were drowned, some burnt, some slain with the sword, some shot to death, some starved, some smothered in the snow, some pined, some killed with staves, some cut in pieces ; but I am weary with reckoning up their names, and I suppose the reader is tired also with these cruelties. But though their names are not here, they are written in the calendar of heaven, which their popish adversaries would have written in the dust.

---

A NARRATIVE  
OF  
THE WAR IN THE VALLEYS OF  
PIEDMONT,

*On Occasion of the Massacre.*



IN the former part you have a faithful narrative of the bloody cruelties exercised in the valleys of Piedmont, from April 17, 1655, the day that the Marquis of Pianessa's forces arrived at St. Giovanni, to the 21st day of the same month. During which time they made such havoc

of the poor Protestants, that there was now only the little commonality of Roras which was left entire and untouched. But that they also might in all things be made like unto their suffering brethren, and that it might appear the destruction was designed to be universal, the Earl of Christophle upon that very day, April 21, sent 300 soldiers secretly by the way of Villars, to surprize them of Roras, and to put them all to the sword. This party being got upon a little hill called Rumer, belonging to Roras, it pleased God that they were met by some soldiers belonging to Captain Joshua Gianavel, (whom God raised up at that time as a choice instrument for the preservation of the poor scattered remnant of his people.) These soldiers were but seven or eight in number, yet having been beforehand placed at a convenient post to prevent the inroad of the enemy, they fired upon them, and plied them so hard, that many of them were killed upon the place, and the rest, supposing by the great number of bullets that flew about their ears, that the ambuscade consisted of six times more men than there really were, they fled back in great disorder. The others, perceiving this, fell upon their rear, and chased them at least three quarters of a league, amongst the rocks and woods, doing notable execution upon them in their flight.

The members of this little church of Roras, to take away all occasions of exeptions, presented their complaints to the Marquis of Pianessa; who, that he might have the better opportunity to deceive and surprize them, answered, "That those of his soldiers that went to Roras, were but robbers and outlaws, that had wholly disobeyed his orders;" adding, "That they had done him a singular favour in driving them out of their country; and that he would take a course to prevent their being disturbed for the future." He then published an order, whereby he straitly charged his soldiers not to molest them in any kind hereafter. Yet he perfidiously sent a party of 500 chosen men the very next day to put his first bloody design in execution. As these men were passing over a

little hill of Roras, they were so saluted by eleven Protestant musqueteers, and six men with slings, under the conduct of Captain Gianavel, who had divided them into three squadrons, that the enemy was soon put to flight. This poor handful of despicable men pursued them for a whole league, slaying a great number of them, without the loss or hurt of any one of themselves ; which shews the admirable providence of God.

The Marquis of Pianessa, though he had failed this second time, yet he was resolved to make a third attempt. And still to deceive them, he made new promises and protestations, that no injury should be offered them, and that in regard of the intercession of the Earl of Christophle, their lord and patron, he would protect and defend them. Yet, the very morrow after, he sent a party of 700 men, who first seized upon, and secured all the passes, that none might escape their bloody hands, and then most barbarously burnt and destroyed whatsoever they met with through all the commonalty of Roras. Hereupon, seventeen house-keepers, (whose hearts God had marvellously strengthened and encouraged for their poor brethren's preservation, seeing what they must expect, and that nothing but death and destruction waited for them, unless some admirable providence prevented it ; as also calling to mind those singular deliverances which God had vouchsafed to his ancient people the Jews,) unanimously resolved to cast themselves with their lives and estates into the hands of the same God ; resting upon his gracious promises, and freely submitting to his good will and pleasure for the issue of their undertaking. The captain of this valiant party was the aforesaid Gianavel, who marching up with this little band, suddenly surprised and carried away their court of guard with their sentinel from off a hill where they were placed. The enemy being not a little amazed at this bold attempt, withdrew from the place where they were, resolving to march through a little meadow, and so to get to Villars or La Torre. But being not nimble enough, the others met

with them at Piampra, and there slew many of them, without the loss of one of their own men, and took from them besides, all the cattle and other things which they had plundered from the neighbouring places.

Pianessa, seeing all his designs thus frustrated, and that his specious promises were but so many watch-words to bid these poor people stand upon their guard, he speedily sent to all those of Lucerne, Bubbiana, Barges, Bagnol, Famolas, Cavors, and the adjacent places, who were able to bear arms, to come and join with a good part of his own army, to environ these poor people on every side. But though the time of their rendezvous was punctually assigned them, yet they all came two hours too late, except the troop of Bagnol, which was conducted by one Mario, an inveterate enemy to the reformed churches. Mario, with his regiment of thieves, outlaws, and a great number of Irish rebels, assaulted these poor people on the upper and lower part of the canton of Rumcr, who were not above seventeen in number; yet the Lord was pleased so to encourage them, that they presently got upon the top of the mountain, and there, after a long skirmish, forced their enemies to retire, and flee as far as the cliff called Pairo Capello. In this fight and pursuit they killed above sixty of the enemies, and wounded many more; and many of them being laden with plunder, fell down, as they fled amongst the precipices of the rocks, and were dashed in pieces. Those of them that were lighter and nimbler, got safe to Pairo Capello. But when they came thither, they found greater difficulties to contest with than before, for being closely pursued, and compassed in on every side, they were forced to take the ropes wherewith they had bound up their plunder, and tying them to shrubs, slid down the rocks by them, and fell into the river that ran below. By this means they thought to make their escape; but by reason of the violence of the torrent, and the great confusion that was amongst them, which occasioned one to fall on the neck of another, and such as could not swim,

catching hold of them that could, the greatest part of them were drowned. Captain Mario threw himself into the river amongst the rest, and had not several of the soldiers, that could swim excellently well, ventured their lives to fetch him out, he had gone with the rest to receive present pay from his master, whom he so diligently served. Mario, having thus escaped, was carried to Luerne in his shirt, without either hat or shoes, like a man bereaved of his wits. Shortly after he fell into a desperate disease, whereof he died. Before his death, he oft cried out, in a despairing manner, that he felt a grievous burning in his bowels, as a just judgment upon him, for having burnt so many innocent persons, and their habitations.

As the Protestants were marching back to refresh themselves after this gallant action, being somewhat weary with their hard service, they espied another company of murderers coming from Villars; whereupon, forgetting their weariness, they placed themselves in ambuscade. When the enemy drew near the place, they perceived some of them; but not being able to discern what party they were of by their colours, they called to them for the word. The Protestants answered not; but beckoned to them to come nearer, which they did, in a careless posture, supposing them to be friends; and when they came near, the others suddenly discharged upon them, and slew many of them upon the place, and the rest they pursued almost to La Torre and Villars. After this victory, Captain Gianavel rallied his men on an high ground, not far off, and caused them to kneel down in the very sight of his enemies, while he, with a loud voice, gave thanks unto the Lord for his great mercy in their deliverance.

Three day after, the Marquis of Pianessa, being highly incensed by this success of the Protestants, sent to the people of Roras, expressly charging them to change their religion, within the space of twenty-four hours, and that upon pain of death, and having their houses burnt to the ground. To this they answered, "That they would

much rather choose death, than obey any such order!" The marquis, vexed at this resolute answer, immediately despatched away 8000 men, besides the militia forces of the neighbouring commonalties, who, according to his order, were divided into three squadrons; the one to set upon the poor people of Villars; another upon the mountains of Bagnol; and the third on that part which looks towards Lucerne. They accordingly did so, and not only murdered every man, woman, or child they met, but exercised all manner of cruelties upon them; taking much pleasure in torturing these poor creatures, and in tossing their little infants from off their pikes and halberts, and dashing out their brains against the rocks. The rest almost miraculously escaped their bloody hands. When they had thus shewn their valour upon naked men, women, and infants, and were glutted with the prey that they found in the country, they turned their houses into ashes. Such as survived, they sent prisoners to Turin, amongst whom was the wife and children of Captain Gianavel. Then they marched back to Lucerne with great joy and acclamations.

Shortly after, Pianessa wrote to Captain Gianavel, promising him great preferment, if he would change his religion; otherwise he threatened that his wife and children should be burnt. He also promised a great sum of money to any that should bring him, the said Gianavel, either alive or dead. Captain Gianavel returned the marquis this answer: "There is no torment so violent, nor death so cruel, that I do not much prefer before the abjuration of my religion. All these promises and threats do but the more fortify me and strengthen my faith: as for my wife and children, though you have gotten them into your power, you can but kill their bodies, and as for their souls, I recommend them, together with my own, into the hands of God, if he shall suffer me to fall into your power."

Gianavel having gotten together a small party of men upon part of the Alps, called La Pella des Jamies, on

May 22, went out in the evening to a place about three leagues off, not far from Bubiana. He there first sought God by prayer, and afterwards informed himself of the number and strength of the enemy. Finding them too many to be attacked by such a handful of men, he turned towards Lucernetta, where he was furiously assaulted by the garrison of Lucerne, but he courageously encountered them without the loss of one man; only himself was shot in the leg, by a soldier that hid himself behind a tree, with a purpose to have slain him. The captain, perceiving whence the shot came, lame as he was, he made to the place, where he quickly despatched him for his pains. Whilst these things were acting, the Irish rebels in the marquis's army, thought to make themselves masters of Bubiana, under a pretence of protecting the inhabitants against the Barbets, (as they called the Protestants in scorn). The peasants of the place perceiving their drift, took occasion to quarrel with them, and drove them out, killing a great number of them.

May 26, 1655, Captain Gianavel wrote to Captain Jahier and the rest that were retired into the valley of Lucerne, to meet at a rendezvous at Angrogne, which they accordingly did. The day after, they marched together to a place in the plain called Garcigliana, thinking to have entered the town: but they met with a great party of horse and foot, with whom they disputed the pass a long time, and at last, being overpowered, they were forced to retreat. They got six yoke of oxen, with several small cattle, and some prisoners in the skirmish, and that with the loss of only one man in the retreat.

May 28, they marched to St. Secondo. As soon as they came thither, they first kneeled down, and prayed for a blessing upon their undertaking, and having encouraged one another, they attacked the place with incredible valour. And the better to secure themselves against their enemies, who had fortified themselves in houses, they got planks, barrels, and such other things as they met with; to keep off the bullets, which were poured out

upon them out of the houses. They quickly made themselves masters of the doors of those houses, to which they immediately set fire, and forcing their entrance, put all the soldiers they found to the sword. Then they set the town on fire, and emptied the churches, which they found full of their own goods and cattle, and carried away seven of their mass-bells. At this time they slew about 450 of their enemies, and, amongst others, a whole company of Irish rebels, who chose rather to be burnt, than to crave quarter. There were only seven of the Protestants slain, and six or seven slightly wounded.

Monday, June 1, the Captains Jahier, Laurentio, Gianavel, Genolat, Benet, and other officers of the Protestants, went to Angrogne, and having called a council of war, they concluded the next day to alarm the enemy at Briqueras and St. Giovanni. Accordingly, the Captains Laurentio and Jahier went by the way of Roccapiatta, that by the help of the thick woods, wherein they shrouded themselves, they might the better approach Briqueras. Having got upon a little hill near the town, Captain Laurentio made a stand, to hinder any relief that might be sent them from St. Secondo; and Captain Jahier marching down, set fire to several houses and barns. At the sight of this fire, they of Briqueras gave notice to those of Cavors, Fenile, Bubiana, Campiglione, and other neighbouring places, whereupon the enemy quickly advanced towards them, and were as soon beaten back. In the mean time there came a party of horse, and stood at St. Secondo, lest the reformed party should sally out that way, really believing that they had a design upon Briqueras. But Jahier marched with his company by the way of Giovanni, and Laurentio went an higher way, yet both met at the place appointed, where Captain Gianavel was engaged with the enemies from Lucerne and La Torre, against whom he had defended himself very stoutly. Then Jahier charged them on the flank, and Laurentio on the front, seasonably interposing his company in that place, where the enemy thought to have surrounded

Gianavel. The popish party was soon routed, leaving 150 men behind them, besides many that were wounded; the reformed party having but one slain upon the place.

' June 2d, three hundred of the enemies went from La Torre, to fetch a convoy, into the fort of Mirebuc, that lay between the frontiers of Dauphiny and Piedmont. Gianavel, being at Malbec, fell upon them, though he had but nine soldiers with him, and fought a great while with them, to the great astonishment of his enemies: but at last he was forced to retreat, yet without the loss of a man; only four were slightly wounded. Afterwards Gianavel, with a small party, marched to La Pella des Guienets, from whence he sent to some that were retired into Villars, requiring, that all those of the reformed religion should come within twenty-four hours, out of the said place, where mass was celebrated; and that upon the pain of being dealt with as enemies: and that such, as through weakness had abjured, and would persist in their abjuration, should depart thence upon the same penalty. Hereupon all the papists fled presently out of Villars, and the Protestants came to Gianavel, and such of them as were able to bear arms, followed him cheerfully. The rest contributed according to their abilities, towards the maintenance of him and his troops. Those, which through frailty had abjured their religion, went over the mountain into the valley of Queires; yet not long after they returned, like so many wandering sheep, to the true Shepherd of their souls, and testifying their repentance, were again received into the bosom of the church.

After those of Lucerne were retreated, the Captains Jahier and Gianavel, with some officers, called a council of war, wherein they resolved to sally out, and if it were possible, to surprise those of La Torre, most of which were Irish. But the enemy having timely notice, were so prepared, that they killed some, who had passed the bridge at Angrogne. This so encouraged them, that they thought to have enclosed the small body of the Protes-

tants, and to have cut them off: but after many assaults to no purpose, they were forced to retreat to La Torre, with the loss of many of their soldiers, besides many others that were dangerously wounded. The next day Jahier and Gianavel went before La Torre, against whom many of the soldiers came out, but not sallying forth in a full body, they were all slain upon the place. Their captains seeing this, they thought fit to send out no more. The Protestants then retreated towards Angrogne, to a place called La Vernc, where a few houses were yet left unburnt.

They spent the next day in reviewing the army, and holding a council of war, in which it was resolved to send a party against the commonalty of Crusol; the inhabitants whereof had made incursions upon them, and committed many outrages in the beginning of the massacre. Accordingly they marched all night, with 495 men, and passing by La Torre undiscovered, a little after midnight they arrived at Crusol, where they took 400 head of cattle, 600 sheep and goats, with much other booty, and that without the least resistance. For the inhabitants of Crusol, being terribly affrighted, had cast themselves into the mouth of a most fearful rock, whence they could not be gotten out. The Protestants returned over one of the Alps of Villars, and the next day, towards evening, they divided the spoil amongst the soldiers. Presently after their departure, the enemy from Lucerne, Cavors, Briqueras, and other places, to the number of 800, having heard of their design against Crusol, marched to their relief. But finding that they were gone too far to be overtaken, they resolved not to lose their labour, and so fell a plundering the poor people (though their friends) much worse than the Protestants had done; and afterwards falling out amongst themselves about dividing the spoil, they destroyed one another. The very same day that this enterprise was had against Crusol, the enemy at St. Secondo advanced to burn the rest of the houses at Roccapiatta; and being advanced as far as to the little

hill of Angrogne, they thought to have surprised the rest of the forces, left under the command of Laurentio and Jahier's brother. But they, having timely intelligence of it, marched immediately to the top of the mountain, with one half of the soldiery, leaving the other half under the command of Captain Benet, of St. Germain's, who also took his post with all possible expedition upon the said little hill, with seventeen of his men, and placed the rest in ambuscade. But the enemies' hearts misgiving them, they shamefully retreated.

June 8, Captain Gianavel, being left at Angrogne, with only his own company, and some few others, was assaulted early in the morning by the soldiers of La Torre, and some others. Of these one part got upon the top of the mountain, and the other part went to the lower passage to possess themselves of the gate of Angrogne by the way of St. Bartholomew, intending suddenly to fall upon Gianavel and his small company, having already devoured them in their hopes. But it pleased God that at the sound of the trumpet, when all should have fallen on, Gianavel soon awaked, and having first sought God by prayer, he fell upon the enemy, and got the advantage of the place from them, and after a short dispute, forced them to turn their backs, though there were at least 2500 of them. And though all the captain's company was not above 300, yet that handful of men pursued the enemy as far as to the descent of Angrogne, into the woods, and steep places of the rocks, where they slew a great number of them.

Gianavel seeing it impossible to make any further attempt for the present, entreated Jahier to give over for that day, and to refresh himself and his soldiers: but he, being at that time more resolute than prudent, refused his good counsel, and picking out 150 choice men, marched down into the plain, where he burnt several of the houses of those who had formerly burnt and destroyed so many of the Protestants, and brought them away with a good booty of cattle and other goods. In the close of the day,

when he thought to have put the finishing stroke to all his former undertakings, a squadron of horse surrounded him and his 45 men, (for at this time he had no more with him,) at a country-house, not far from Ossac. He and his men did all that could possibly be expected from them, killing three eaptains, with the commander in chief of the squadron ; but at last, he and 35 of his followers lost their livcs. The enemies, in great triumph, cut off Captain Jahier's head, and the heads of his sons, and earried them to Turin.

Captain Jahier deserves to be renowned for his great piety and zeal for the service and honour of God, and the prescrvation of his poor afflicted ehurch. He was of so undaunted a spirit, that the terrors of death, and the most cruel torments, could never affright him. He was as bold as a lion in his enterprises, but meek and humble as a lamb in the midst of his victories. In all his enterprises he looked up to heaven, from whence he acknowledged all his help to come ; and always recited fit and comfortable passages out of the Scriptures, (wherein he was admirably versed,) for the eneouragement of all his followers, and the strengthening of their faith upon all oecasions.

The death of so brave a commander as Jahier, and the wound of Gianavel, did not a little startle the Protestants ; but yet they did not wholly despond, nor lose their eourage ; but assembling shortly after in a mountain of Angrogne, they from thence descended into the plain, where they were twice assaulted with violenee. The last assault was by a dangerous ambuscade of at least 6000 of the enemies, and they were not above 100. But God of his infinite goodness so encouraged their hearts, that they slew very many of their enemies, and amongst them many principal officers. The Reformed lost only one Michael Bertino, a sergeant of Angrogne, and had but one common soldier wounded. The son of Bertino, seeing his father fall dead at his feet, was so far from being discouraged, that he immediately stepped into his

father's place, and said, "Though my father be dead, yet be of good courage, my fellow soldiers; for God is a Father to us all." On Monday following they had a very sharp dispute at La Torre, and near Tagliaretto, where they killed and wounded a great number of their enemies, without the loss of any of their own men. At this time, the enemies were reaping their corn in the plains of St. Giovanni, but they could not carry it away without the loss of many of their lives. About the same time, there came to the Protestants one Monsieur Andrión, a major of a regiment of horse, with two other gentlemen that were strangers, who were followed with some volunteers, whose friendly visit of their poor afflicted brethren, and their good advice in such a juncture of time, was taken very kindly; and God made it a singular means to uphold the fainting spirits of some weak brethren; who seeing others come in "to the help of the Lord against the mighty," went on with a great deal more cheerfulness and alacrity. These stayed with them till peace was concluded.

July 11, Sieur John Leger, pastor of the church at St. Giovanni, (who deserves to be remembered for the great pains and many services he performed in behalf of the churches of the Valleys,) having notice that the enemies were of opinion that he was come back from his journey, with arms, ammunition, and money, and thereupon presuming that they would suddenly make some notable attempt to prevent what they so much feared, went to Colonel Andrión, and pressed him to put his design in execution. The poor people had as yet no standing army: but the bands of each commonalty were quartered at a great distance the one from the other; and they had certainly been cut off every man of them within a few days, had not the centinels been very watchful; and above all, if Captain Charforan had not on the one side timely discovered the enemy, and the poor people on the other side been exceedingly heartened to

the battle by the great valour and singular conduct of the Sieurs Andrion, Michelin, and Leger.

The enemy was very numerous, having been lately reinforced with many troops. They encamped themselves within half a league of the Reformed, and early in the morning they divided themselves into four brigades, three whereof fell on the Protestants with a marvellous resolution, in three several places at once: the fourth stood still, ready to succour their friends if there were need. The fight continued at least four hours, without intermission, and was the sharpest that ever was fought in the open field. That which made the enemies more fierce, was, their hopes to have beaten back the Protestants from their post, called the Castelas; which if they could have effected, they had been certainly masters of the Valleys of Perosa, St. Martin, and Lucerne. But the poor people having lifted up their hearts by earnest supplications to the Lord of Host, (as they used to do upon all such occasions,) Andrion, and the two other captains which he had brought with him, gave forth such orders as were necessary, encouraging their men exceedingly, so that they kept their ground, all save a few, who were either quite tired, or faint for want of food, or that wanted powder, or flints in the fire-locks. But these the Sieurs Mechelin and Leger employed in rolling down great stones upon their enemies' heads as they came to attack them, which proved very successful, doing much execution upon the enemy, and causing them to abate much of their fury. In the beginning of the fight, the enemy cried always, "Advance, advance, ye relicts of Jahier." And the Protestants now began to cry as fast, "Advance, advance, ye relicts of St. Secondo:" and withal they ran upon those murderers like so many lions, and caused them to turn back, and flee towards La Torre and Lucerne as fast as they were able, leaving behind them 55 upon the place, and about 40 that were killed in the flight; besides many others who were carried either

dead, or dangerously wounded, to Lucerne. They themselves confessed, that in this encounter they lost at least 300 men, amongst which were many officers of a Bavarian regiment. When such multitudes of dead, wounded, and dying men were brought into Lucerne, the syndick, who was a Papist, but not so superstitious as many, said to some, "Hitherto the wolves deavoured the barbets, but now the barbets devour the wolves." Which words being reported to Monsieur Marolles, the commander of Lucerne, he threatened to imprison him, and to give him the strappade, for them, which so terrified the poor man, that he presently sickened, and within a few days died.

Two days after this, the enemy being much enraged for their loss, spread themselves all over Angrogne, and began to set the corn on fire; which being seen by the company of La Torre, who at that time were upon the mountain of Tagliaretto, they speedily gave notice to those of St. Giovanni and Angrogne, who hasted thither, and charged them so fiercely, that they forced them to flee, and leave most of their ammunition behind them. In the mean time, Captain Berlin assaulted the town of La Torre, killed the centinel and soldiers upon the works, and gave the town such a hot alarm, that most of them fled towards the river of Pellice; and probably, if he had had a few more men with him, he had made himself master of La Torre.

July 18, the general of the Protestants gave order to fall upon the town of La Torre, which accordingly was put in execution. Berlin gave the first onset, who being followed with many other officers and soldiers, they quickly made a considerable breach in the garden-wall, next to the convent, which so encouraged the rest, that they fell on with an invincible resolution, and in a short space burnt both the convent and most of the town down to the ground.

In May, 1655, letters were brought to Oliver Cromwell, who then held the title of Lord Protector of England, of the above-mentioned massacre, whereupon he invited all

the people of England to seek the Lord by humiliation and prayer, and withal moved them to a liberal contribution for the succour of these poor people. He sent also Mr. Samuel Morland, as his envoy to the King of France, and the Duke of Savoy, to mediate on their behalf. He also wrote to the King of Denmark, to the States of the United Provinces, and to the Evangelical Cantons of the Switzers, requesting all their mediations in behalf of these poor people. May 26, Mr. Morland set out on his journey, and on the 1st of June he came to the King of France, at La Ferre, to whom he delivered the Lord Protector's letters, wherein he solicited his majesty to improve his power and interest with the duke, that the cruel order might be recalled, and the poor people restored to their ancient liberties and habitations. Three days after, the King of France returned an answer to the Lord Protector's letter, and Mr. Morland proceeded on his journey to the court of Savoy, and arrived at Rivole, where the court was, June 21, and demanded audience as the Lord Protector's envoy; which accordingly was granted. At his appearing, he made a speech in the behalf of the poor people, and delivered the Lord Protector's letter. Madam Royal, the duke's mother, answered, That she could not but extremely applaud the singular charity of his highness, the Lord Protector, towards their subjects, whose condition had been represented to him so exceeding sad and lamentable, as she perceived by Mr. Morland's discourse it was; yet withal, she could not but extremely admire, that malice should proceed so far as to clothe their father-like chastisements of their rebellious subjects with so black a character; thereby to render them odious to all their neighbouring princes and states; especially with so great and powerful a prince as the Lord Protector. She further added, That she doubted not, but when the truth of all passages should be made known to him, he would rest satisfied with the duke's proceedings; yet, for his highness's sake, they would pardon their rebellious subjects, and grant them

such privileges and graces as would shew the Lord Protector how great respect they bare both to his person and mediation. Mr. Morland was requested withal to go to Turin, where, by the duke's order, he was entertained with all outward demonstrations of civility and respect imaginable. After a while, Mr. Morland pressed for his despatch; and when he had got it, according to the Lord Protector's order, he went to Geneva.

There was collected in England and Wales, towards the relief of these poor people, 38,097*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* the greatest part whereof was, at several times, transmitted to them. What remained, being about 9000*l.* was put out to interest, that so both the principal and the improvement might be disposed of for their best advantage. The Lord Protector's intercession had such an effect, that presently after, the King of Sweden, the King of Denmark, the States of the United Provinces, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wittenberg, and many other Protestant princes, especially the Landgrave of Hesse, either by their letters to the Duke of Savoy, or otherwise, declared their deep resentment of the bloody massacre. They had also many consolatory letters, written to them from sundry particular churches; viz. from Frankfort, Zurick, Hanau, Flushing, Middleburg, &c. and large contributions were raised for them, according to their respective abilities. Divers commissioners were also sent from England and Holland to join with those of the Evangelical Cantons for the procuring a well-grounded peace. But before they came, the Switzer ambassador had concluded a treaty with the French ambassador; and betwixt them they huddled up a peace; the woful effects whereof these poor people were quickly sensible of; and to this day\* they labour under heavy burdens, laid upon their shoulders by their popish task-masters. They forbid them all manner of traffick for their sustenance: they rob them of their

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\* Viz. when this was written; probably about the year 1670.

goods and estates : they drive them from their habitation, and force them to sell their "birth-right for a mess of pottage." They banish their ministers, that the shepherds being gone, they may the more easily devour the flock : they ravish their young women and maidens : they murder the innocent as they pass along the highways on their business : they continually mock and revile them, and threaten another massacre, seven-fold more bloody than the former. Through the malice and subtlety of their popish adversaries, their valleys are no other than a dungeon, to which the fort of La Torre serves as a door, whereby, at their pleasure, they may let in a troop of murderers, utterly to destroy and extirpate those innocent people. And notwithstanding all those large supplies that have been sent them from England, and other states, yet so great are the necessities of those poor, hungry creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their popish adversaries, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, that some of them are yet ready ever and anon to eat their own flesh for want of bread. Their miseries are more sad and grievous than can be expressed. They are dying, even whilst they live. When that which is collected for them is spent, they must inevitably perish, unless the Lord, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, shall incline the heart of their prince to pity those his poor, harmless, and faithful subjects, who are so far from thoughts of rebellion, that could they but enjoy the freedom of their consciences in peace, they would be the first that would be ready to sacrifice their lives for the good and safety of his royal highness.

✚ A fuller account of these things, together with the letters and transactions about them, may be found fully and faithfully set down by Mr. Samuel Morland, in his *History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont.*

A RELATION  
OF THE  
*DISTRESSED STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS*  
IN THE GREAT DUKEDOM OF  
**LITHUANIA;**

*Presented to the view of all compassionate Christians.*



THE fatal and bloody tragedy which, with a great deal of confusion, was acted on the theatre of Europe for near forty years, or upwards, having dashed most potent kingdoms, nations and provinces, one against another, at last reached that most flourishing kingdom of Poland, but especially the great dukedom of Lithuania; wherein it so destroyed many populous cities, towns, and villages, without number; and that in such a manner, that there were not so much as any marks left where they stood before.

In the year 1648, when the first rebellion of the Cossacks broke forth, to whom the Tartars readily associated themselves, the nobility was sought out with much diligence, by the furious rebels, to be slaughtered. All such as were not of the Greek religion, were put to death without distinction. There were many numerous congregations of the Reformed Protestants, whose ministers were not spared. The cruelty of the furious

Cossacks was more barbarous than that of their associates, the Tartars themselves. Insomuch, that they pulled the skins of many over their ears, whilst they were alive. Others had their shin-bones bored through. They made wounds in the heads or bodies of some, and poured melted lead into them. The eyes of many were plucked out. There is no numbering those that were hanged. And it was accounted a great mercy, if any had his head cut off, or if they were sent away as perpetual slaves to Turkey. Poor parents and husbands were forced to look on whilst their wives and daughters were ravished.

This was the miserable condition of our country and church for several years together, during the civil wars. But afterwards, when we all began to hope for better things, there fell a new and more strange calamity. For the Muscovites, having taken notice of the distraction and devastation, which by the just hand of God befel us, and that the strength of Lithuania was decayed by continual intestine wars, they presently took an opportunity to invade it. Having found out some pretences of war, they came with an army of 200,000 men, and associated to themselves 60,000 of the rebellious Cossacks; who carried all before them, like a flood, spoiling, burning, and destroying all that they met with, sacking the strong holds and cities, and leaving not one corner in all Lithuania unsearched. Never was greater tyranny committed in those parts before. There was no regard of tears and lamentations. No pity shewed to yielding persons. All, without distinction, were cut to pieces. The common multitude were slaughtered out of hand. The gentry and nobility were carried away; and, upon deliberation, either hanged or burnt alive. Every corner was filled with massacres, and the blood ran like streams through the streets of towns and cities.

But the condition of the ministers of Christ was most miserable; for as many as were taken, were, with most exquisite torments, put to several kinds of death.

ADRIAN. CHYLLNSKY, a very aged man, and most con-

spicuous for his piety and learning, being surprised at his own house, had his legs and hands tied together, and was then roasted alive by slow degrees, there being only some chips and straw gathered about him. One, named Smolsky, together with his son, both ministers of Christ, near Vilna, the chief city of Lithuania, had their heads cruelly sawed off with a sickle. Another minister, in a town called Holocyzn, whose name was Slawinskie, had a new kind of torment put upon him. They cut him piece-meal till he died. Many other ministers were exposed, bound and naked, to the snow and extreme cold air amongst the high mountains, which made their noble souls forsake their miserable tabernacles. By this kind of death, this last winter, 1500 innocent persons were destroyed; who, seeking for shelter, were in their flight overtaken. Those that were most healthy and strong were sent away to be made slaves; but others were either flayed alive, or cut in pieces. The number of those that were thus miserably put to death, as also the several kinds of torments, which poor innocent creatures were put to, no history can describe.

One would think that the land had been by this time chastised sufficiently, and that the sharp rod of our correction should have been broken. But God was not yet pleased to put a period to our calamities; for every year our country had a new enemy raised upon it; and so that little which the former had left, the succeeding enemy devoured. In the year 1655, the multitude of our enemies was augmented by the coming of the Swedes; whose armies (by reason of the vicinity of these three provinces, Prussia, Courland, and Liefland, which they had in their power,) have, for the space of five years, afflicted our country also. Without any respect of the Protestant religion, they used us as enemies; and by their coming into the country, they also made us liable to be more hated by those of the Roman religion than before.

What our native country, the church, and every member thereof have suffered, in such a long continuance of our

troubles, amongst so many eastern, western, northern, and other enemies, cannot be sufficiently lamented, much less uttered. The dead and unborn were then accounted blessed: the weaker sex was reputed as the most unfortunate. For we have seen so many illustrious and noble families so exhausted, and brought to extremity, that they have not had bread to eat. We have seen noblemen and matrons, virgins, and children of great parentage, under the servitude of the Muscovites, Tartars, Cossacks, and others; under which, both they, and many ministers of the gospel, to this day do groan heavily. In consideration of those extremities, however, which indeed are extraordinary, we cannot but adore the just judgments of God, thus poured upon us by reason of our sins, and deplore our sad condition: and the more, by reason of the small hopes of restitution or deliverance from such a devastation. For, though we are brought very low already, having been made subject to many wastings, great terrors and troubles, as having had death before our eyes continually; yet there is still matter of new troubles at home, especially to those that desire to serve God in simplicity and purity. To these particularly one calamity followeth another, as the waves in a tempestuous sea come one upon another. For our parts, we have no other recourse but to the goodness of our God, and the sympathy of the members of the church; and therefore, following the practice of the apostles of Christ, and the example of the churches in the Palatinate, Bohemia, and others, which being in the same condition, some few years ago, implored the aid of their fellow members of the Reformed Protestant church, we do likewise make our recourse to your goodness and charity. For we are persuaded that God hath in these times made these kingdoms and churches more happy and flourishing than others; that they might be a place for refuge, and a port of safety to those that suffer shipwreck for the name of Jesus elsewhere.

JOHN DE KRAINO KRAINSKI, minister of God's  
Word, and the messenger of the churches.

THE PERSECUTION  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF GOD IN POLAND,

*In the Year of our Lord 1656.*



THE all-wise and holy God, whose ways of Providence are always righteous, though secret and unsearchable, hath made it the constant lot and portion of his people in this world to follow his Son in bearing his cross, and suffering persecutions. For “they that are born after the flesh,” do always persecute “them that are born after the Spirit.” But scarcely have any sort of the churches’ enemies more clearly followed the pernicious way of Cain herein, than Rome, “that mother of harlots and abominations, whose garments are died red with the blood of saints.” Amongst those faithful witnesses, the Lord seemeth very signally to have raised up those Christians, who (though dispersed in divers countries,) have been commonly known by the name of Waldenses, who for some centuries have lived amongst their enemies as lambs amongst wolves, to bear their testimonies to the truths of Christ, against the apostasies and blasphemies of Rome; for which they have been “killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter.”

One part of this little flock are scattered partly in the

Valleys of Piedmont, of whose sufferings you have had an account in the preceding pages. The other part, in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, whose sufferings, together with the Lord's signal providences about them, are now to be spoken of. These some time flourishing churches were by degrees worn out by the constant underminings and open outrages of the antichristian party. They were first driven out of Bohemia into Poland: then, after their taking root, and spreading in Poland, they were forced out of their cities there. At last, by the popish army, they were persecuted in their few hiding places with fire and sword. Their ministers were tortured to death, by cutting out of the tongues of some, pulling out the eyes, and cruelly mangling the bodies of others. Yet did not their rage reach only to the ministers, but to private persons also; yea, even to women and to young children, whose heads they cut off, and laid them at their dead mothers' breasts. Nay, their rage broke out, not only against the living, (not one of whom they spared that fell into their hands,) but also against the dead, plucking the bodies of honourable persons and others out of their graves, tearing them to pieces, and exposing them to publick scorn. But the chief object of their fury was the city of Lesna. Only the Lord in mercy having alarmed the city by the report of their enemies' approach, the greatest part of the inhabitants saved themselves by flight, and are now wandering up and down, poor, destitute, afflicted, and naked; the relation whereof you have in the ensuing narrative.

Above 700 years ago, Mieczislaus, then Duke of Poland, took to wife the daughter of Bolislaus, Duke of Bohemia, and, together with her, received the Christian faith. It happened then that, among those of the Bohemian nobility that accompanied him, there was one Peter de Bernstein, whom, because he was a person endowed with many virtues, Mieczislaus was willing to detain in Poland; and to that end bestowed upon him rich possessions, the

chief whereof was a village called Lezsyna, (i. e. a grove of hasle-trees,) upon the very confines of the Lower Silesia, twelve miles distant from Wratislavia, five from Glagow, and ten from Posnania. Peter de Bernstein taking his denomination from this place of his residence, according to the custom of the nation, he and all his posterity were called Lezsynii, and were afterwards admitted to all sorts of dignities in the realm; so that of this family there have always been some or other that were captains, governors of castles, palatines, marshals, chancellors, bishops, or archbishops, even to this day. And besides this, for their noble management of affairs in several embassies to the Roman emperor, they were adorned with the title of earls of the empire, which they still enjoy. But Lezsyna itself begun by little and little to change its name, and by contraction was called Lesna, and their German neighbours called it Lissa. This village, something above 100 years ago, had the dignity of a market-town granted to it by King Sigismund, and tradesmen were invited hither out of Silesia, and the use of the German tongue was brought in with them.

As for religion, it was reformed at Lesna about the same time, by Count Andrew, Palatine of Bernstein, according to the rites of the Bohemian confession, which it hath retained to this day, and became the metropolis of the churches of that confession throughout all the Greater Poland. After the year 1620, a very sharp persecution was raised against the professors of the gospel in Bohemia; and not long after the ministers and nobility being banished, they were fain to seek refuge in Poland, whom the Lord Raphael de Lesna, palatine of Belse, received under his protection, appointing Lesna, Woldavia, and Baranovia for their places of refuge. But forasmuch as the greater part seated themselves at Lesna, because of the nearness thereof, and not long after, a far greater company flocked thither out of Silesia, (for there also the butchery grew wonderfully fierce, in the years 1628 and 1629,) it came to pass, that Lesna, by the

addition of many streets, grew into a large city, having three market-places, four churches, a large school, above 20 streets, 1600 houses, 2000 freemen of the city, and abundance of other company. There was built also a very fair church for the service of God, according to the rites of the Augustine confession, which had over it three pastors, and a school for the mother-tongue, with some school-masters, besides the free-school, which had a learned man of the forementioned confession appointed over it, by the title of *protector*.

The citizens, having ordered themselves according to the best policy they could, were able for some years to maintain workmen for the compassing of the city about with a bulwark and trench, and for the building the gates with walls and fair turrets. Lastly, there was built a very fair court-house in the middle of the market-place of the old city; there was scarce the like in all Great Poland, except at Posnania. In a word, civility, trading, merchandize, (for all things were here bought and sold,) and religion so flourished here, that this city did not come behind any city in Poland for its admirable pleasantness. All this was matter of joy, not only to those pious Christians that were scattered out of several places for the gospel's sake, and here gathered together under the protection of God, but to others also that came hither from all parts as strangers. But it galled the enemies of the gospel extremely, so that it made them leave no design unassaycd for the overthrow of this city.

At the first, in the years 1628 and 1629, they made use of several accusations and slanders to King Sigismund III. suggesting, that it was a confluence of men, that were enemies and traitors to his majesty. But through the prudence of that great senator, the lord of the place, whose wisdom went beyond their envy, and who knew well enough how to counter-work all projects of that kind, all these arts were at that time used in vain. But in 1653, after the Swedes were broken by the emperor's army in Germany, and were driven out of Silesia,

new plots were hatched at Glogaw to send one or two of the emperor's regiments, who should suddenly invade Lesna, sack the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword. But it pleased God so to order it, that this plot was discovered by some of themselves, two days before the appointed time, and so vanished into smoke; though the smoke of their devices did not yet cease to rise. For after the death of the Prince Palatine of Belse, when his estate was divided amongst his sons, and the county of Lesna fell to the Lord Boguslaus, his third son, then newly returned from travelling, the plotters were not wanting so to lie in wait, that at last they enticed him to profess popery. But however they heaped many honours upon him, yet could they not procure his hatred of the professors of the gospel, and the dissipation of his subjects, which was the thing they hoped for; but he still preserved entire to his Lesna those privileges, both civil and religious, which his father had promised or confirmed to them. They attempted therefore this other device: the Bishop of Posnania ventured to redemand the old parish-church, because it was of ancient foundation, and pretended that it might not any longer be left to the use of heretics. The Lord Boguslaus answered, that his grandfather, (Andrew, Palatine of Brenstein,) had built another church for the Catholics, (whose number was very small in the town, scarce ever above three or four citizens,) to exercise their religion in, and endowed it with revenues to that purpose, that the greater citizens might enjoy the greater church. But all was in vain, though he doubled the maintenance of the Roman parish-priest. For in 1652, they brought the lord count before the tribunal of the realm. The cause must needs go against him, for the very same persons were accusers, witnesses, and judges; yet he obtained that this church should not suddenly be taken from his subjects, the inhabitants of old Lesna, until they had built themselves a new one. They presently set about the building with the

help of foreign churches : but when the adversaries saw that it went on apace, and that this was like to be bigger than the other, (for so great now was the multitude of citizens of this confession, that the old church was not able to contain them,) they began to mutter again, "That this might not be endured, that the heretics should have a bigger church than the Catholics."

At length the irruption of the Swedes into Poland, in 1655, gave them the long wished-for occasion of rooting out, not only the Lesnians, but all the professors of the gospel throughout Poland. For while the King of Sweden was slowly and dangerously busied in Prussia, they took counsel together for the resuming their arms, to fight for the liberty of their country, and the Catholic religion, (as they call it,) to drive out the Swedes, and to root out all the Dissenters, (as they styled the Protestants,) in gross. That this their purpose might make the quicker progress, and be set on the more strongly, there were Jesuits and monks sent out every way, to intimate these things to the multitude, and to encourage them to so glorious an undertaking, compelling those that were slow with the thunderbolt of excommunication, and promising the relaxation of the pains of purgatory, and eternal rewards to them that were forward. To this end, King Casimere being recalled out of Silesia, they commanded the nobility to flock to him, and to give the King of Sweden a meeting in his return out of Prussia. And such was their success, that in Lower Poland a great number of families, almost within the compass of a month, (in February and March,) were miserably butchered : men and women, young and old, being murdered without distinction, all, save such as could escape into the neighbouring parts of Hungary. Most of the nobility of the Greater Poland having retired into Silesia, began there to gather themselves into small companies, in the beginning of April, and to break forth : by whose coming, the rest being encouraged, made a great slaughter of the Swedes

that were garrisoned in the small towns, so that General Muller was fain to go forth with an army of Swedes to restrain them.

The hereditary Lord of Lesna was gone into Prussia to salute the King of Sweden. But about the beginning of April he returned into Lesna without seeing him, the king being full of action, and ranging up and down. This business procured much more envy both to himself and the city; as if he had plotted with the Swedes against his country. Therefore they breathed out flames so much the more fiercely both against him and his city. However there were not wanting such as by private messages gave him hope of pardon, if he would withdraw himself from them. But the enemies prepared themselves to destroy the city, furnishing themselves with many sorts of weapons for that purpose. The inhabitants of Lesna indeed had notice by several messengers, yet a fatal security prevailed with them to think that there was no fear of such an enemy. Upon Easter-day a party of Poles broke into some territories belonging to an eminent professor of the gospel, near Lesna, for whom they made diligent search; but finding he was from home, (for he had retired to Lesna,) they plundered all his goods, and took his servant, and hanging a great stone about his neck, threw him into the river that ran by.

On the third holiday in Easter, the report was very hot that the Swedes had lost all, and that the king was slain. Upon this news, the Lord Boguslaus betook himself to Wratislavia, in Silesia, wherefore the citizens of Lesna were something afraid, although the commanders of the Swedes that were there in the garrison, (being three colours of horse,) encouraged them: as did also the administrator of the city and county of Lesna, who promised them to stay with them. Being lifted up with this hope, and the promises of new forces to come very suddenly to them, no man took any care to get out of the way, or carry any of his goods to a safer place: yet they kept strong guards night and day; sometimes

the third part of the citizens, and sometimes half being upon duty. The Swedish horse also ever and anon made excursions to see what the enemy was doing, and whether they were near. They never brought back any other news, but that there were no signs of the enemy appearing. Yea, even that very day in which the Poles came in the afternoon, the Swedes returned with good booty, but said not a word of the enemy.

About three days after, upon Thursday, April 27, an army of the Polonian nobility, mixed with a rout of peasants, shewed themselves unexpectedly out of the woods, drew into the open field, and set themselves within sight of the city, above five or six furlongs from the suburbs. When this was perceived, the alarm was given, and the citizens placed themselves on the walls; yet not knowing who they were, and wondering much, why, according to custom, they did not send forth a trumpeter. At length they began their work with firing a brick-kiln that stood not far from the suburbs. Then about 150 of the Swedish troopers which were already mounted and gone out of the city, encountered with the enemy in little skirmishes, for the space of two hours, in which many of the Poles, and some of the Swedes, were slain. But while the Swedes were earnest with the citizens for help to defend the suburbs from burning, about 70 of the younger citizens were drawn forth, who mixed themselves rashly and confusedly among the horsemen. When the Poles saw this they feigned a flight, returning towards the wood: but as soon as they perceived they had drawn them far enough from the walls, they wheeled about; some fetching a compass to get behind them and home, and the rest returning straight, fell on in a full body. When the Swedish horse saw this, they turned their backs, leaving the foot to the mercy of the enemy; but the Poles followed them so close, that two colours (which were about 400 men,) passed through the suburbs to the very gate, and had entered the city with them, had not a bold fellow ven-

tured to step in between, and bar the gate against them, while others of the citizens sent a shower of bullets among them, and so beat them back. The Poles being glad to retire, (just at sun-set,) they set fire to the outward parts of the suburbs, and burnt some granaries and windmills; while themselves returned through the wood to Oseczno. The city being thus filled with fear, spent the whole night without sleep; the men in watching upon the walls, and the women in gathering themselves together in the market-places, church-yards, and other open places.

When the morning came, and no enemy appeared, the citizens went out to fetch in the slain to bury them; among whom were found about 40 citizens, but above 100 Poles, and among them their chief commander himself, Cresky, who formerly had taken pay under the Swedish General Banier, and was accounted more expert than the rest. In the mean time it was hotly reported, that the administrator of the country, and many of his retinue were gone. Upon this news the courage of the citizens began to fail, and they went to the senate, to desire leave to send away their wives and children, that if the enemy should come again, they might be the more courageous in defending themselves, not being daunted with the outcries and tears of the women. Some dissuaded them with good reasons, saying, "That those that should be sent forth under pretence of convoying the rest, would not return again, and so the rest of the citizens should be left in greater fears." But all was in vain. The Swedish commanders endeavoured to hinder the flight of the richer sort, which they could not do, being overcome with the cries of the multitude. There were some ecclesiastics also, who desired leave to depart for a few days, because the antichristian fury was bent chiefly against them. The senate left it to their consciences, whether in such a case they could leave the people, when they would most need instruction and comfort; especially if wounded and dying. But the

others persisted in their importunity, and there went out, before noon, 300 waggons, which were all that could be got in the city.

After this, there followed some quietness, with hopes that the enemy would return no more, having found by experience, how well able the Lesnians were to defend themselves; and perhaps they had never returned, (as it was known afterwards,) had they not been encouraged by that flight of the citizens. Two days after, April 28, there was a letter delivered to the consul from the commanders of the Polish forces, in which they demanded the surrender of the city, and gave them hope of good usage; but if they would not embrace that offer, they threatened to destroy them with fire and sword, having now such an addition of foot-soldiers, that they were able to take the city by storm. They added, moreover, that they had received a letter from the Lord Boguslaus, wherein he intreated them to spare Lesna upon their submission, saying, that he had already given them a command to set open their gates. If ever there were any such command, it must needs have been suppressed by some one, so that the citizens never knew of it; otherwise they would have provided a little better for the safety of themselves and their goods. But so it must needs be, that our sins (through others' treachery,) should be brought to punishment.

This message of the Poles to the senate, wonderfully daunted the citizens. For these things were not kept secret, but before the council could call together the senate, and the commanders of the soldiery, the report thereof had run through the whole city; as also that there was very little gunpowder left, and that they had not wherewithal to defend themselves; so that the citizens being taken with a panic fear, cast away their weapons and courage together, and betook themselves to flight; especially when presently after, they, who were on the guard, discovered the body of the enemies coming the same way they came before. These, forsaking every man

his station, hastened home, advising their wives, children, and neighbours to flee, themselves leaving their weapons on the walls or gates; or afterwards casting them away in the fields, that they might not be a burden to them. When the Swedish soldiers saw the citizens thus in amaze, and running away, they also soon mounted, not to meet the enemy, (as before,) but to run away from them also. Then followed the senate, in such a trembling fit of fear, that every one run out at the gate that was next him, or over the very forts and ditches; so that in one hour's space, a most populous city was left destitute of inhabitants; save a company of sick and aged people, and a few others that could not so suddenly get away, or that for some other cause were obliged to wait the issue. All hastened to the Moorish woods, by which Poland is parted from Silesia, in such confusion, that, when the nearest passes were not wide enough, they tumbled by troops to other passes, that were more remote.

The Swedish troops went to Fraustad, and from thence, taking the garrison along with them, towards Meseritz. But the passage through the Moors was very difficult, because the company crowded one upon another, as if the enemy were just at their heels, so that not only many of them stuck in the deep mud, (crying out in vain for help to those that passed by, every one being solicitous only for his own preservation,) but were also mired and lost. Here children lost their parents, and parents their children, wives their husbands, and one friend another; so that they could scarce find one another again, in two, three, and four days time. The enemy, by a trumpeter, who was sent to Posnania-gate, inquired, what the citizens meant to do? John Kolechen, a learned citizen, and well acquainted with many of the nobility (who in confidence of this, having sent away his wife, adventured to stay,) came forth, and answered, "That the gates stood open, the Swedish enemies were gone, and the rest of

the citizens stood to their courtesy, and desired their favour."

A little after that, the illustrious Grzymaltowsky, with many of the nobility, came to the same gate, and when Kolechen, with another of his company, had gone out to them, and scarcely persuaded them, that there was no treachery, they went in. Being disposed in the next fair houses, they were entertained with a noble supper, and had plenty of wine out of Dlugosse's cellar, who was a rich senator. When they were half drunk, they set upon Kolechen with threats, and would have made him their prisoner; but that he escaped wonderfully out of their hands, and saved himself by flight. But they durst not stay all night in the city, for fear the Swedes and citizens should set upon them unawares out of some ambuscade; so they returned to their own company, and in the morning they came back, with many hundred waggons, killing all they met, and setting themselves to plunder the city. Here you might have seen strange examples of barbarous cruelty on one side, and blockish folly on the other. For though no man made resistance, yet like mad dogs they flew upon all that either came out, or were drawn out of their holes wherein they had hid themselves. Of all that they laid hold on, they gave not one man quarter, but put them to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavoured to force Mr. Samuel Clarke, pastor of the church of Czuertzinen, to renounce his religion, after they had taken him, and miserably handled him with all manner of cruelty; but he stoutly resisting, they put out his eyes, and led him about for a spectacle; then they pulled off his finger ends with pincers; but he not yet condescending, they poured molten lead into his mouth, and at length, while he was yet alive, they clapped his neck between folding doors, and violently pulling them together, severed his head from his body.

They took JOHN JACOBIDES, pastor of the church of Dembnick, and ALEXANDER WARTENS, his colleague, and

another that was in company with them, and hurried them up and down for divers hours, and grievously handled them; last of all they cut their throats, and threw them headlong into a pit, while they were yet breathing, which had been before-hand prepared, and stifled them by throwing down dung and dirt upon them. A great while they pursued ANDREW OXLITIUS, a young man designed for the ministry. After long seeking, they at last found him in the open field, and having taken him, they cut off his head with a scythe, chopping it into small pieces; and the dead carcass also they slashed in a barbarous manner. The same fate befel ADAM MILTA, a citizen of Lesna. But they more grievously handled an old man of above 70 years of age, whose name was SIMON PRITEN, and many others, whose names it were too tedious to relate. Of that barbarous execution which they did upon the weaker sex, there were besides other examples, horrid trophies of cruelty erected. A pious matron there, who was the mother of three children, not being able quick enough to leave the city, and being slain in the open street, they cut off her hands and feet, and cutting off her children's heads, they laid two of them at her breasts, and the third by her side. In like manner, another woman having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, being inclosed and bound in a sack, lived the space of two days, making most miserable lamentations.

They pulled out the eyes of some. Of others they cut off their noses and tongues, and their hands and feet. Others they stabbed, and slashed, and so butchered with innumerable wounds, that it could not be known who they were. They spared not his highness Frederic, Landgrave of Hesse, though dead, whom they had slain half a year before at Costena. He being decently embalmed, was kept laid up in the chapel of the new church, upon a scaffold, till he could be conveniently transported to his own country. They first rifled his coffin, which was handsomely adorned, taking away his silver and gilt keys,

and all the silk that was about it. Then they set upon the prince's corpse, and took away his silk robe, lined with ermines, and so left him once again naked, and lying on the ground. After the burning of the city, his body was found in the same place, untouched by the fire: so he was clothed again by the ancient Lesnians, put up in his coffin, and buried in a certain place, where he is still honourably kept.

The mad rabble, though they might have made Lesna their nest, and enriched themselves with plunder; such was their over eager desire of destroying this hated city, that the very same day, before noon, they set fire to the city and suburbs, in every street, (for they brought waggons with them, loaded with torches, pitch, straw, and other combustible matter,) and so destroyed that most pleasant city, together with all that abundance of things that were in it. This fire lasted three whole days, and there were those that took care that nothing should escape it. For when the new buildings of the new churches did not easily take fire, they brought straw, pitch, and dry wood, and put under the roofs and inside of the steeples, and so forced them to take fire. Upon the third day, (May 1,) they came again, and whatsoever was left they set fire to again. They burnt also the very windmills, whereof there were seventy about the city; and a very pleasant park of the countess's, which lay close by the castle; that every place might be filled with spectacles of cruelty, and at length it might come to be said, *En cineres ubi Lesna fuit!*

“ Where fairest Lesna stood of old,  
Now nought but ashes we behold !”

## THE PERSECUTION

BY

*THE DUKE DE ALVA,*

IN

## THE NETHERLANDS.



WHEN the light of the gospel was much spread abroad in the Netherlands, King Philip of Spain sent the Duke de Alva with a great army to root out the professors of it, who exercised unparalleled cruelty against all sorts of persons, both of the nobility and commons, permitting his soldiers to ravish honest matrons and virgins, many times causing their husbands and parents to stand by and behold it. This duke, on a time, boasted at his own table, that he had been diligent to root out heresy; and that, besides those which he had slain in the war, in the space of six years he had put above 18,000 persons into the hands of the common hangman.

His son, Don Frederic, being sent by him to Zutphen, was received by the burghers, without any opposition. He was no sooner entered, but he fell to murder, hang, and drown many of the inhabitants, shewing infinite cruelties upon wives and virgins, not sparing infants.

From thence marching to Naerden, in Holland, the inhabitants made an agreement with him, and he entered the town peaceably. But never did Turks or Scythians commit more abominable cruelties; for when the burghers had given the best entertainment they could to him and his soldiers, he caused it to be proclaimed, that they should all assemble themselves together in the chapel of the hospital, where they should be made acquainted with the laws, according to which they should hereafter govern themselves. But when these poor people were thus assembled, he commanded his soldiers to murder them all, without sparing one. The men were massacred. The women were first ravished, and then murdered. The children and infants had their throats cut. In some houses they tied the inhabitants to posts, and then set fire to the houses, and burnt them alive. So that in the whole town, neither man, wife, maid, nor child, old nor young, were spared. At last the town was wholly razed to the ground.

After this, Don Frederic besieged Haerlem, which held out against him for a long time, but at last, their provision being spent, they lived upon the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like. At last, this also failing them, they were forced to surrender the town upon composition, by which they were to pay 240,000 florins, to redeem themselves and town from spoil. Don Frederic, having thus got the town into his hands, commanded, that at the tolling of the great bell all the burghers and soldiers should bring in their arms into the state-house; that the townsmen should go into the cloyster of Zyel, the women into the cathedral-church, and the soldiers into another church. This done, all the ensign bearers were singled out and imprisoned, and whilst the poor burghers were guarded in the church, the perfidious Spaniards plundered their houses. The next day Don Frederic caused 300 men to be hanged and beheaded. The next day Captain Riperda and his lieutenant were beheaded, and a godly minister, called Stembach, was hanged, and

247 soldiers were drowned in the sea of Haerlem. The next day a great number were executed, and the day following 300 more soldiers and burghers lost their heads, and with them a godly minister, called Simon Simonson. Presently after three of the principal men lost their heads, and shortly after all the English and Scotch were beheaded before the hospital door. In the mean time a party of soldiers that lay without in a sconce, were all starved to death.

Not long before, the strong town of Valenciennes, in Hainault, having set up the free exercise of the reformed religion amongst its inhabitants, was besieged by an army under the Seigneur of Noircarmes. The siege lasted about three months; and the citizens having no hopes of relief, at last treated, and surrendered the city upon good conditions. But Noircarmes, being entered, he kept the city gates shut for several days, and most perfidiously hanged all the French soldiers, with all the ministers and Protestant merchants, and confiscated their goods.

Hitherto we have seen an account of the general persecution; let us now take a view of some particular martyrs. In 1560, there was in Flanders one JOHN HERWIN, a soldier, of a very dissolute life. God having put it into his heart to go into England, he accordingly came to London, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and by God's good providence was entertained in a brewer's family, where both master and servants feared God. His master caused him to go often to the Dutch church, where, by the ministry of the Word, he first began to taste, and afterwards more and more to increase in the saving knowledge of Christ. And after a while he returned back into Flanders, and was laid wait for by the popish bailiff at Furne. This occasioned his removal to Honscot. The bailiff, being informed of him there also, went in the night with his serjeants, and apprehended him. By the way they met with some drunkards in the streets; whereupon the bailiff said, "They say, we have many gospellers in this town, but it little appears by these disorders." Herwin

hearing him, said, "Is drunkenness a sin, Mr. Bailiff?" The bailiff answered, "What of that?" Herwin replied, "Why then do you not commit these men to prison, seeing it is your office to punish vice, and protect them that fear God?" To this the bailiff answered not. Then Herwin was put into prison, where he behaved himself so virtuously, that every one admired him. It being somewhat long before he was called before the magistrate, he was much troubled at it, his heart being inflamed with an holy zeal to confess Jesus Christ before his judges. Yet many of the brethren were very fearful of him, considering what his former life had been, and what a novice he was, as yet, in the profession of the gospel. At last, according to his heart's desire, he was brought before the sheriff. There was a priest provided to dispute with him; to whose questions Herwin answered, with such soundness of judgment and modesty, that it easily appeared, he had profited well in Christ's school. He admonished his judges to examine the doctrine of the church of Rome by the true touchstone of God's Word, whereby they might easily see how contrary it was to the Scriptures. Having made a confession of his faith, he craved justice one way or other; but they still urged him to recant. To which he answered, "My faith is not built upon man's opinion, but the Lord hath taught me to eschew evil, and to do good." He was then returned to prison.

In prison he used to recreate himself by singing of psalms, and the people often flocked together to the prison door, to hear him. This so enraged the popish clergy, that they sought to hinder him from singing; and for this end, they caused two desperate malefactors to be put into the same room with him. But within a few days, these villains broke prison and escaped, leaving Herwin an opportunity to escape also; but he, fearing that his flight might be prejudicial to other godly persons in the city, upon whom it would be charged, resolved rather to remain there, than to flee. Presently after, news was brought him, that sentence of death was passed upon

him ; whereupon he thanked God for advancing him to so high an honour, as to be accounted worthy to suffer for his name. He testified the joy which he felt in his soul, by a letter he wrote to the Brethren, wherein he exhorted them to constancy, and perseverance in the doctrine of the truth, which they had received from God. Within a few days after, he was carried forth to hear his sentence ; at which time the magistrate, by earnest entreaties, and large promises, sought to bring him to a recantation ; promising, that thereupon he should be presently released. Herwin, refusing their offer of life upon those terms, was bound and carried into a chapel, where they celebrated the mass ; but he, to shew his detestation of their idolatry, turned his back, winked with his eyes, and stopped his ears. At the elevation of the host, one asked him, if Jesus Christ was not now between the priest's hands ? To which he answered, " No, he is in heaven, at the right hand of his Father." Then sentence of death was read against him.

As he was going to execution, he said to the people, " See here, how this wicked world rewards the poor servants of Jesus Christ. Whilst I was a drunkard, a player at cards and dice, living in all dissoluteness and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of these bonds ; yea, then I was counted a good fellow, and at that time, who but I ? But no sooner I began, through God's grace, to seek after a godly life, than presently the world made war upon me, and became mine enemy. Yet this discouraged me not ; for the servant is not better than his Lord. Seeing they perscuted him, no question but they will persecute us." At the place of cxecution, one gave him his hand, and comforted him. Then he began to sing the 30th psalm, whereupon a friar interrupted him, saying, " Oh John, turn, there is yet time and space." The martyr, disregarding his words, turned his back upon him ; and some of the company said to the friar, " Turn thou, thou hypocrite." Then Herwin finished his psalm, many joining with him therein. Then said the friar,

“ Be not offended, good people, to hear this heretic sing of God.” The people answered, “ Hold thy peace, thou Balaamite, here is nobody offended.” There were present at least 400, that encouraged the martyr to continue to the end, as he had well begun. He answered, “ Brethren, I fight under the standard, and in the quarrel of my great Lord and Captain Jesus Christ.” Then he prayed, and so went into the cabin made with faggots, saying to the people, “ I am now going to be sacrificed. Follow ye me, when God of his goodness shall call you to it.” He was then first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes.

In 1561, one JOHN DE BOSCAINE was apprehended in Antwerp, who, for his constancy in religion, was condemned to death. But the magistrate fearing an uproar if he should put him to death publicly, (knowing that he was a man free of speech, and beloved of the people) resolved for this cause to drown him secretly in the prison. For this end, a tub with water was provided, and an executioner sent to drown him. But the water was so shallow, and the martyr so tall, that he could not possibly be drowned therein. Then the executioner gave him many wounds and stabs with a dagger, and so this holy martyr ended his life. About the same time, another servant of Jesus Christ, whose name was JOHN DE BUISSONS, having made a bold confession of his faith, was in the same city sentenced to death : and because they durst not execute him publicly, they sent and beheaded him privately in prison.

In 1568, there were apprehended in Antwerp, one SCOBLANT, JOHN DE HUES, JORIS COOMANS, who, being cast into prison, were very joyful, confessing that nothing befel them, but by God's Divine providence. In a letter, which they wrote to the brethren, were these words, “ Seeing it is the will of God that we should suffer for his name, and in the quarrel of his gospel, we certify you, dear brethren, that we are joyful. And however the flesh continually rebels against the Spirit, counselling ever and anon according to the advice of the old serpent,

yet we are all assured, that Christ, who hath bruised, and will still bruise the serpent's head, will not leave us comfortless. We are indeed sometimes pricked in the heel; yet we are not discouraged, but keep our faith close to the promises of God. Be not therefore dismayed for our bonds and imprisonment, for it is the good will of God towards us; and therefore we pray that he will give us grace to persevere constantly unto the end." Shortly after, Seoblant was brought to his trial, where he made a good confession of his faith, and so was condemned. Returning to prison, he earnestly requested the jailor that he would not suffer the friars to come and trouble him: "For," said he, "they can do me no good, seeing the Lord hath already sealed up the assurance of my salvation in my heart, by his Holy Spirit. I am now going to my spouse, and putting off this earthly mantle, to enter into his celestial glory, where I shall be freed from all superstitions. Would to God that I might be the last that these tyrants should put to death, and that their thirst might be so quenched with my blood, that the poor church of Christ might henceforth enjoy rest and quiet." Before he went forth to execution, he sung the 40th psalm with his fellow-prisoners, then said the Lord's prayer, and so kissing each other, they commended one another unto God with many tears. Being led forth and tied to the stake, he was burned alive, calling upon the name of the Lord.

JOHN HUES died in prison, whereupon Joris wrote thus to his friends, "Brethren, I am now left alone, whereas we were three in number. John Hues is now dead in the Lord: and yet I am not altogether alone, seeing the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is with me. He is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me so soon as I shall have laid down this earthly tabernacle. Pray unto God that he will strengthen me to the end; for every hour I expect the dissolution of this house of clay." When he was brought before the judges, and examined of his faith, he answered freely, and proved

what he said by the holy Scriptures. Being asked, whether he was resolved to die for the faith which he professed, he answered, "I will not only venture to give my body, but my soul also for the confirmation of it." Being condemned, he was shortly after burnt, dying with much comfort.

The persecution growing hot in Flanders, one GILES ANNICK, and JOHN his son, removed to Emden. But by reason of their sudden departure, they could not take their wives with them; whereupon in the year 1568, they returned back to fetch their wives, who were at Renay. On account of the danger, they durst not go into the town openly, but took up their lodging in the evening at an honest man's house, called Lewis Meulin. That very night, the enemies had appointed to make a secret search after such as professed the gospel. As they passed by this house, they saw the light of a candle in it; wherefore they forced open the door, and took these two, together with their host, prisoners; God having appointed them to bear witness to his truth. After they had been in prison a while, they were all three condemned for hereties; and presently after, Giles, the father, was burned. John, the son, being fetched to execution, when he saw the man that first apprehended him, he called to him, saying, "I forgive thee my death:" and so he, with Lewis Meulin, were both beheaded.

About the same time there was also a godly widow apprehended and cast into prison. Her crime was, that about two years before she had suffered a minister to preach in an out-house on the backside of her dwelling. She was very charitable in relieving the poor, and every way shewed the fruits of a true saving faith. After seven months' imprisonment, she was condemned to die, and a priest coming to hear her confession, she spake to him with such a divine grace, and with a spirit so replenished with zeal, that he went from her with tears trickling down his cheeks, saying, "I came to comfort you, but I have more need to be comforted of you." When she

was carried to execution, she went with much boldness and joy of heart, and having her head cut off, sweetly slept in the Lord.

There was also one CHRISTOPHER GAUDERIN, that at first was brought up under the abbot of Henane; but the abbot dying, he betook himself to the weaving of linen, and quickly grew expert in his trade. But having been trained up in a bad school, when the sabbath came, he spent riotously what he had gotten all the week. Through God's mercy, it so fell out, that a godly man working with him, would often tell him of the danger of his present condition, exhorting him rather to distribute his gettings to the poor, assuring him, that if he spent his money so wastefully, God would call him to account for it. These, with the like exhortations, wrought so upon him, by the grace of God, that he began to change his course, and instead of frequenting taverns, he became a diligent hearer of sermons, and gave himself much to reading of the holy Scriptures; so that not long after, he was called by the church to the office of a deacon, which he discharged carefully and faithfully. Shortly after, having occasion to go to a place called Oudenard, to distribute some alms to the poor there, he was apprehended. The bailiff, who had formerly seen him in the abbot's house, asked him, how he came to turn heretic? "Nay," said he, "I am no heretic, but a right believing Christian, and what I learned of him, I am now ashamed to remember." In prison he had many disputes about his faith, which he so maintained and defended, by the Word of God, that he silenced all his adversaries. Some told him, that he would cast himself away in his youth, being but 30 years old. He answered, "Man's life consists but of two days; the day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he must needs die once. And for my part, I am now willing by death to pass into eternal life."

When news was brought him in the evening, that he must die the next day, he retired, and poured out his

soul in prayer unto God till ten o'clock. After he had rested, he did the like the next morning. Having ended his prayer, he put on a clean shirt, and washed himself, saying to his fellow prisoners, "Brethren, I am now going to be married; I hope, ere noon, to drink of the wine of the kingdom of heaven." When he came down, he found three other prisoners that were to suffer with him. These four exhorted and encouraged one another to suffer patiently. Then came a friar, saying, "That he came to convert them." To whom Christopher said, "Away from us, thou seducer of souls, for we have nothing to do with thee." The hangman coming to put gags in their mouths, one of them said, "What? shall we not have liberty at this our last hour to praise God with our tongues?" Christopher answered, "Let not this discourage us, the more wrong our enemies do to us, the more assistance we shall find from God;" and so ceased not to comfort them, till himself was gagged also. Their sentence was, that they should be hanged for hearing sermons; and so with admirable constancy, they yielded up their souls to God. One of them, being a woman, was condemned to be beheaded, because she had sung psalms, and exhorted her neighbours out of the Word of God. Her body was grown very feeble, so that she was caused to sit on a stool, where she received three blows with a sword; yet she constantly sat till she received the crown of martyrdom.

About the same time there was in a town, a mile distant from Ghent, a minister, whom it pleased the Lord to illuminate with the saving knowledge of his gospel. Whereupon he became a diligent and faithful preacher of it, both in his life and doctrine; yea, he went from house to house, exhorting and comforting every one as he had occasion, out of the Word of God; and above all, labouring with them to beware of the abominable superstitions of the papacy. The popish clergy of Ghent, having intelligence thereof, fearing lest by this means, their doctrine and authority would come into contempt, caused

him to be apprehended and cast into a dark hole, where he remained bearing his affliction patiently, and calling upon God night and day, praising him for accounting him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. Whilst he lay there, many good people came to visit him, receiving such instructions and consolations from him, that they could not be drawn to leave him, till necessity enforced; neither then could they depart, without abundance of tears. The priests and friars sought by all means to draw him to a recantation, but to no purpose, for he still kept himself close to the Word of God, which so vexed them, that at last they procured his condemnation to be hanged. The Spanish soldiers, who carried him to execution, would needs have him burned, binding him and straining him exceedingly with cords, and on the way, abused him shamefully with mocks and scoffs, thrusting him forwards, and striking him. The captain also gave him a blow on the face with his gauntlet, which much disfigured him. At last they thrust him into a little cabin, piled with faggots, and so burnt him, continually calling upon God, till he resigned his spirit.

In 1568, there was a goldsmith of Breda, who had long been a deacon of the church in that place, named PETER COULOGUE. The church often met in his house, for the service of God. The popish adversaries, being much enraged thereat, cast him into prison; at which the faithful were much grieved, and endeavoured to visit and comfort him. The enemies taking notice of this, removed him to the castle. During his abode there, though all others were excluded from him, yet his maid-servant brought him his food daily, never ceasing to comfort him out of the Word of God, as well as she was able; for which, at length, they imprisoned her also. This she was right glad of, thinking herself happy to suffer for righteousness' sake. Not long after, Coulogue was put to torment, which he endured patiently. Then they fetched Betkin, the maid, also to it; whereupon she said, "My masters, wherefore will you put me to this torture,

seeing I have no way offended you? If it be for my faith's sake, you need not torment me; for as I was never ashamed to make a confession thereof, no more will I now; but will, if you please, freely shew you my mind therein." Yet for all this, they would have her to the rack, whereupon she again said, "If I must needs suffer this pain, I pray you give me leave to call upon my God first." This they consented to; and whilst she was fervently pouring out her prayers unto God, one of the commissioners was surprised with such a fear and terror, that he fell into a swoon, and could not be recovered again, by which means the poor maid escaped racking.

Shortly after, they were condemned to be burnt, and as they were led to execution, there was much lamentation among the people. Peter and Betkin prayed earnestly unto God to strengthen them, and perfect the good work that he had begun. The courage and constancy of the maid so wrought upon many of the people, that not considering the danger, they brake through the multitude, embracing the prisoners, and praising God for their constancy, saying, "Fight manfully, for the crown is prepared for you." At the place of execution, Betkin, with a cheerful and amiable countenance, spake thus to the people, "Dear brethren and sisters, be always obedient to the Word of God, and fear not them that can kill the body, but have no power over the soul. As for me, I am now going to my glorious spouse, the Lord Jesus Christ." Then falling upon their knees, they prayed to the Lord with great devotion. The executioner, fastening them to the stake, strangled Peter, Betkin encouraging him till he yielded up the ghost, and till the fire had taken hold of herself. In the flames she was heard to magnify the Lord, till she yielded up her spirit into his hands.

THE PERSECUTION  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF GOD IN IRELAND,  
*In the year of our Lord 1642.*



THOUGH the barbarous cruelty, used by the Irish against the English, goes usually under the name of rebellion, yet I rather look upon it as a persecution, because their cruelties were exercised upon Protestants only: neither were the English Papists murdered; but joined with the Irish in murdering their brethren. Besides, the Jesuits, priests and friars, were the chief instigators to these murders, stirring up continually all sorts, both of the gentry and commonalty, to shew their utmost zeal therein; and when their design was so surely laid, that they thought it impossible to be prevented, they recommended, in their publick devotions, the good success of a great design, tending much to the advancement of the Catholic cause. And that they might stir up the people with greater animosity to put it in execution, they every where declaimed loudly against the Protestants, saying, "That they were heretics, not to be suffered any longer to live amongst them: that it was no more sin to kill one of them than to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them." When their plots were ripe for execution, we find their first proceedings against the English

were various. Some of the Irish only stripping and expelling them; others murdering men, women, and children, without merey; yet all resolving universally to root all the Protestants out of Ireland; yea, so deeply malicious were they against the English Protestants, that they would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have all those punished that spake English; and the names of all English places they would have changed into the old Irish. The priests gave the sacrament unto divers of the Irish, upon condition, that they should not spare man, woman, nor child of the Protestants, saying, "That it did them a deal of good, to wash their hands in their blood. One Halligan, a priest, read an excommunication against all those, that from thenceforth should relieve or harbour any English, Scotch, or Welsh; or give them alms at their doors, whereby many were famished to death. The friars with tears exhorted them not to spare any of the English. They boasted, that when they had destroyed them in Ireland, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of an Englishman under heaven.

The day before this massaere was to begin, the priests gave the people a dismiss at mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all their lands, which they pretended to be unjustly detained from them by the English; as also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their goods and cattle; the Protestants being, as they told them, worse than dogs, for they were devils, and served the devil, and therefore the killing of such was a meritorious act, and a rare preservative against the pains of purgatory; for that the bodies of such of them as died in this quarrel, should not be cold, before their souls should ascend up into heaven.

The chief gentlemen of the Irish, when this persecution first began, persuaded many of their Protestant neighbours, that if they would bring their goods and cattle to them, they would secure them from the rage of the common people. Hereby they got abundance peaceably into

their hands, whereof they eheated the Protestants, refusing to restore them. Yet, the Protestants were so confident at first of their good dealing in regard of former familiarity, that they gave them inventories of all they had : nay, they digged up such of their best things as they had hid in the ground, and deposited them in their custody. They also got much into their hands by fair promises, and deep oaths and engagements, that if they would deliver them their goods, they would suffer them with their wives and echildren, quietly to depart the country ; yet, having got what they could, they afterwards murdered them. Having thus seized upon all their goods and eattle, ransacked their houses, and gotten their persons under their power ; the next work was to strip men, women, and children stark-naked, and so turn them out of doors ; not suffering them so much as to shelter themselves under bushes, or in the woods. All the Irish were strictly prohibited under great penalties, to give them any relief as they passed in the highways. Their great design herein was, that they on whom they would not lay their hands, might miserably perish through eold, nakedness, and want ; and therefore if any of them got any old rags to eover their nakedness with, they stripped them again and again, sometimes twiee or thrice over. The Irish women were very active herein, and taught their very children to do the like. They would not leave the women so much as a smock or an hair-lace ; so that many of them being starved, fell down dead in the highways. Others that got to any English town, by reason of famine and eold suffered so by the way, that they died as soon as they eame thither.

In the town of Colerain, many thousands of these miserable people that fled thither for suecour, died in two days. The living not being able to bury their dead, they laid their careases in great ranks in waste and wide holes, piling them up as close and thlick as if they had been packing up herrings together. One Magdalen Redman deposed that she, and divers other Protestants, among whom were

twenty-two widows, were robbed and then stripped stark-naked, and when they had covered themselves with straw in an house, the papists threw burning straw in amongst them to burn them. Then they drove them naked into the wild woods in frost and snow, so that the snow covered their skins, and lay a long time upon them unmelted. Some of their children died in their arms with extremity of cold. Some of these poor creatures went towards Burre for shelter, but the Irish turned them back again, saying they should go to Dublin. When they went towards Dublin, they beat them back, saying they should go to Burre; and so they tossed them to and fro, till some of them died. Many of those, who through many difficulties got to Burre, died there; and those that survived, lived miserably, by reason of their many wants.

Having disarmed the English, robbed them of their goods and cattle, stripped them of their clothes, and having their persons in their power, they furiously broke out into all manner of abominable cruelties, massacres, and murders, so that it would make any Christian's ear to tingle, and his heart to ache, to hear the mention of them. There were multitudes murdered in cold blood; some while they were at plough; others as they sat peaceably in their houses; others travelling upon the highways; all without any manner of provocation given by them, were suddenly destroyed.

Near 150 men, women, and children were consumed with fire in the castle of Lisgoole. One hundred were slain together at the castle of Moneah. At the castle of Tulla, which was delivered to Mac Guire upon composition, and faithful promises of fair quarter, as soon as he and his men entered the court, they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword, murdering them all without mercy. At Lissenskcah they hanged and killed above 100 of the Scottish Protestants, shewing them no more favour than they did the English. The country thereabouts being well planted and peopled, was in a most horrible manner quite destroyed. In the

counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the Protestants were more numerous, their murders were multiplied, and with greater cruelty, if possible, than in other places. Mac Guire coming to the castle of Lissenskeah, desired in a friendly manner to speak with Mr. Middleton. He was admitted in, and as soon as he entered, he first burned the records of the county which were kept there. Then he demanded one thousand pounds of Sir William Balfore's money which was in his custody; as soon as he had got it, he caused Mr. Middleton to hear mass, and to swear that he would never alter from it, and then immediately caused him, his wife, and children, to be hanged. He hanged and otherwise murdered above 100 persons besides in that place.

There were 1000 men, women, and children carried in several companies to Portendown bridge, and all unmercifully drowned in the river; the bridge being broken in the midst, and the people driven and forced on, till they tumbled into the water. In that county there were 4000 persons drowned in several places, the barbarous papists driving the poor in, when they had miserably stripped them, unto the places of their sufferings like swine; and if any were slack in their pace, they pricked them forward with their swords and pikes. To terrify the rest, they killed and wounded some. When they were cast into the river, if any assayed to swim to the shore, the rebels stood and shot at them. In one place 140 English were taken and driven like cattle for many miles together. They carried other companies out under pretence of safe conduct, thereby causing them to march cheerfully till they had got them to some place fit for execution, and then murdered them there. They sent 115 men, women, and children, with Sir Phelim O'Neale's pass, till they brought them to Portendown bridge, and then forced them all into the water. Such as by swimming or other means sought to escape, they either knocked on the head, or shot to death in the water. One Mrs. Campbell being forced by them to the river, and finding no means to escape their

fury, suddenly clasped one of the chief of them in her arms, and so both tumbling into the river, they were drowned together. At another time 140 Protestants being thrown in at the same place, as any of them swam to the shore, the villains with the butt-ends of their muskets, knocked out their brains.

O'Caue gat together all the Protestants about Armagh, pretending to conduct them to Coleraine: but before they were gone a day's journey, they were all murdered; and so were many others, though they had protections from Sir Phelim O'Neale. The aged people in Armagh were carried to Charlmont, and there murdered. Presently after, the town of Armagh was burnt, and 500 persons of all sorts were there murdered and drowned. Forty-eight families were murdered in Killoman. Twenty-two Protestants were burned in one house. All the inhabitants in Kilmore were stripped and massacred, being 200 families. Some they set in the stocks and then massacred them. The whole country was a common butchery, where many thousands perished in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other manner of deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

These villains shewed so much favour to many as to despatch them presently. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their legs, suffered them to perish at leisure. One told JOHN COWDER that they would kill him, but first bid him say his prayers, and when he kneeled down to pray, they presently cut off his head. When some, upon their knees, begged but leave to pray before they were slain, they would bid them bequeath their souls to the devil. Others would ask them, "Why do you desire to pray? your souls are already with the devil." And so would immediately slaughter them. At Cassel they put all the Protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them twelve weeks in great misery. Some they barbarously mangled, and left languishing upon the highways, crying out but for so much mercy as to be des-

patched out of their pain. Some they hanged up twice or thrice. Others they buried alive. Some when they were half hanged, they cast into pits, covering them with a little carth, where they sent out most lamentable groans for a good while after.

In the Queen's county, an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a maid, were all hanged together, then put into a hole. The youngest child, not being dead, put up the hand, and cried *mammy, mammy*, and yet without mercy they buried it alive. THOMAS MASON, in Laugal, was extremely beaten and wounded, yet his wife and some others carried him away; whereupon the villains cruelly hacked, slashed, and wounded them, and then dragged Mason into an hole, and there threw stones on him, with the weight whereof they kept him under. There he lay languishing and groaning, till his own wife, to put him out of pain, stopped his breath with her handkerchief. At Clownes, seventeen men were buried alive, so that their pitiful cries were heard afar off. Some were deadly wounded, and so hanged upon tenter-hooks. Some with ropes about their necks were drawn through the water. Some with ropes about their middles were drawn through brakes and bogs.

In Castle-Cumber, one of these cut-throats took two boys, and wounding them, hung them up upon a butcher's tenters. Some were hanged up, and taken down several times, to make them confess where their money was, which when they had done, they presently murdered them. Some were hung up by their arms, and then they tried how many blows an English Protestant could endure before he died. Some had their bellies ripped up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. An ancient woman coming towards Dublin, was stripped seven times in one day; and one time they bade her go and look for her God, and bid him give her her clothes again. In Kilkenny they cruelly beat an English woman, till they forced her into a ditch, where she died. Then they took her child, a girl of about six years old, ripped up her

belly, and let out her guts. One man they forced to mass with them, and afterwards ripped up his belly, took out his guts, and left him alive. A Scotchman they stripped and knocked on the head, who afterwards coming to himself, went into the town naked. Then they took him again, and hewed him in pieces. They also ripped up his wife's belly, so that a child dropped out of her womb. They hung up many other women great with child, they ripped their bellies, and let their infants fall out. Sometimes they gave their children to be devoured by swine and dogs. They took and hung up one John Stone, with his son, two sons-in-law, and their wives. One of the young women, being great with child, they ripped up her belly, took out her child, and used such beastly, barbarous actions to her, as are not fit to be mentioned. At Newry they ripped up a woman's belly, that was great with two children, throwing them to be devoured by swine. Also, another woman, being delivered of a child in the fields, they, who had formerly killed her father and husband, killed her also, with two of her children, and gave the new-born infant to be devoured by dogs.

In the county of Armagh, they robbed, stripped, and murdered abundance of Protestants, whereof some they burnt, some they slew with the sword, some they hanged, and others they starved to death. They soon after met with two gentlewomen, Mrs. HOWARD and Mrs. FRANKLAND, with six of their children, and themselves great with child, whom they murdered with their pikes, and ripped open the women's bellies, took out their children, and threw them into a ditch. A young Scotch woman's child they took by the heels, and dashed its brains out against a tree. They did the like to many other children. ANNE HILL, going with a young child at her back, and four more by her side, was met by those villains, who pulled the child from off her back, and trod it to death. Then they stripped her, and the other four children stark-naked, whereby they died of cold. Some others they met with, and hanged them up on a windmill; and before

they were half dead, cut them in pieces. Many other Protestants, especially women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their forks and swords, slashing, cutting, and mangling them in their heads, faces, breasts, arms, and other parts, yet killed them not, but left them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death; and when they desired them to kill them out of their pain, they refused. Sometimes, after they had lain a day or two in the utmost misery, they would dash out their brains with stones or clubs, which they accounted as a great favour.

The castle of Lisgoole, being set on fire by these merciless papists, a woman leaped out at a window to save herself from burning, but they presently murdered her. The next morning her child was found sucking at her breast, which they also murdered. Many Protestants, with their wives and children, fled into vaults and cellars to hide themselves, and were all murdered there. They stabbed one JANE ADDIS, and then put her child, of a quarter old, to her breast, saying, "Suck, you English bastard;" and so left it there. One MARY BARLOW had her husband hanged before her face, and she, with six children, were all stripped stark-naked in frost and snow. Afterwards, sheltering themselves in a eave, they had nothing to eat for three weeks, but two old calf-skins, which they beat with stones, and so eat them hair and all, her children crying to her rather to go out and be killed, than to stay there and famish. In the cold weather many thousand Protestants, of all ranks, ages, and sexes, being turned out stark-naked, perished with cold and hunger. Some thousands were drowned, cast into ditches, bogs, and turf-pits. Multitudes were inclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were miserably burnt. Some that lay sick of fevers, they drew out of their beds and hanged. Men, women, and children they drove into boggy pits; and if any of them endeavoured to get out, they knocked them on the head.

These barbarians forced their own children to carry

some aged men and women to the river, where they were drowned. Some children were otherwise compelled to be the executioners of their own parents. Wives were forced to help to hang their husbands, and mothers to cast their own children into the water; after all which, they were murdered themselves. In Sligo, they forced a young man to kill his own father, and then hanged him up. In another place they forced a woman to kill her husband, then caused her son to kill her, and then immediately hanged her son: and this they did that they might destroy both soul and body. Yea, such was their detestable malice against the English Protestants, that they taught their children to kill English children. One of these villains' wives was very angry with their soldiers, because they did not bring the grease of a fat gentlewoman, whom they had slain, with them, for her to make candles of. The Irish women, that followed the camp, urged on the men to cruelty, always crying out, "Kill them all; spare neither man, woman, nor child." They took the child of one Thomas Stratton, being about twelve years old, and boiled him to death in a caldron. One Mrs. LIN, and her daughter, were carried into a wood, where they first hanged the mother, and then the daughter by the hair of her mother's head. Some women and children of the Irish, meeting an English woman great with child, stripped her to her smock, and so rent and abused her, that the poor woman falling into labour, both she and her child died under their hands.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the Protestants, and so turned them out into the fields to wander up and down till they perished. The very women, in some places, stoned the English women to death, together with their children. One man they shot through both his thighs, then digging a hole in the ground, they set him in it upright upon his feet, and then filled up the hole, leaving out only his head, where they left him, till he pined and languished to death. They held another man's feet in the fire till he was burnt to

death. In Munster they hanged up many ministers. One minister they stripped stark naked, and drove through the town, pricking him forwards with darts and rapiers, and so pursued him till he fell down dead. They stripped one WILLIAM LOVERDEN naked, then killed him before his wife and children, cut off his head, and held it up for them to gaze at; and after his wife had buried him in his garden, they digged him up, and threw him into a ditch. Divers ministers' bones, that had been buried some years before, they digged up, because they were, as they said, patrons of heresy. One ELLEN MILLINGTON they put into a hole, fastening her with stones, and left her there to languish to death, bragging how many of them went to see her kiek and toss in the hole. They boasted upon their success, that the day was their own, and that ere long they would utterly destroy every one that had but a drop of English blood in him. Their women cried out, "Slay them all; the English are fit meat for dogs, and their children are bastards." Yea, so implacable was their malice, that they vowed, that they would not leave an English beast alive, nor any of the breed of them. How grievous was it to any Christian heart to hear a base villain boast, that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a bog, that he could not lift up his arms to his head! Another boasted, that he had been abroad, and had killed 16 of the rogues. Others boasted, that they had killed so many, that the fat which stuek upon their swords would make an Irish eandle. Two boys boasted, that at several times they had murdered and drowned 36 women and children.

These merciless Papists having set a castle on fire, wherein were many Protestants, they rejoiced exceedingly, saying one to another, *O how sweetly do they fry!* At Kilkenny, when they had committed many cruel murders, they brought seven Protestants' heads. One was the head of a reverend minister. All these they set upon the market-cross, on a market-day, triumphing,

slashing, and mangling them. Then putting a gag into the minister's mouth, they slit up his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before it, they said, "Now preach, for your mouth is wide enough." It cannot be imagined with what scorn and derision they acted these things, and with what joy and exultation their eyes beheld the sad spectacle of the Protestants' miseries; what greedy delight they took in their bloody executions. An English woman, whom they had stripped stark-naked, got a little straw, which she tied about her middle, to cover her nakedness; but these villains set fire to it, boasting what brave sport they had, to see how the fire made the English jade dance.

At Kilmorc they put many Protestants, men, women, and children together, in a thatched house, and then set it on fire, boasting of the lamentations and outcries that they made whilst they were burning, and how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them; taking pride, and glorying in imitating those cries. They took one Mrs. MAXWELL, being in labour, and threw her into a river, boasting that the child's arm appeared, and that it was half-born when the mother was drowned.

These bloody persecutors took great pleasure and delight in their cruelty; and to increase their misery, when they butchered them, they used to say, "Thy soul to the devil." One of them coming into an house, with his hands and clothes all bloody, made his boasts, that it was English blood, and that his skeau, (a long knife so called in Ireland,) had pinked the clean white skin of many of them, even to the hilt thereof. When any of them had killed a Protestant, many of them would come one after another, each of them stabbing, wounding, and cutting his body in a most despicable manner, and then leaving it naked to be devoured of dogs, beasts, and fowls; and when they had slain any number of them, they would boast that they had made the devil beholden to them, in sending so many souls to hell. But it is no wonder that they carried themselves so towards these innocent Chris-

tians, when they spared not to belch out their execrable blasphemies against God and his holy Word.

In one place they burnt two Protestant Bibles, and then said it was hell-fire they burnt. Other Bibles they took, cut in pieces, and then burnt them saying, "They would do the like to all Puritan Bibles." In the church at Powerscourt, they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles belonging to it. Others took the Protestant Bibles, and wetting them in dirty water, several times dashed them in the faces of the Protestants, saying, "I know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you. Come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this." They took the Bible of a minister, called Mr. Edward Slack, and opening it, they laid it in a puddle of water, and then stamped upon it, saying, "A plague on it; this Bible hath bred all the quarrel, and that they hoped, in a few weeks time, all the Bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse." They did most despitefully upbraid the profession of the truth to those blessed souls, whom neither by threats nor terrors, pains nor torments, they could draw to forsake their religion. And though some by extreme torments were drawn to profess the change of their religion, yet did they find no more favour with these hell-hounds, for they would afterwards murder them, and with great scorn say, "It was fit to send them out of the world whilst they were in a good mood." At Glaslow, a priest with some others, drew about 40 or 50 English and Scotch Protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome; and then he told them, "They were in good faith, and for fear they should turn heretics, he with his companions immediately cut their throats."

JOHN NICHOLSON, and ANNE his wife, being received into the protection of one Fitz-Patrick, he laboured to persuade them to go to mass, and to join in the present massacre; but they professed, "That rather than they would forsake their religion, they would die upon the point of the sword." Then he would have the woman

burn her Bible; but she told him, "Rather than she would burn her Bible, she would die the death;" whereupon, the Sabbath morning after, they were both of them cruelly murdered. But he that acted this villainy, was so tormented in his conscience, and dogged with apparitions of them, as he conceived, that with inward horror he pined away.

In the county of Tipperary, near the silver works, some of the Papists met with eleven Englishmen, Protestants, ten women, and some children, whom they first stripped of their clothes, and then with stones, pole-axes, swords, &c. they massacred them all. This was done on a Sabbath evening, the day having been very fair and clear. But just at that time, God sent a fearful storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, so that the murderers themselves confessed it was a sign of God's anger against them for this cruelty; yet they persisted in this bloody act, hacking, hewing, slashing, and stabbing them, so that most of them were cut to pieces; then tying withes about their necks, they threw them into a hole which they made for that purpose; yet it pleased God, that one Scotch and an English man, though they had many grievous wounds, and were left for dead, after awhile revived, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives. But as God shewed his great mercy in preserving them, so he shewed his just judgment upon Hugh Kennedy, the chief of those murderers, who presently fell into a most desperate distraction, neither resting day nor night. About eight days after he drowned himself.

In the county of Mayo, about 60 Protestants, whereof 15 were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conveyed to Galway, by one Edmund Burk and his soldiers; but by the way, this Burk drew his sword, teaching thereby the rest of his company to do the like; and so they began to massacre these poor Protestants. Some they shot to death; some they stabbed with their skeans; some they thrust through with their pikes, so that very few of them escaped. In the town of Sligo, 40 Pro-

testants were stripped and locked up in a cellar; and about midnight a butcher, provided for the purpose, was sent in amongst them, who, with his axe, knocked them all on the head. In Tirawly, 30 or 40 English, who had formerly yielded to go to mass, were put to their choice, whether they would die by the sword, or be drowned? They chose the latter, and so being driven to the sea-side, these villains, with their naked swords, forced them into the sea; the mothers with their children in their arms wading to the chin, were afterwards overcome by the waves, where they all perished. The son of Mr. Montgomery, a minister, aged about 15 years, met with one of these blood-suckers, who had formerly been his school-master, who drew his skean at him, whereupon the boy said, "Good master, whip me as much as you will, but do not kill me;" yet he murdered him without all pity.

In the town of Sligo, all the Protestants were stripped and robbed of all their estates: afterwards they were summoned to go into the gaol, and such as refused were carried in; and then about midnight, they were all stripped stark-naked, and there some of them being women great with child, their infants thrust out their arms and legs at their wounds; after which execrable murders, they laid the dead naked bodies of the men upon the naked bodies of the women in a most immodest posture, where they left them till the next day to be looked upon by the Irish, who beheld it with great delight. Isabel Beard, great with child, hearing the lamentable eries of those that were murdered, ran forth into the streets, where she was murdered, and next day was found with the child's feet coming out of the wounds in her sides. Many others were murdered in the streets: but by God's judgment, the river of Sligo, which was before very full of fish, whereby many were nourished, for a long time after afforded none at all. A prior also, that had a hand in the murder of Isabel Beard, and of casting her into the river, presently after fell mad.

About Dungannon were 316 Protestants in the like barbarous manner murdered: about Charlemount above 400: about Tyre 206. One Mac Crew murdered 31 in one morning. Two young villains murdered 140 poor women and children that could make no resistance. An Irish woman with her own hands murdered 45. At Portendown-Bridge were drowned above 300. At Lawgh were drowned above 200. In another place 300 were drowned in one day. In the parish of Killaman there were murdered 1200 Protestants. Many young children they cut into quarters and gobbets. Eighteen Scotch infants they hanged upon a clothier's tenter-hooks. One fat man they murdered and made candles of his grease. Of another Scotchman they ripped up his belly, took one end of his small guts, tied it to a tree, and forced him round about it till he had drawn them all out of his body, saying, "That they would try whether a dog's or a Scotchman's guts were the longest."

By the command of Sir Phelim O'Neale, Mr. JAMES MAXWELL was drawn out of his bed, being sick of a fever, and murdered: and his wife being in child-birth, the child half born, they stripped her stark naked, drove her about a flight's shot, and drowned her in the black-water. The like, or worse, they did to another English woman in the same town. They took one Mr. WATSON, and cutting two collops out of his buttocks, they roasted him alive. Of a Scotch woman great with child, they ripped up her belly, cut the child out of her womb, and so left it crawling on her body.

Mr. STARKEY, schoolmaster at Armagh, being above 100 years old, they stripped stark naked; then took two of his daughters, being virgins, whom they stripped stark naked also, and forced them to lead their aged father a quarter of a mile to a turf-pit, where they drowned them all three, feeding the lusts of their eyes and cruelty of their hearts with the same object. They used also to send their children abroad in troops, armed with long wattles and whips, wherewith they used to beat dead

men's bodies about their privy members, till they beat them off, and then would return very joyful to their parents, who received them as it were in triumph for their good actions. Some of them brake the back-bone of a youth, and left him in the field. Some days after he was found, having for hunger eaten all the grass round about him like a beast. Yet neither would they kill him out-right, but removed him to a place of better pasture; wherein was fulfilled that saying, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty."

In the county of Antrim they murdered 954 Protestants in one morning, and afterwards 1200 more in the same county. Near Lisnegarvy they forced above 24 Protestants into a house, and setting fire to it, burnt them all, counterfeiting their outeries in derision to others. Sir Phelim O'Neal boasted that he had slain above 600 at Garvagh; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlong. In other places he murdered above 2000 persons in their houses; so that many houses were filled with dead bodies. About 12,000 were slain in the highway as they fled towards Down. Many died of famine. Many were starved to death for want of clothes, being stripped of all in a cold season. Some thousands were drowned. The English Papists were nothing inferior to the natural Irish in their cruelty against the Protestants that lived amongst them; yea, they rather exceeded them, for they were never satisfied with their blood till they had seen the last drop thereof.

Anne Kinnard testified, that 15 Protestants being imprisoned, and their feet fixed in the stoeks, a popish boy, not above 14 years old, slew them all in one night with a skean. Another not above 12 years old, killed two women in another place. An English Papist woman killed seven men and women, her neighbours, in one morning. And it was usual for the Papists' children to murder the Protestants' children, and sometimes with their wooden swords, sharp and heavy, they would venture on people of riper years. Some of these villains

compelled an English woman, who was newly delivered of two children, in her great pain and sickness to rise from her bed; then they took one of the infants that was living, and dashed out his brains against the stones, and afterwards threw him into the river of Barrow. The like they did by many other infants. Many more they hanged without all pity.

The Lord Mont Garret caused divers English soldiers that he had taken about Kilkenny to be hanged, hardly suffering them to pray before their death; they died very patiently, and resolute in the defence of the Protestant faith; and one of them, being an Irishman, had his life offered if he would turn Papist, but he rather chose to die, and so was executed with the rest. Some of these persecutors meeting a poor young girl that was going to see her friends, they first half hanged her, and then buried her whilst yet alive. One Fitz Patriek enticed a rich merchant, that was a Protestant, to bring all his goods into his house, promising safely to keep them, and to re-deliver them to him. But when he had thus gotten them into his possession, he took the merchant and his wife and hanged them both. He did the like to divers others. A poor Protestant woman going to Kilkenny, with her two children, upon some business, these bloody miscreants baited them with dogs, stabbed them with skeans, and pulled out the guts of one of the children, whereby they died. Not far from Kilkenny they took divers men, women, and children, and hanged them. One of the women being great with child, they ripped up her belly as she hung, so that the child fell out in the caul alive. They drew some up and down after they were hanged, till their bowels were torn out.

In the province of Ulster alone, 150,000 persons were murdered by different kinds of torments and deaths. And the number of the slain, in the other three provinces, certainly was very great; as may be gathered from these passages, found in a general remonstrance of the distressed Protestants in the province of Munster.

“ We may (say they,) compare our woe to the saddest parallel of any story. Our churches are demolished, or which is worse, profaned by sacrifices to idols. Our habitations are become ruinous heaps. No quality, age, or sex, were privileged from massacres, and lingering deaths, by being robbed, stripped naked, and so exposed to cold and famine. The famished infants of murdered parents swarm our streets, and for want of food, perish before our faces. All this cruelty is exercised upon us, we know not for what cause, offences, or seeming provocation, (sin excepted,) saying that we were Protestants. We can make it manifest, that the depopulations in this province of Munster, do well near equal those of the whole kingdom.” The blood of those that were knocked on the head, and then thrown into the river at Portendown-Bridge, remained for a long time upon the stones, and could not be washed away.

Catherine Coke testified upon oath, that when the Irish had barbarously drowned 180 Protestants, men, women, and children, at Portendown-Bridge, about nine days after she saw the apparition of a man bolt upright in the river, standing breast-high, with his hands lifted up to heaven, and continuing in that posture from December to the end of Lent, at which time some of the English army passing that way, saw it also; after which it vanished away. Elizabeth Price also testified upon oath, that she and other women, whose husbands and children were drowned in that place, hearing of these apparitions, went thither one evening, and saw one like a woman rise out of the river breast-high, her hair hanging down, which, with her skin, was as white as snow, often crying out, “ Revenge! revenge! revenge!” which so affrighted them that they went their way.

There came a rogue to a young woman, who was almost stripped naked, bidding her give him her money, or he would run her through with his sword. Her answer was, “ You cannot kill me, except God give you leave.” Whereupon he ran three times at her naked body with

his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin, whereat he being confounded, went his way and left her. Divers women, that were present and saw it, attested this fact.

Divers Protestants were thrown into the river of Belterbert; and when any of them offered to swim to the land, they were knocked on the head with poles; after which their bodies were not seen for six weeks: but after the end thereof, the murderers coming again that way, the bodies came floating up to the very bridge where they were.

## THE PERSECUTION

### OF THE

# CHURCH OF GOD IN SCOTLAND,

*Which began in the Year 1527*



MR. PATRICK HAMILTON, of an ancient and honourable family, called Abbot of Fern, left Scotland, and went to the University of Wittenberg, in Germany, and became familiar with those great lights and notable servants of Jesus Christ, Martin Luther, and Philip Melancthon, whereby he greatly increased in godly knowledge and learning. From thence he went to the University of Marburg, where he was intimate with other learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, by whose instigation he was the first that there publicly set up conclusions to be disputed of concerning faith and

good works. By reason of his learning and integrity of life, he was had in admiration by many persons; but the zeal of God's glory did so eat him up, that he could not rest till he returned into his own country, where the bright beams of the true light, which, by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to break forth, as well in publick as in secret.

In process of time, the fame of his doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of James Beton, archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, who privately got Hamilton to St. Andrew's, where, after divers days' conference, he had his freedom and liberty. The bishop seeming to approve his doctrine, acknowledged, that in many things there needed a reformation in the church; but withal, fearing that their kingdom should be endangered, they laboured with the king, who was then young, and much led by them, to go on pilgrimage to St. Dothesse, in Ross, that so, by reason of his absence, no intercession might be made to him, for saving the life of this innocent servant of Jesus Christ, who, not suspecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a lamb amongst wolves.

The king being gone, Mr. Hamilton was seized upon at night, by the bishop's officers, and carried to the castle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgment, and was condemned to be burnt for the testimony of God's truth, in declaring against pilgrimages, purgatory, praying to saints, &c. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution, yet most men thought that it was only to terrify him, and to cause him to recant. But God, for his own glory, and the good of his servants, had otherwise decreed: for he so strengthened him, that neither the love of life, nor fear of that cruel death, could once move him to swerve from the truth which he had professed. At the place of execution, he gave to his servant that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and other garments, saying, "These will not profit me in the fire,

they will profit thee. After this thou canst receive no commodity of me, except the example of my death, which I pray thee to bear in mind; for though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess who deny Christ Jesus before this wicked generation." And so being tied to the stake, in the midst of coals and timber, they gave fire to some powder, which with the blast scorched his hand, and the side of his face, but neither killed him, nor kindled the wood and coals. They ran, therefore, to the castle for more powder, and more combustible matter, which being at last kindled, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?" The fire was slow, and therefore put him to the greater torment; but that which most grieved him, was the clamour of some wicked men, set on by the friars, who continually cried, "Turn, thou heretic; call upon our lady; say *salve regina*." To whom he answered, "Depart from me, and trouble me not." And speaking to one Campbell, a friar, the ringleader, who still roared on him with great vehemency, he said to him, "Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the contrary to me; I cite thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ." After which words he resigned up his spirit unto God, in the year 1527. And within a few days after the said friar died in a frenzy, and as one that despaired.

The said archbishop and cardinal convened before him DAVID STRATON, a gentleman, and Mr. NORMAN GOURLAY. The first of these having a fishing-boat that went to sea, the Bishop of Murray demanded tythe-fish of him, to whom he answered, "That if they would have tythe of that which his servants caught in the sea, they should take it in the place where it was caught;" and so caused his servants to throw the tenth fish into the sea again. All this while he had nothing of religion in him.

But when he was hereupon summoned to answer for heresy, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of such as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him; so that whereas before he despised the Word of God, now all his delight was in hearing it read to him, and he was a vehement exhorter of all men to peace, concord, and contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the Laird of Dun Areskin, whom God in those days had marvellously illuminated. Hearing that text read, (for he could not read himself,) "He that denieth me before men, or is ashamed of me in the midst of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy angels." He suddenly, as one revived, fell upon his knees, and steadfastly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, at length burst forth into these words, "O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou withdraw thy grace from me; but Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth for the fear of death or any corporal pain." Being afterwards, together with Mr. Gourlay, brought to judgment in Holyrood-House, (the king himself being present,) much means was used to draw this David Straton to make a recantation; but he persevered in his constancy, and so they were both condemned to the fire, and after dinner, in the year 1534, they were first hanged, and afterwards burnt.

In the year 1539, there were apprehended JEROME RUSSEL, a man of a meek and quiet nature, and ALEXANDER KENNEDY, of about 18 years old. These two poor servants of Jesus Christ being brought before the archbishop and his associates to judgment, Kennedy at first was faint, and would fain have recanted; but when all place of repentance was denied him, the Spirit of God, (which seasonably comes in with comfort,) began to refresh him; and his inward comfort began to appear, as well by his visage, as by his tongue and words: for with a cheerful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his

knees, he said, "O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou bearest unto mankind, and to me, a vile sinner and miserable wretch above all others! For even now when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast myself into everlasting damnation, thou, by thine own hand, hast pulled me from the very bottom of hell, and made me to feel that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly fear wherewith I was oppressed before. Now I defy death; do with me what you please. I praise God I am ready." Then they railed upon him and Russel, who replied, "This is your hour and power of darkness. Now ye sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned. But the day will come when our innocency will appear, and ye shall see your own blindness, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." Shortly after, they were condemned to die. As they went to execution, Russel comforted Kennedy, saying, "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us therefore strive to enter into our Master and Saviour's joy, by the same strait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him, for whose sake we now suffer." Thus passing cheerfully on, they constantly triumphed over death and satan in the midst of the flaming fire, where they gave up their spirits to God.

GEORGE WISEHEART, or WISCHARD, was born in Scotland, and brought up first at school, from whence he went to the university; after which he travelled into several countries, and at last came to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Bennet's College. He was tall of stature, and of a melancholy constitution; he had black hair, a long beard, was comely of personage, well-spoken, courteous, lowly, lovclly, willing to teach, and desirous to

learn. For his habit, he wore a frieze gown, a black fustian doubtlet, plain hose, coarse canvas for his shirts, falling bands. All which apparel he gave to the poor; some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly; saving a French cap that he wore, which he kept a twelve-month. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness. His charity was extraordinary; he forbore his food one meal in three, one day in four, that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon straw, and he had coarse new canvas sheets, which when once foul, he gave away. He had by his bed-side a tub of water, in which, in the dark night, he bathed himself. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some about him thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his deliverer; and he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire of it. He was always ready to do good according to his ability. Both in his private chamber and publick schools, he read divers authors; yea, he always studied how to do good to all.

In 1544, some of the nobility of Scotland coming to treat with King Henry VIII. about the marriage between his son Prince Edward and their young Queen Mary, at their return, Mr. Wischard went with them into Scotland, being a man of admirable graces and learning, both in divine and human sciences. He first preached in Rosse, and then in Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he went over the Epistle to the Romans; till, at the instigation of the cardinal, one Robert Misle, a principal man there, and formerly a professor of religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring that he should trouble their town no more, for he would not suffer it. This was spoken to him in the publick place; whereupon he mused a space, with his eyes bent unto heaven, and afterwards looking sorrowfully upon the speaker and the people, he said, "God is my witness that I never intended your trouble, but your comfort;

yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves. But I am assured, that, to refuse God's Word, and to chase his messenger from you, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it. For God shall send you ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you. Now ye yourselves refuse me, and I must leave my innocency to be declared by my God. If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of Truth. But if unlooked for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." Then he came down from the pulpit. Some noblemen being present, would have persuaded him to stay, or to have gone with them into the country, but he would by no means stay till he had past the river Tay.

Then he went into the west country, where he made offers of God's Word, which was gladly received by many, till the Bishop of Glasgow, by the instigation of the cardinal, came with his train to the town of Air to resist Wischard. The earl of Glencarne and some other gentlemen, hearing of it, came thither also with their retinue, and when they were all come together, the bishop would needs have the church himself to preach in. Some opposed ; but Wischard said, " Let him alone, his sermon will not do much hurt ; let us go to the Market-Cross : " and so they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that his very enemies themselves were confounded.

Wischard remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, preaching sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, but coming to Machlene, he was perforce kept out of the church. Some would have broken in ; but he said to one of them, " Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church ; and himself often preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. It is the word of peace God sends by me : the blood of none shall be

shed this day for the preaching of it." And so, going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he continued preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the most wicked men in all the country, the Laird of Sheld, was converted by it, and his eyes ran down with such abundance of tears, that all men wondered at it. Presently news was brought to Wischard that the plague was broke out in Dundee, which began within four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged so extremely, that it is beyond credit how many died in twenty-four hours' space. This being related to him, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, he would needs go thither, saying, "They are now in trouble, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the Word of God, which before they lightly esteemed."

Coming to Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and he signified without delay, that he would preach the next day. And because most of the inhabitants were either sick, or employed about the sick, he chose the east gate for the place of his preaching; so that the whole were within, and the sick without the gate. His text was, "He sent his word and healed them," Ps. cvii. 20; wherein he, in an encouraging and consolatory manner, treated of the profit and comfort of God's Word, the punishment that comes by the contempt of it, the readiness of God's mercy to such as truly turn to him, and the happiness of those whom God takes from this misery. This sermon so raised up the hearts of those that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that should then depart, than such as should remain behind; considering that they knew not whether they should have such a comforter with them, or not. He spared not to visit them that lay in the greatest extremity, and to comfort them. He provided all things necessary for such as could take food, the town being very bountiful to them through his in-

stigation. But whilst he was thus busying himself for the comfort of the afflicted, the devil stirred up Cardinal Beton, who corrupted a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to slay him. And on a day, the sermon being ended, and the people departed, suspecting no danger, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs with a naked dagger in his hand, under his gown; but Mr. Wischard, being of a sharp piercing eye, seeing the priest as he came down, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" and withal, clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest, being herewith terrified, fell down upon his knees, confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who had been sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force;" and so they burst in at the gate; but Wischard, taking him in his arms, said, "Whosoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulness for the time to come:" and so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life.

When the plague was almost ceased, he took his leave of them, saying, "That God had almost put an end to the battle, and that he was now called to another place." For the gentlemen of the west had written to him to meet them in Edinburgh, where he should dispute with the bishops, and should be publickly heard, which he willingly assented to. But first he went to Montrosse, to salute the church there, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation; in which he was so earnest, that he continued day and night in it; during which time, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him, as if it had been from his familiar friend, the Laird of Kinnur, desiring him with all possible speed to come to him, for that he was taken with a sudden sickness. In the mean time, he had provided 60 armed men to lie in wait, within a mile and a half of Montrosse, to murder him as

he passed by that way. The letter coming to his hands by a boy, who also brought him an horse to ride on, being accompanied with some honest men, his friends, he set forwards; but suddenly stopping and musing a space, he returned back again, which they wondering at, asked him the cause; to whom he said, "I will not go. I am forbidden of God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find;" which they doing, found out the treason; and hastily returning back, they told Mr. Wisehard of it; whereupon he said, "I know that I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

The time approaching wherein he should meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave and departed. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner Gowry. In the night-time he got up and went into a yard; which two men hearing, privily followed him. There he walked in an alley for some space, breathing forth many sobs and deep groans; then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increased. Then he fell upon his face. Those that watched him heard him weeping and praying, in which posture he continued near an hour. Then, getting up, he came to his bed again. Those who attended him, making as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him again, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures." Then he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you: I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot." When they heard this, they fell a weeping, saying, "This is small comfort to us." Then said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light

of Christ's gospel as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it, in despite of all enemies. Neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer after me, till the glory of God shall appear and triumph, in despite of Satan. But, alas! if the people shall afterwards prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that shall follow."

Then he went forward on his journey, and came to Leith; but hearing nothing of those gentlemen that were to meet him, he kept himself private a day or two: at which time he grew very pensive; and being asked the reason of it, he said, "In what do I differ from a dead man, but in that I eat and drink? Hitherto, God hath used my labours for the instruction of others, and to the disclosing of darkness; and now I lurk as a man ashamed, that dare not shew his face." Hereby they perceived that his desire was to preach; whereupon they said to him, "It is most comfortable to us to hear you; but because we know the danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it." "But (said he,) if you dare hear, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him;" and so it was concluded that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was the "Parable of the sower," Matt. xiii. The sermon being ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, because the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh, but took him along with them, and so he preached at Brunstone, Languedine, and Ormstone. Then he was requested to preach at Encresk, near Musselburgh, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongst them, Sir George Douglas, who, after sermon, said publickly, "I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that I have been at this sermon. But let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power." This much rejoiced those that were present.

Amongst others that came to hear him preach, there

were two Grey Friars, who, standing at the church door, whispered to such as came in: which Wischard observing, said to the people, "I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn." And turning to them, he said, "Come near, for I assure you, you shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal up to you either your salvation or damnation:" and so he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that all would be quiet. But when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance, "O ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men! will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart; and take this for your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this kingdom. Ye shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate." This he spake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he said, "These men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger:" and then he proceeded to the end of his sermon. Afterwards, he preached in divers other places, the people much flocking after him. In all his sermons, he foretold the shortness of time that he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

Coming to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease. The cause, as it was conceived, was this: The Earl Bothwel, who had great observance in those parts, by the instigation of the cardinal, had inhibited both those of the town and country from hearing him. Presently after, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west-country gentlemen, and having read it, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him since he came into Lothian, to whom he said, "I am now weary of the world, because I see that men begin to be weary of God. For (added he,) the gentlemen of the west have sent me word, That they cannot keep their meeting at Edinburgh." John Knox, wondering that he should enter into conference about these things so imme-

diately before his sermon, contrary to his custom, said to him, "Sir, sermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the present to your meditations." Then Mr. Wischard walked up and down about half an hour, his sad countenance declaring the grief of his mind. At last he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he began in this manner, "Lord, how long shall it be that thy Holy Word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and wicked play; and now, to hear the messenger of the eternal God, of all the parish, scarce one hundred can here be numbered. Sore and fearful shall be the plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea, thou, Haddington, in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you, the present inhabitants, shall either serve your enemies in bondage, or else you shall be chased from your own habitations, and that because you have not known, nor will know, the time of your visitation." This prophecy was accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington; made it a garrison; forced many of the inhabitants to flee; oppressed others; and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the English were at last forced to quit it, who, at their departure, burnt and spoiled a great part of it, leaving it to be possessed by such as could first seize upon it, who were the French, that came as auxiliaries to Scotland, with a few of the ancient inhabitants; so that Haddington, to this day, never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

That night Mr. Wischard was apprehended in the house of Ormstone, by the Earl Bothwel, suborned thereunto by the cardinal. The manner was thus: After sermon, he took his last farewell of all his friends in Haddington. John Knox would fain have gone with him; but he said,

“Return to your children, and God bless you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice.” Then he went to the Laird of Ormstone, with some others that accompanied him. After supper he discoursed comfortably of God’s love to his children; then he appointed the 51st Psalm to be sung, and so retired to his chamber. But before midnight the house was beset; and the Earl Bothwel called for the Laird of the house, and told him, That it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with great power. But if he would deliver Mr. Wischard to him, he would promise, upon his honour, that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Mr. Wischard said, “Open the gates, the will of God be done.” Bothwel coming in, Wischard said to him, “I praise my God that so honourable a man as you, my Lord, receive me this night; for I am persuaded that, for your honour’s sake, you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law? I less fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered.” Then Bothwel said, “I will not only preserve your body from all violence that shall be intended against you, without order of law, but I also promise, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor the cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep you in mine own house, till I either set you free, or restore you to the same place where I receive you.” Then said the Lairds, “My Lord, if you make good your promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will not only serve you, but we will procure all the professors in Lothian to do the same.” These promises being made in the presence of God, and hands being stricken by both parties, the earl took Mr. Wischard, and so departed.

Mr. Wischard was carried to Edinburgh; but gold and women easily corrupt fleshly men; for the cardinal gave Bothwel gold; and the queen, that was too familiar with him, promised him her favour, if he would deliver Mr. Wischard into Edinburgh castle, which he did. Shortly after, he was delivered to the blood-thirsty cardinal, who,

seeing that it was forbidden by their canon-law for a priest to sit as a judge, upon life and death, he sent to the governor, requesting him to appoint some lay-judge to pass sentence of death upon Mr. Wischard.

The governor would easily have yielded to his request, but that David Hamilton, a godly man, told him, that he could expect no better end than Saul, if he persecuted the truth which formerly he had professed. Hereupon the governor sent the cardinal word, that he would have no hand in shedding the blood of that good man. The cardinal being angry, returned this answer, "That he had sent to him of mere civility, and that he would proceed without him;" and so, to the great grief of the godly, the cardinal carried Mr. Wischard to St. Andrews, and put him into the tower there; and without any long delay he caused all the bishops, and other great clergymen, to be called together to St. Andrews. And February 28, 1546, Mr. Wischard was sent for to appear before them, to give an account of his seditious and heretieal doctrine, as they called it. The cardinal caused all his retinue to come armed to the place of their sitting, which was the abbey church. When Mr. Wischard was brought thither, there was a poor man lying at the door, that asked alms, to whom he flung his purse. Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of the abbey, was appointed to preach; whose sermon being ended, Wischard was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge. Then one Lauder, a priest, standing over against him, read a scroll full of bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wischard quiek. But he stood with great patience, without moving, or once changing his countenance. The priest, having ended his curses, spat at Mr. Wischard's face, saying, "What answerest thou? thou heretic, runagate, traitor, thief!" Then Mr. Wischard fell upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he said, "Many and horrible sayings unto me a Christian man,—many words, abominable for to hear, have ye spoken here this day;

which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought a great abomination." Then he gave them an account of his doctrine, answering to every article, as far as they would give him leave to speak. But they, without any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he fell upon his knees, and said, "O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants, who do further thy Word in this world? whereas they, on the contrary, seek to destroy the Truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to the world. O Lord, we know certainly that thy servants must needs suffer for thy name's sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this present world; yet we desire that thou wouldst preserve and defend the church, which thou hast chosen before the foundations of the world, and give thy people grace to hear thy Word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then were the common people put out, the bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak, and so they sent him again to the castle, till the fire should be made ready. In the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make confession to them; to whom he said, "I will make no confession to you; but fetch me the man who preached even now, and I will speak with him." Then was the sub-prior called, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the sub-prior wept; who going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Mr. Wischard's life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, saying, "We knew, long ago, what you were."

The captain of the castle with some friends, coming to Mr. Wischard, asked him if he would break his fast with them: "Yea, (said he,) very willingly, for I know you are honest men." In the mean time, he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lord's Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting

them to love one another, laying aside all rancour and malice, as becomes the members of Jesus Christ, who continually intercedes for us to his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks; and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, "Eat this: remember that Christ died for us, and feed on it spiritually." So, taking the cup, he bade them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them." Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his chamber. Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal, one put upon him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body, and so they brought him forth to the place of execution; over against which place the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal fearing lest Wischard should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordnance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning. Then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth. In the way, some beggars met him, asking his alms for God's sake; to whom he said, "My hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you alms, but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both for your bodies and souls."

Then two friars met him, persuading him to pray to our Lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, "Cease; tempt me not, I entreat you:" and so, with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; where, falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me. Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." Then, turning to the people, he said, "Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you be not offended at the Word of God, for the torments

which you see prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the Word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the Word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort. I pray you also shew my brethren and sisters which have often heard me, that they cease not to learn the Word of God, (which I taught them, according to the measure of grace given to me,) for any persecution or trouble in this world whatsoever: and shew them that the doctrine was no old wives fables, but the truth of God. For if I had taught men's doctrine, I had had greater thanks from men. But for the Word of God's sake I now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent into the world, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Behold my face! you shall not see me change my countenance. I fear not the fire. And if persecution come to you for the Word's sake, I pray you fear not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the soul." Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me. I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly." Then turning to the people again, he said, "I beseech you, brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the Word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; or else there shall come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew." Then the executioner upon his knees, said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death." And he calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying, "Lo, here is the token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And so he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled.

The captain of the castle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his sin; to whom Mr. Wischard said, "This fire torments

my body, but no whit abates my spirits." Then, looking towards the cardinal, he said, "He who in such state from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out of the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leans there with pride:" and so, his breath being stopped, he was consumed by the fire. This prophecy was fulfilled; for John Lesley, brother to the earl of Rothes, and Norman Lesley, his cousin, together with sixteen others, to revenge Wischard's death, at the people's instigation, surprised the cardinal's castle; and Mr. Melvin, who had been very familiar with Wischard, entered his chamber soon after Mrs. Ogleby had left him, who had lain with him all night, and presenting him the point of his sword, said, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of shedding the blood of Mr. Wischard, which cries for vengeance, and we are sent from God to revenge it:" and so he thrust him through the body; who, falling down, spake not a word, only, "I am a priest! I am a priest! Fie! fie! all is gone." After the cardinal was slain, the provost, raising the town, came to the castle gates, crying, "Where is my Lord Cardinal?" They within answered, "Return, for he hath received his reward." But they cried, "We will never depart till we see him." Then the Lesleys hung him out at the same window; so the people departed.

In the year 1550, Adam Wallace, a man of no great learning, but zealous in godliness, and of an upright life, by order of the bishop of St. Andrews, was apprehended and carried to Edinburgh. After a while, he was brought to judgment before Duke Hamilton, Huntly, and others. The bishops and their instruments accused him, that he took upon him to preach. He answered, "I never judged myself worthy so excellent a vocation, and therefore never took upon me to preach; but I deny not that in private places I often read the Word, and exhorted such as were willing to hear me." "Knave, (quoth one,) what have you to do to meddle with the Scriptures?"

“I think, (said he,) it is every one’s duty to labour to know the will of God, and to get *assurance* of his salvation, which is to be found in the Old and New Testament.” “What then (said another,) shall we leave to the churchmen to do?” He answered, “Their work is publickly to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to feed the flock, which he hath redeemed with his own blood, as all true pastors are commanded to do.” The bishops being angry at this, charged him further, that he denied purgatory, praying to saints, and for the dead. He answered, “I have often read over the Bible, and yet found no mention of purgatory, nor command to pray to the saints, or for the dead; therefore I believe they are but mere inventions of men, devised for covetousness’ sake.” Then they asked him what he thought of the mass? He answered, “I say as my Lord Jesus Christ said, That which is greatly esteemed before men, is an abomination before God.” Then they all cried out, “Heresy, heresy;” and so adjudged him to the fire, which he patiently underwent the same day upon the Castle-hill.



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**MEDITATIONS**

AND

**VOWS,**

*DIVINE AND MORAL.*



BY BISHOP HALL.

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# PREFACE.

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1. AFTER an account of the lives, sufferings, and deaths of those holy men, who sealed the ancient religion with their blood, I believed nothing would either be more agreeable or more profitable to the serious reader, than some extracts from the writings of those who sprung up, as it were, out of their ashes. These breathe the same spirit, and were, in a lower degree, partakers of the same sufferings. Many of them took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and all had their names cast out as evil; being branded with the nickname of Puritans, and thereby made a bye-word and a proverb of reproach.

2. I have endeavoured to rescue from obscurity a few of the most eminent of these: I say, a few; for there is a multitude of them, which it would be tedious even to name. Nor have I attempted to abridge all the works of these few; for some of them are immensely voluminous. The Works of Dr. Goodwin alone would have sufficed to fill fifty volumes. I have therefore selected what I conceived would be of most general use, and most proper to form a complete body of Practical Divinity.

3. I am sensible, even these excellent writers are not without their blemishes. Their language is not so smooth and terse, as that of the present age. Many of their expressions are now quite out of date, and some unintelligible to common readers. The whole language of Bishop Hall, (if we rank him in that number,) is too stiff, laboured, and affected. That of most of the rest, runs into the other extreme, is too low, and purposely neglected. Add to this, that they are exceeding verbose, and full of circumlocutions and repetitions. But I persuade myself, most of these defects are removed in the following sheets. The most exceptionable phrases are laid aside ; the obsolete and unintelligible expressions altered ; abundance of superfluous words are retrenched ; the immeasurably-long sentences shortened ; many tedious circumlocutions are dropped, and many needless repetitions omitted.

4. But it should not be concealed, that there are other blemishes than these, in the greater part of the Puritan writers. One of these is, that they drag in controversy on every occasion, nay, without any occasion or pretence at all. Another is, that they generally give a low and imperfect view of sanctification or holiness. The former of these it was easy to remedy, by leaving out all that but glanced upon controversy : so that now all that fear God, though of various opinions, may read them both with advantage and pleasure. The latter defect, I trust, is fully supplied by the preceding and following tracts.

5. But abundant recompence is made for all their blemishes, by the excellencies which may be observed in them. Such is the spirit wherewith they write : they appear, one and all, to be quite possessed with the greatness and importance of their subject, to be thoroughly in earnest, and as serious as if they were just returned from,

or launching into eternity. Their judgment is generally, deep and strong, their sentiments just and clear, and their tracts on every head full and comprehensive, exhausting the subjects on which they write.

6. More particularly, they do indeed exalt Christ. They set him forth in all his offices. They speak of him, as those that have seen his glory, full of grace and truth. They sum up all things in Christ, deduce all things from him, and refer all things to him.

7. And next to God himself, they honour his Word. They are men mighty in the Scriptures, equal to any of those who went before them, and far superior to most that have followed them. They prove all things hereby. Their continual appeal is, To the law and to the testimony. Nor do they easily form a judgment of any thing, till they have weighed it in the balance of the sanctuary.

8. Hence it is, that they are continually tearing up the very roots of Antinomianism, by shewing at large, from the oracles of God, the absolute necessity, as of that legal repentance which is previous to faith, so of that evangelical repentance which follows it, and which is essential to that holiness, without which we cannot see the Lord.

9. But the peculiar excellency of these writers seems to be, the building us up in our most holy faith. It is frequently observed, that after the first joy of faith, wherein the young believer rides as upon the wings of the wind, he either suddenly, or gradually sinks down, and meets as it were a vast vacuity. He knows not what to do with his faith, or how to exercise himself unto godliness. There appears (*μεγα χασμα*) a great gulph, an huge chasm between the first and the perfect love. Now this Mr. Bolton, Dr. Preston, Dr. Sibs, and their cotemporaries, above all others, instruct us how to pass through :

how to use the faith which God has given, and to go from strength to strength. They lead us by the hand in the paths of righteousness, and shew us how, in the various circumstances of life, we may most surely and swiftly grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

# MEDITATIONS AND VOWS,

&c.

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1. IN meditation, those who begin heavenly thoughts, and prosecute them not, are like those that kindle a fire under green wood, and leave it as soon as it begins to flame. When I set myself to meditate, I will not give over till I come to an issue. It hath been said by some, that the beginning is as much as the middle; yea, more: but I say, the ending is more than the beginning.

2. There is nothing, but man, that respecteth greatness: not God; not death; not judgment. Not God: he is no accepter of persons. Not nature: we see the sons of princes born as naked as the poorest: and the poor child as fair, well-favoured, strong, and witty, as the heir of nobles. Not disease, death, judgment: they sicken alike, die alike, fare alike after death. There are none, besides natural men, of whom goodness is not respected. I will honour greatness in others: but for myself, I will esteem a dram of goodness, worth a whole world of greatness.

3. As there is a foolish wisdom, so there is a wise ignorance; in not prying into God's ark; not inquiring into things not revealed. I would fain know all that I need, and all that I may: I leave God's secrets to himself. It is happy for me, that God makes me of his court, though not of his council.

4. I see that in natural motions, the nearer any thing comes to its end, the swifter it moveth. I have seen great rivers, which at their first rising out of some hill's side, might be covered with a bushel; which, after many miles, fill a very broad channel; and drawing near to the sea, make a little sea in their own banks: so the wind at the first rising, as a little vapour from the crannies of the earth, and passing forward about the earth, the further it goes, the more blustering and violent it waxeth. A Christian's motion (after he is regenerate,) is made natural to God-ward: and therefore, the nearer he comes to heaven, the more zealous he is. A good man must not be like Hezekiah's sun, that went backward; nor like Joshua's sun, that stood still; but David's sun, that, like a bridegroom, comes out of his chamber, and as a champion rejoiceth to run his race: only, herein is the difference, that when he comes to his high noon, he declineth not. However, therefore, the mind, in her natural faculties, follows the temperature of the body, yet in these supernatural things, she quite crosses it. For with the coldest complexion of age, is joined in those that are truly religious, the ferventest zeal and affection to good things: which is therefore the more revered, and better acknowledged, because it cannot be ascribed to the hot spirits of youth. The devil himself devised that old slander of early holiness, "A young saint, an old devil." Sometimes young devils have proved old saints; seldom if ever the contrary: but true saints in youth prove angels in their age. I will strive to be ever good; but if I should not find myself best at last, I should fear I was never good at all.

5. As we say, there would be no thieves, if no receivers; so would there not be so many mouths to detract and slander, if there were not so many open ears to entertain them. If I cannot stop another man's mouth from speaking ill, I will either open my mouth to reprove it, or else I will stop mine ears from hearing it;

and let him see in my face, that he hath no room in my heart.

6. Conversing with evil companions, works in us, if not an approbation, yet a less dislike of those sins to which our ears and eyes are so continually inured. I may have had a bad acquaintance: I will never have a bad companion.

7 God is not like man: but in whatever he promises, he proves himself most faithful. I will therefore ever trust God on his bare word; even with hope, besides hope, above hope, against hope. How shall I trust him in impossibilities, if I may not in likelihoods? How shall I depend on him for raising my body from dust, and saving my soul, if I mistrust him for a crust of bread?

8. Constraint makes an easy thing toilsome; whereas love makes the greatest toil pleasant. How many miles do we ride and run, to see one silly beast follow another, which if we were commanded to measure, upon the charge of a superior, we should complain of weariness. I see the folly of most men, that makes their lives miserable, for want of love to that they must do. I will first labour to settle in my heart a good affection to heavenly things; so, Lord, thy yoke shall be easy, and thy burden light.

9. There are three messengers of death; casualty, sickness, age. The two first are doubtful; since many have recovered from them both: the last is certain. The two first are sudden: the last leisurely and deliberate. As for all men, upon so many summons, so especially for an old man, it is a shame to be unprepared for death; for where others see they may die, he sees he must die. I was long ago old enough to die: but if I live till advanced age, I shall think myself too old to live longer.

10. If earth, (that is provided for mortality, and is possessed by the Maker's enemies,) have so much pleasure in it, such a sun to enlighten it, such an heaven to wall it about, such sweet fruits and flowers to adorn it,

such variety of creatures for commodious use of it: what must heaven be, that is provided for God himself, and his friends?

11. I will use my friend as Moses did his rod; while it was a rod, he held it familiarly in his hand; when a serpent, he ran away from it.

12. The world teacheth me, that it is madness to leave behind me those goods that I may carry away with me. Christianity teaches me, that what I give alive, I carry with me dead; and experience teacheth me, that what I leave behind I lose. I will carry that treasure with me by giving it, which the worldling loseth by keeping it; so while his corpse shall carry nothing but a winding-cloth to his grave, I shall be richer under the earth, than I was above it.

13. With men it is a good rule, to try first, and then to trust; with God it is contrary. I will first trust him, as most wise, omnipotent, merciful, and try him afterwards. I know it is as impossible for him to deceive me, as not to be.

14. As Christ was both a lamb and a lion; so is every Christian; a lamb, for patience in suffering, and innocence of life; a lion, for boldness in his innocency. I would so order my courage and mildness, that I may be neither lionlike in my conversation, nor sheepish in the defence of a good cause.

15. He was never a good man that amends not. For if he were good, he must needs desire to be better. Grace is so sweet, that whoever tastes of it must needs long after more; and if he desire it, he will endeavour it; and if he do but endeavour, God will crown him with success. Whatever becomes of my body, or my estate, I will ever labour to find somewhat added to the stature of my soul.

16. Men are niggardly, because the more they give, the less they have; but thou, Lord, mayst give what thou wilt, without abatement of thy store. Good prayers

never came weeping home. I am sure I shall receive either what I do ask, or what I should ask.

17. With God there is no free man, but his servant, though in the gallies; no slave but the sinner, though in the palace; none noble but the virtuous, if never so basely descended; none rich but he that possesseth God, even in rags; none wise, but he that is a fool to himself and the world: none happy, but he whom the world pities. Let me be free, noble, rich, wise, and happy to God, I care not what I am to the world.

18. When the mouth prayeth, man heareth; when the heart, God heareth. Every good prayer knocketh at heaven for a blessing; but an importunate prayer pierceth it, and makes way into the ears of the Almighty. And as it ascends lightly up, carried with the wings of faith; so it comes ever laden down upon our heads.

19. It is fitter for youth to learn than teach; and for age to teach, than learn; and yet fitter for an old man to learn than to be ignorant. I know I shall never know so much, that I cannot learn more; and I hope I shall never live so long, as till I be too old to learn.

20. I never loved those salamanders that are never well but when they are in the fire of contention. I will rather suffer a thousand wrongs, than offer one: I will suffer an hundred, rather than return one: I will suffer many ere I complain of one, and endeavour to right it by contending. I have ever found, that to strive with my superior, is furious; with my equal, doubtful; with my inferior, sordid and base; with any, full of unquietness.

21. I will hate popularity, (as ever dangerous; but most of all in God's business,) which whoso affect, do as ill spokesmen; who, when they are sent to woo for God, speak for themselves. I know how dangerous it is to have God my rival.

22. God is ever with me, ever before me. I know he cannot but see me always; though my eyes be held that I see him not. Yea, he is still within me, though I feel him not: neither is there any moment that I can live

without God. Why do I not, therefore, always live with him? Why do I not account all hours lost, wherein I enjoy him not?

23. God is Lord of my body also; and therefore chal-  
lengeth as well reverent gesture, as inward devotion. I  
will ever, in my prayers, either stand, as a servant, before  
my Master; or kneel, as a subject, to my Prince.

24. The common fears of the world are causeless and  
ill placed. No man fears to do ill; every man to suffer  
ill; wherein, if we consider it well, we shall find that  
we fear our best friends. For my part, I have learned  
more of God and of myself, in one week's extremity,  
than all my life's prosperity had taught me before. And,  
in reason and common experience, prosperity usually  
makes us forget our death; adversity, on the other side,  
makes us neglect our life. Now (if we measure both of  
these effects,) forgetfulness of death makes us secure:  
neglect of this life makes us careful of a better. So  
much therefore, as neglect of life is better than forgetfulness  
of death, and watchfulness better than security: so much  
more beneficial will I esteem adversity than prosperity.

25. Every sickness is a little death. I will be content  
to die oft, that I may die once well.

26. In Divine things, I would fain keep that I have,  
and get that I want. I do not more loath all other  
covetousness, than I affect this. In these things alone, I  
profess never to have enough. If I may increase them,  
either by labouring, begging, or usury, I shall leave no  
means unattempted.

27. Some children are of that nature, that they are  
never well, but while the rod is over them: such am I to  
God. Let him beat me, so he amend me. Let him take  
all away from me, so he give me himself.

28. I will account no sin little; since there is not the  
least, but works the death of the soul. It is all one,  
whether I be drowned near the shore, or in the midst of  
the sea.

29. Extremity distinguisheth friends. Worldly plea-  
sures, like physicians, give us over when we lie dying;

and yet the death-bed hath most need of comforts. Christ standeth by his, in the pangs of death; and after death at the bar of judgment; not leaving them either in their bed or grave. I will use them therefore; not trust them. But for thee, O my Lord, who in mercy and truth canst not fail me, (whom I have found ever faithful and present in all extremities,) kill me, yet will I trust in thee.

30. We have heard of so many thousand generations passed, and we have seen so many hundreds die within our knowledge; that I wonder any man can make account to live one day. I will die daily. That is not done before the time, which may be done at all times.

31. What is man to the whole earth? What is earth to the heaven? What is heaven to its Maker? I will admire nothing in itself; but all things in God, and God in all things.

32. In suffering evil, to look to second causes, without respect to the highest, maketh impatience. For so we bite at the stone, and neglect him that threw it. If we take a blow from our equal, we return it with usury; if of a prince, we repine not. What matter is it, if God kill me, whether he do it by an ague, or by the hand of a tyrant? Again, in expectation of good, to look to the first cause, without care of the second, argues idleness, and causeth want. As we cannot help ourselves, without God; so God will not ordinarily help us without ourselves. In both I will look up to God, without repining at the means in one, or trusting them in the other.

33. I will not be so merry as to forget God; nor so sorrowful as to forget myself.

34. As nothing makes so strong and mortal hostility as discord in religion; so nothing in the world unites men's hearts so firmly as the bond of faith. For, whereas there are three grounds of friendship, virtue, pleasure, profit; and by all confessions, that is the surest, which is upon virtue: it must needs follow, that what is grounded on the best, and most heavenly virtue, must be the

fastest: which, as it unites man to God so inseparably, that no temptations, no torments, not all the gates of hell can sever him; so it unites one Christian soul to another so firmly, that no outward occurrences, no imperfections in the party loved, can dissolve them.

35. The duty that is deferred upon a conceit of present unfitness, at last grows irksome; and thereupon is altogether neglected. I will not suffer my heart to entertain the least thought of loathing towards the task of devotion; but violently break through any unwillingness; not without a deep check to myself for my backwardness.

36. Though time be precious to me, (as all irrevocable things deserve to be,) and of all other things, I would not be lavish of it; yet I will account no time lost, that is either lent to, or bestowed upon my friend.

37. It is both a misery and a shame for a man to be a bankrupt in love; which he may easily pay, and be never the more impoverished. I will be in no man's debt for good will; but will at least return every man his own measure, if not with usury.

38. The wicked man is a very coward, and is afraid of every thing: of God; because he is his enemy: of satan; because he is his tormentor: of God's creatures, because they, joining with their Maker, fight against him: of himself, because he bears about him his own accuser and executioner. The godly man contrarily, is afraid of nothing. Not of God, because he knows him his best friend, and therefore will not hurt him: not of satan, because he cannot hurt him: not of afflictions, because he knows they proceed from a loving God, and tend to his own good: not of the creatures, since the very stones of the field are in league with him: not of himself, since his conscience is at peace. A wicked man may be secure, because he knows not what he hath to fear; or desperate, through extremity of fear: but, truly courageous he cannot be. Faithlessness cannot choose but be false-hearted. I will ever, by my courage, make trial of my faith. By how much more I fear, by so much less I believe.

39. A believer hath three eyes: the first of sense, common to him with brute creatures: the second of reason, common to all men: the third of faith, proper to his profession: whereof each looketh beyond the other; and none of them meddleth with the other's objects. For, neither doth the eye of sense reach to intelligible things and matters of discourse; nor the eye of reason to those things which are supernatural and spiritual; neither doth faith look down to things that may be sensibly seen. If thou discourse to a brute beast of the depths of philosophy, never so plainly, he understands not, because they are beyond the view of his eye, which is only of sense: if to a mere carnal man, of Divine things; he perceiveth not the things of God: neither, indeed, can do, because they are spiritually discerned. And therefore no wonder if those things seem unlikely, incredible, impossible to him, which the spiritual man doth as plainly see, as his eye doth any sensible thing. Tell a plain country-man, that the sun or some star is much larger than his cart-wheel; and especially if you tell him, it is much larger than the whole earth; he laughs you to scorn. Yet the scholar, by the eye of reason, doth as plainly see this truth as that his hand is larger than his pen. What a thick mist, yea, what a palpable, and more than Egyptian darkness, doth the natural man live in! What a world is there that he doth not see at all! And how little doth he see in this, which is his proper element! There is no bodily thing, but the brute creatures see as well as he; and some of them better. As for his eye of reason, how dim is it in those things which are best fitted to it! What one thing is there in nature, which he doth perfectly know? What herb, or flower, or worm that he treads on, is there, whose true essence he knoweth? No, not so much as what is in his own bosom; what it is, where it is, or whence it is that gives being to himself. But, for those things which concern the best world, he doth not so much as confusedly see them; neither knoweth whether they be. He sees no whit into the great and

awful majesty of God. He discerns him not in his creatures, filling the world with his infinite and glorious presence. He sees not his wise Providence, over-ruling all things, disposing all casual events, ordering all sinful actions of men to his own glory. He comprehends nothing of the beauty, majesty, power, and mercy of the Saviour of the world, sitting in his humanity at his Father's right hand. He sees not the unspeakable happiness of the glorified souls of the saints. He sees not the whole heavenly commonwealth of angels, ascending and descending to God's children, waiting upon them at all times invisibly, not excluded with closeness of prisons, nor desolateness of wildernesses; and the multitude of evil spirits passing and standing by himself to tempt him to evil: but, like the foolish bird, when he hath hid his head that he sees nobody, he thinks himself unseen; and then counts himself solitary, when his eye can meet with no companion. It was not without cause that we call a mere fool a natural. For however worldlings have still thought Christians God's fools, we know them to be the fools of the world. The deepest philosopher that ever was, is but an ignorant sot to the simplest Christian. For the weakest Christian may, by plain information, see somewhat into the greatest mysteries of nature, because he hath the eye of reason common with the best; but the best philosopher, by all the demonstration in the world, can conceive nothing of the mysteries of godliness, because he utterly wants the eye of faith. Though my insight into matters of the world be so shallow, that my simplicity moveth pity unto others; it shall be my happiness, that I see further into better matters. That which I see not is worthless, and deserveth little better than contempt. That which I see is unspeakable, inestimable, for comfort, for glory.

40. Christ raised three dead men to life: one, newly departed; another, on the bier; a third, smelling in the grave: to shew us that no degree of death is so desperate, that it is past help. My sins are many, and great: yet if

they were more, they are far below the mercy of him that hath remitted them, and the value of his ransom that hath payed for them. A man hurts himself most by presumption; but we cannot do God a greater wrong, than to despair of forgiveness. It is a double injury to God, first, that we offend his justice by sinning; then, that we wrong his mercy by despairing.

41. It was not for nothing that the wise Creator of all things placed gold and silver under our feet, and hath hid them low in the bowels of the earth, that they cannot without great labour be either found or gotten; whereas he hath placed the noblest part of his creation above our heads, and open to our view: whercin what did he else intend, but to draw away our minds from those worthless, and yet hidden treasures, and to call them to the contemplation of those better things, which, (beside their beauty,) are more obvious to us, that in them we may see and admire the glory of their Maker, and withal seek our own? How do these men wrong themselves, and misconstrue God, who bend themselves wholly to the seeking of those earthly commodities, and no more mind heaven, than if there were none? If we could imagine a beast to have reason, how could he be more absurd? How easy is it to observe, that still the higher we go, the more purity and perfection we find! So earth is the very dross of all the elements: water somewhat more pure than it; yet more feculent than the air above it: the lower air less pure than the upper regions; and yet, these far inferior to the lowest heavens: which again are more exceeded by the glorious seat of God, the heaven of the just! Yet these brutish men take up their rest in the lowest and worst of all God's works; not regarding that, which, with its own glory, can make them happy. Heaven is the proper place of my soul: I will send it up thither continually in my thoughts, whilst it sojourns with me, before it go to dwell there for ever.

42. A man need not care for more knowledge, than to know himself: he needs no more pleasure, than to

content himself: no more victory, than to overcome himself: no more riches, than to enjoy himself; so it be all in God. What fools are they that seek to know all other things, and are strangers to themselves? That seek altogether to satisfy other men's humours, with their own displeasure? That seek to vanquish kingdoms, when they are not masters of themselves; that have no hold of their own hearts, yet seek to be possessed of all outward commodities. Go home to thyself, first, vain heart: and when thou hast made sure work there, in knowing, contenting, overcoming, enjoying thyself, spend all the superfluity of thy time and labour upon others.

43. The way to heaven, is like that which Jonathan and his armour-bearer passed betwixt two rocks; one *Bozez*, the other *Senah*; that is, *foul* and *thorny*: whereto we must make shift to climb on our hands and knees; but when we are come up, there is victory and triumph. God's children have three suits of apparel, whereof two are worn daily, on earth; the third laid up for them in the wardrobe of heaven. They are ever either in *black*, mourning; in *red*, persecuted; or in *white*, glorious. Any way shall be pleasant to me, that leads unto such an end. It matters not what rags, or what colours I wear with men; so I may walk with my Saviour in *white*, and reign with him in glory.

44. There is nothing more easy than to say divinity by rote; and to discourse of spiritual matters from the tongue or pen of others. But to hear God speak it to the soul, and to feel the power of religion in ourselves, and to express it out of truth and experience within, is both rare and hard. It will never be well with me, till sound experience hath really catechised my heart, and made me know God and my Saviour otherwise than by words; I will never be quiet till I can *see*, and *feel*, and *taste* God. My hearing I will account as only serving to effect this, and my speech only to express it.

45. There is no enemy can hurt us, but by our own hands. Satan could not hurt us, if our own corruption

betrayed us not: afflictions cannot hurt us without our own impatience: temptations cannot hurt us without our own yielding: death could not hurt us without the sting of our own sins. How might I defy all things, if I could obtain not to be my own enemy? I love myself too much, and yet not enough. O God teach me to wish myself but so well as thou wishest me, and I am safe!

46. Joy and sorrow are hard to conceal; as from the countenance, so from the tongue. Every man, therefore, speaks of his own pleasure and care: the hunter of his games; the ploughman of his team; the soldier of his march and colours. If the heart were as full of God, the tongue could not refrain to talk of him. The rareness of Christian communication argues the common poverty of grace. If Christ be not in our hearts, we are godless; if he be there without our joy, we are senseless; if we rejoice in him, and speak not of him, we are shamefully unthankful. Every man taketh, yea raiseth occasion to bring in speech of what he liketh. As I will think of thee always, O Lord, so it shall be my joy to speak of thee; and if I find not opportunity, I will make it.

47 Satan would seem to be mannerly and reasonable; making as if he would be content with one half of the heart, whereas God challengeth all or none. He that made all, claims all; and satan knows, that if he have any part, God will have none: so the whole falleth to his share alone. My heart, when it is whole and at the best, is but a strait and unworthy lodging for God. If it were larger and better, I would reserve it all for him. Satan may look in at my doors by a temptation; but he shall not have so much as one chamber-room set apart for him to sojourn in.

48. What strange variety of actions doth the eye of God see at once, round about the compass of the earth, and within it! Some building houses; some delving for metals; some marching in troops, or encamping one against another; some bargaining in the market; some travelling on their way; some praying in their closets;

others quaffing at the tavern; some rowing in the galleys; others dallying in their chambers; and in short, as many different actions as persons; yet all have one common intention of good to themselves; true in some; but in most, imaginary. The glorified spirits have but one uniform work, wherein they all join; the praise of their Creator. This is one difference betwixt the saints above and below: they above are both free from business and distraction; these below are free, though not absolutely, from distraction, not all from business. Paul could think of the cloak that he left at Troas; and of the shaping of his skins for the tents: yet through these he looked still at heaven. This world was made for business. My actions must vary according to my occasions. My end shall be but one, and the same now on earth, that it must be one day in heaven.

49. It is the wonderful mercy of God, both to forgive us our debts to him in our sins, and to make himself a debtor to us in his promises. So that both ways the faithful soul may be sure; since he neither calleth for those debts, which he hath once forgiven; nor withdraws those favours and that heaven, which he hath promised: but as he is a merciful creditor to forgive, so he is a true debtor to pay whatsoever he hath undertaken. Whence it is come to pass, that the penitent sinner owes nothing to God but love and obedience, and God owes still much and all to him: for he owes as much as he hath promised; and what he owes by virtue of this blessed promise, we may challenge. O infinite mercy! He that lent us all we have, and in whose debt-books we run hourly forward till the sum be endless; yet owes us more, and bids us look for payment. I cannot deserve the least favour he can give; yet will I as confidently challenge the greatest, as if I deserved it. Promise indebtedness no less than desert.

50. The oldest of our forefathers lived not so much as a day to God, to whom a thousand years is as no more; we live but as an hour to the day of our forefathers: for

if nine hundred and sixty years were but their day, our fourseore is but the twelfth part of it : and yet of this our hour we live scarce a minute to God. For take away all that time that is consumed in sleeping, dressing, feeding, talking, trifling ; of that little time there can remain not much more than nothing. Yet the most seek pastimes to hasten it. Those which seek to mend the paece of time, spur a running horse. I have more need to redeem it with double care and labour, than to seek how to sell it for nothing.

51. Each day is a new life, and an abridgement of the whole. I will so live, as if I counted every day my first, and my last ; as if I began to live but then, and then should live no more afterwards.

52. Our infancy is full of folly ; youth, of disorder and toil ; age, of infirmity. Each time hath its burden. Yet infaney longeth after youth ; and youth after more age. And he that is very old, as he is a child for simplicity, so he would be for years. I account old age the best of the three ; partly for that the inconveniences of this are but bodily, with a better state of the mind ; and partly for that it is nearest to dissolution. There is nothing more miserable than an old man that would be young again. It was an answer worthy of Petrarch, who when his friend bemoaned his age, telling him he was sorry to see him look so old, replied, "Nay, be sorry rather that ever I was young."

53. I am a stranger here below, my home is above ; yet I think too well of these vanities, and cannot think enough of my home. O God, what happiness hast thou prepared for thy chosen ! What a purchase was this, worthy of the blood of such a Saviour ! As yet I do but look towards it afar off. But it is easy to see by the outside how goodly it is within : although as thine house on earth, so that above hath more glory within, than can be signified by the outward appearanee. The outer part of thy tabernacle here below is but an earthly and base substance ; but within it is furnished with a living,

spiritual, and heavenly guest: so the outer heavens, though they be as gold to all other material creatures, are but dross to thee: yet how are even the outmost walls of that house of thine, beautified with glorious lights, whereof every one is a world for bigness, and as an heaven for goodliness! Oh, teach me by this to long after, and wonder at the inner part, before thou lettest me come in to behold it.

54. Men, for the most part, would neither die nor be old. When we see an aged man that hath over-lived all the teeth of his gums, the hair of his head, the sight of his eyes, the taste of his palate; we profess, we would not live till we prove burdens to our dearest friends, and ourselves; yet if it be put to our choice what year we would die, we ever shift it off till the next. Nature hath nothing to plead for this folly, but that life is sweet: wherein we give occasion of renewing that ancient check, whereby that primitive vision taxed the timorousness of the shrinking confessors; "Ye would neither live to be old, nor die ere your age: what should I do with you?" The Christian must not think it enough to endure the thought of death with patience, but must voluntarily call it into his mind with joy; not only enduring it should come, but wishing that it might come.

55. There never was an age that more boasted of knowledge, and yet never any that had less sound knowledge. He that knows not God, knoweth nothing; and he that loves not God, knows him not: for he is so sweet, and infinitely full of delight, that whoever knows him, cannot but love him. The little love of God then argues the great ignorance even of those who profess knowledge. I will not suffer my affections to run before my knowledge: for then I shall love fashionably only, because I hear God is worthy of love; and so be subject to relapses; but I will ever lay knowledge as the ground of my love. So, as I grow in Divine knowledge, I shall profit in an heavenly zeal.

56. Those that are all in exhortation, and no whit in

doctrine, are like to them that snuff the lamp, but pour not in oil. Again, those that are all in doctrine, nothing in exhortation, drown the wick in oil, but light it not. Doctrine, without exhortation, makes men all brain, no heart. Exhortation, without doctrine, makes the heart full, leaves the brain empty. Both together make a man. The one makes a man wise; the other, good. The one serves that we may know our duty; the other, that we may perform it. I will labour in both; but I know not in which more. Men cannot practise, unless they know; and they know in vain, if they practise not.

57. There are two things in every good work; honour and profit. The latter, God bestows upon us; the former, he keeps to himself. The profit of our works redoundeth not to God. My well-doing extendeth not to thee. The honour of our work may not be allowed us. "My glory I will not give to another." I will not abridge God of his part, that he may not bereave me of mine.

58. The idle man is the devil's cushion, on which he taketh his free ease; who, as he is incapable of any good, so he is fitly disposed for all evil. If I do but little good to others by my endeavours, yet this is great good to me, that by my labour I keep myself from hurt.

59. If a man refer all things to himself, nothing seems enough: if all things to God, any measure will content him of earthly things; but in grace, he is insatiable. I will not suffer mine eyes and mind to be bound with these visible things; but still look through these, at God, who is the utmost scope of them; accounting them only as a thoroughfare to pass by, not as an habitation to rest in.

60. There is nothing beside life that is diminished by addition. Every moment we live longer, is so much taken out of our life. It increaseth and diminisheth only by minutes, and therefore is not perceived. The shorter steps it taketh, the more slyly it passeth. Time shall not so steal upon me, that I shall not discern it, and catch it by the forelock; nor so steal from me, that it shall carry with it no witness of its passage in my proficiency.

61. It was a just doubt of Phocion, who when the people praised him, asked, What evil have I done? I will strive to deserve evil of none; but not deserving ill, it shall not grieve me to hear it laid to my charge by those that are evil. I know no greater argument of goodness, than the hatred of a wicked man.

62. A man that comes hungry to his meals, feeds heartily on the meat set before him, not regarding the platter wherein it is served; but afterwards, perhaps, begins to play with the dish, or to read sentences on his trencher. Those auditors which can find nothing to do, but note elegant words, or perhaps an ill gesture in a pithy speech, argue themselves full, ere they came to the feast: and therefore go away with a little pleasure, but no profit. In hearing others, my only intention shall be, to feed my mind with solid matter; if my ear can get ought by the way, I will not grudge it; but I will not intend it.

63. A Christian, for the sweet fruit he bears to God and men, is compared to the noblest of all plants, the vine. Now, as the most generous vine, if it be not pruned, runs out into many superfluous stems, and grows at last weak and fruitless; so doth the best man, if he be not cut short of his desires, and pruned with afflictions. If it be painful to bleed, it is worse to be sick. Let me be pruned, that I may grow, rather than be cut up to be burned.

64. I observe three seasons, whercin a wise man differs not from a fool; in his infancy, in sleep, and in silence: for in the two former we are all fools; and in silence all are wise. In the two former, there may be concealment of folly; but the tongue is a blab: there cannot be any kind of folly, either simple or wicked, in the heart, but the tongue will bewray it. He cannot be wise that speaks without sense, or out of season, nor he known for a fool, that says nothing. It is a great misery to be a fool; but this is yet greater, that a man cannot be a fool, but he must shew it. Surely, he is not a fool that hath unwise thoughts, but he that utters them.

65. I can do nothing without a million of witnesses : the conscience is as a thousand witnesses ; and God is as a thousand consciences. I will therefore so deal with men, as knowing that God sees me ; and so with God, as if the world saw me : so with myself and both of them, as knowing that my conscience seeth me ; and so with them all, as knowing I am always overlooked by my accuser, by my judge.

66. Even the best things ill used, become evils ; and the worst things used well, prove good. A good tongue, used to deceit : a good wit, used to defend error ; a strong arm, to murder ; authority, to oppress ; are all evil : yea, God's own Word is the sword of the Spirit ; which if it kill not our vices, kills our souls. Contrariwise, (as poisons are used to wholesome medicine,) afflictions, by a good use, prove so gainful, as nothing more. Words are as they are taken, and things are as they are used. There are even cursed blessings. O Lord, rather give me no favours, than not grace to use them. If I want them, thou requirest not what thou dost not give : but if I have them, and want their use, thy mercy proves my judgment.

67. Man is the best of all these inferior creatures ; yet lives in more sorrow and discontent, than the worst of them : while that reason, wherein he excels them, and by which he might make advantage of his life, he abuses to a suspicious distrust. How many hast thou found of the fowls of the air, lying dead in the way for want of provisions ? They eat, and rest, and sing, and want nothing. Man, who hath far better means to live comfortably, toileth, and careth, and wanteth ; whom yet his reason alone might teach, that he that careth for these lower creatures, will much more provide for man. There is an holy carelessness ; free from idleness ; free from distrust. In these earthly things, I will so depend on my Maker, that my trust in him may not exclude my labour ; and yet so labour, in my confidence on him, as my endeavour may be void of perplexity.

68. I have seen some afflict their bodies with wilful famine, and scourges of their own making. God spares me that labour; for he whips me daily with the scourge of a weak body; and sometimes with ill tongues. He holds me short many times of the feeling of his comfortable presence, which is, in truth, so much more miserable an hunger than that of the body, by how much the soul is more tender, and the food denied, more excellent. He is my father, infinitely wise, to proportion my correction to my condition; and infinitely loving, in fitting me with a due measure. Let me learn to make a right use of his corrections, and I shall not need to correct myself. And if it should please God to remit his hand a little, I will govern my body as a master, not as a tyrant.

69. If God had not said, "Blessed are those that hunger," I know not what could keep weak Christians from despair. Many times, all I can do, is to find and complain that I want him, and wish to recover him. Now this is my stay, that he in merey esteems us not only by having, but by desiring also; and, after a sort, accounts us to have that which we want, and desire to have. Let me desire still more; and I know I shall not desire always. There never was a soul that miscarried with longing after grace. O blessed hunger, that ends always in fulness! I am sorry that I can *but* hunger; and yet I would not be full; for the blessing is promised to the hungry. Give me more, Lord, but so as I may hunger more. Let me hunger more, and I know I shall be satisfied.

70. Hell itself is scarce a more obscure dungeon, in comparison of the earth, than earth is in respect of heaven. Here, the most see nothing, and the best see little. Here half our life is night; and our very day is darkness, in respect of God. The true light of the world and the Father of lights dwelleth above. There is the light of knowledge to inform us, and the light of joy to comfort us; without all change of darkness. Never any captive loved his dungeon, and complained when he

was to be brought to light and liberty. Whence then is this unnatural madness in men, that we delight so much in this unclean, dark prison of earth; and think not of our release to the heavenly, glorious paradise, without grief and repining? It is hence, we are sure we are not perfectly well here; and if we could be as sure we should be better above, we would not fear changing. Our sense tells us, we have some pleasure here; and we have not faith to assure us of more pleasure above: and hence we settle ourselves to the present, with neglect of the future, though infinitely more excellent. The heart follows the eyes; and unknown good is uncared for. O Lord, do thou break through this darknes of ignorance and faithlessness, wherewith I am compassed! Let me but see my heaven, and I know I shall desire it!

71. To be carried away with an affectation of fame, is so absurd, that I wonder it can be incident to any man. For what a mole-hill of earth is it, to which his name can extend, when it is furthest carried by the wings of report? And how short a while doth it continue where it is once spread? Time, the devourer of his own brood, consumes both us and our memories; not brass nor marble can bear age. How many flattering poets have promised immortality of name to their princes, who together are buried long since in forgetfulness! Those names and actions, that are once on the file of heaven, are past the danger of defacing. I will not care whether I be remembered or forgotten among men, if my name and good actions live with God in the records of eternity.

72. There is no man nor place free from spirits, although they testify their presence by visible effects but in few. Every man entertains angels, though not in visible shapes, as Abraham and Lot. The evil ones do nothing but provoke us to sin, and plot mischiefs against us, by casting in our way dangerous objects, and by suggesting sinful motions, stirring up enemies against us, amongst men, frightening us in ourselves, accusing us to God. On the contrary, the good angels are ever removing our hin-

drances from good, and our occasions of evil ; mitigating our temptations ; helping us against our enemies ; delivering us from dangers ; comforting us in sorrows ; furthering our good purposes ; and at last carrying our souls to heaven. It would affright a weak Christian, that knows the power and malice of wicked spirits, to consider their presence and number ; but when with the eyes of Elisha's servant, he sees those on his side as present, as diligent, and more powerful ; he cannot but take heart again : especially if he consider, that neither of them is without God, limiting to the one the bounds of their temptation ; directing the other in the safeguard of his children. Whereupon, though there be many legions of devils, and every one of them more strong than many legions of men, and more malicious than strong, yet the little flock of God's church liveth and prospereth. I have ever with me invisible friends and enemies. The consideration of mine enemies shall keep me from security, and make me fearful of doing ought to give them advantage. The consideration of my spiritual friends shall comfort me against the terror of the other ; shall remedy my solitariness ; shall make me weary of doing ought indecently, grieving rather, that I have ever heretofore made them turn away their eyes, for shame of that, whereof I have not been ashamed ; that I have no more enjoyed their society ; that I have been no more affected with their presence. What though I see them not ? I believe their existence. I were no Christian, if my faith were not as sure as my scense.

73. Earth, which is the basest element, is both our mother that brought us forth, our stage that bears us up, and our grave wherein at last we are entombed ; giving to us our original, our harbour, our sepulchre. She hath yielded her back to bear thousands of generations ; and at last hath opened her mouth to receive them ; so swallowing them up, that she still both beareth more and looks for more ; not bewraying any change in herself, whilst she so oft has changed her brood and her burden.

It is a wonder we can be proud of our parentage, or of ourselves, while we see the baseness of the earth, whence we originally came. What difference is there? Living earth treads upon dead earth, and afterwards descends into the grave, as senseless and dead as the earth that receives it. Not many are proud of their souls; and none but fools can be proud of their bodies. While we walk and look upon the earth, we cannot but acknowledge sensible admonitions of humility; and while we remember them, we cannot forget ourselves. It is a mother-like favour of the earth, that she bears and nourishes me, and at the last entertains my dead carcase; but it is a greater pleasure, that she teacheth me my vileness by her own, and sends me to heaven for what she wants.

# HEAVEN UPON EARTH;

OR,

## OF TRUE PEACE OF MIND.



### SECT. I.—*Censure of Philosophers.*

WHEN I had studiously read over the writings of some wise heathens, I must confess, I found a little envy and pity. I envied nature in them, to see her so witty in devising such plausible refuges for doubting and troubled minds: I pitied them, to see that their careful disquisition led them in the end but to mere unquietness. If Seneca could have had grace to his wit, what wonders would he have done in this kind? As he was, this he gained: never any heathen wrote more divinely: never any philosopher more probably. Neither would I ever desire a better master, if to this purpose I needed no other mistress than nature. But this in truth is a task, which nature hath never without presumption undertaken, and never performed without much imperfection. And if she could have effected it alone, I know not what employment she could have left for grace, nor what privilege it could have been here below to be a Christian, since this that we seek is the noblest work of the soul; the sum of all human desires; which when we have attained, then only we begin to live, and are sure that we cannot thenceforth live miserably. No marvel then if all the heathen

have diligently sought after it, many wrote of it, none attained it. Not Athens must teach this lesson, but Jerusalem.

SECT. II.—*What Tranquillity is, and wherein it consists.*

YET something grace scorneth not to learn of nature, as Moses may take good counsel of a Midianite. \*Nature hath ever had more skill in the end, than in the way to it; and whether she has discoursed of the good estate of the mind, which we call Tranquillity, or the best, which is Happiness, hath more happily guessed at the general definition of them, than at the means to attain them. She teacheth us, therefore, that the tranquillity of the mind is, as of the sea and weather, when no wind stirreth, when the waves do not tumultuously rise and fall upon each other; but when the face both of the heaven and waters is still, fair, and equable. And this composedness of mind we require; not for some short fits, but with the condition of perpetuity. So then the calm mind must be settled in an habitual rest; not then firm when there is nothing to shake it, but then least shaken, when it is most assailed.

SECT. III.—*Insufficiency of Human Precepts.*

WHENCE easily appears how vainly true peace of mind hath been sought either in such a constant state of outward things, as should give no distaste to it, while all earthly things vary with the weather, and have no stay but in uncertainty, or in the natural temper of the soul, so ordered by human wisdom, as that it should not be affected with any events, since that cannot by natural power be kept the same; but one while is cheerful; another while drowsy, dull, or comfortless. In both which, since the wisest philosophers have grounded all

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\* Or rather, Preventing Grace.

the rules of their tranquillity, it is plain they saw it afar off, as they did heaven itself, with desire and admiration, but knew not the way to it. Whereupon, alas, how slight and impotent are the remedies they prescribe for unquietness! Seneca's rules are these: "We should ever be employing ourselves in some publick affairs, choosing our business according to our inclination, and prosecuting what we have chosen: wherewith being at last cloyed, we should retire to private studies: that in respect of patrimony, we should be but carelessly affected, so drawing it in as it may be least for shew, most for use; removing all pomp, bridling our hopes, cutting off superfluities; for crosses, to consider that custom will abate them; that the best things are but chains and burdens to those that have them; that the worst things have some mixture of comfort. Next he advises a man to account himself as a tenant at will: to fore-*imagine* the worst in all casual matters: to avoid all idle and impertinent businesses; not to fix ourselves upon any one state, so as to be impatient of a change; to call back the mind from outward things, and draw it home into itself: to laugh at others' misdemeanours: not to depend upon others' opinions, but to stand upon our own bottoms: to make much of ourselves, cheering up our spirits with variety of recreations, with plenty of meat and drink, and all other bodily indulgences." All these in their kinds please well, but are unable to effect that for which they are propounded. Nature teacheth thee all these should be done; she cannot teach thee to do them: and yet do all these and no more, let me never have rest if thou have it. For neither are here the greatest enemies of our peace so much as *descried* afar off, nor are those that are noted hereby so prevented, that we can promise ourselves any security. Whoso, thus only instructed, challenges all sinister events, is like to some skilful fencer who stands upon his usual wards, and plays well; but if there come an unwonted blow, is put beside the rules of his art, and with much shame overtaken: and for those that

are known, believe me, the mind of man is too weak to bear it out. It must be, it can be none but a Divine power, that can uphold the mind against the rage of great afflictions ; and yet the greatest crosses are not the greatest enemies to inward peace. Let us therefore look up above ourselves, and from the rules of an higher art, supply the defects of natural wisdom, giving such infallible directions for tranquillity, that whosoever shall follow, cannot but live sweetly. To which purpose it shall be requisite, first to remove all causes of unquietness, and then to set down the grounds of our happy rest.

SECT. IV.—*Enemies of inward Peace divided into their Ranks.*

I FIND two universal enemies of tranquillity ; conscience of evil done, sense or fear of evil suffered, or to be suffered. The former in one word, we call sins ; the latter, crosses. The first of these must be taken away, the second duly tempered ere the heart can be at rest. For first, how can that man be at peace, that is at variance with God and himself ? How should peace be God's gift, if it could be without him, if it could be against him ? Sin is a perpetual make-bate betwixt God and man, betwixt a man and himself. And this enmity, though it do not continually shew itself for the conscience is not always clamorous, yet doth evermore work secret unquietness to the heart. The guilty man may have a seeming truce, a true peace he cannot have. Alas, what avails it to seek outward reliefs, when thou hast thine executioner within thee ? If thou couldst shift from thyself, thou mightest have some hope of ease ; thou shalt never want furies so long as thou hast thyself. Yea, what if thou wouldst run from thyself ? Thy soul may fly from thy body, thy conscience will not fly from thy soul, nor thy sin from thy conscience. Some men indeed, in the bitterness of these pangs of sin, have leaped out of this private hell that is in themselves, into the common pit, choosing to

venture upon the future pains they feared, rather than to endure the present horrors they felt : wherein what have they gained, but to that hell which was within them, a second hell without ? The conscience leaves not where the fiends begin, but both join together in torture. But there are some firm and obdurate forebears, whose resolution can laugh their sin out of countenance. Believest thou that such a man's heart laughs with his face ? Will not he dare to be an hypocrite, that durst be a villain ? Knowest thou not that there are those who count it no shame to sin, yet count it a shame to be checked with remorse, especially so as others' eyes may descry ? To whom repentance seems base-mindedness, unworthy of him that professes valour. Such a man can grieve when none sees it, but himself can laugh when others see it. Assure thyself that man's heart bleedeth, when his face counterfeits a smile. Or, if perhaps custom hath bred carelessness in him, as usual whipping makes the child not care for the rod, yet an unwonted extremity of the blow shall fetch blood of the soul, and make the back that is most hardened, sensible of smart. And the further the blow is fetched through intermission of remorse, the harder it must needs alight. Therefore, I may confidently tell the careless sinner, as that bold tragedian said to Pompey, " The time shall come wherein thou shalt fetch deep sighs, and therefore shalt sorrow desperately, because thou sorrowedst not sooner."

SECT. V.—*The Remedy of an unquiet Conscience.*

THERE can be therefore no peace without reconciliation ; thou canst not be friends with thyself, till with God. For thy conscience, which is thy best friend while thou sinnest not, like an honest servant, takes his master's part against thee, when thou hast sinned. There can be no reconciliation without remission. God can neither forget the injury of sin, nor dissemble hatred. There can be no remission without satisfaction ; neither dealth

God with us, as we men with some desperate debtors, whom we altogether let go for disability, or at least dismiss them upon an easy composition. All sins are debts; all God's debts must be discharged. It is a bold word, but a true one; God could not be just, if any of his debts should pass unsatisfied. The conceit of the profane vulgar makes him a God of all mercies; and thereupon hopes for pardon without payment. Fond and ignorant presumption, to disjoin mercy and justice in him in whom they are both essential; to make mercy exceed justice in him, in whom both are infinite. Darest thou hope God can be so kind to thee, as to be unjust to himself? God will be just. Go thou on to presume and perish. There can be no satisfaction by any recompense of ours. An infinite justice is offended, an infinite punishment is deserved by every sin, and every man's sins are as near to infinite, as number can make them. Our best endeavour is finite, imperfect, and faulty. If it could be perfect, we owe it all at present; what we are bound to do at present, cannot make amends for what we have done in time past. And where shall we then find a payment of infinite value, but in him who is only and all infinite? The dignity of whose person being infinite, gave such worth to his satisfaction, that what he suffered in a short time, was proportionable to what we should have suffered beyond all times. He did all, suffered all, paid all, for us.

Where shall I begin to wonder at thee, O thou Divine eternal peace-maker, the Saviour of men, the Anointed of God, Mediator between God and man, in whom there is nothing which doth not exceed, not only the conception, but the very wonder of angels, who saw thee in thy humiliation with silence, and adore thee in thy glory with perpetual praises! Thou wast for ever of thyself, as God; of the Father, as the Son; the eternal Son of an eternal Father; not later in being, not less in dignity, nor other in substance. Begotten without diminution of him that begot thee, while he communicated that wholly to thee, which he retained wholly in himself, because

both were infinite without inequality of nature, without division of essence; when being in this state, thine infinite love and mercy to desperate mankind, caused thee, O Saviour, to empty thyself of thy glory, that thou mightest put on our shame and misery. Wherefore, not ceasing to be God, thou didst begin to be man; to the end that thou mightest be a perfect Mediator betwixt God and man, who wast both in one person; God, that thou mightest satisfy; man, that thou mightest suffer: that since man had sinned, and God was offended, thou, who wast God and man, mightest satisfy God for man. None but thyself, who art the Eternal Word, can express the depth of this mystery, that God should be clothed with flesh, come down to men, and become man, that man might be exalted into the highest heavens; and that our nature might be taken into the fellowship of the Deity. That he, to whom all powers in heaven bowed, and thought it their honour to be serviceable, should come down to be a servant to his slaves, a ransom for his enemies; together with our nature taking up our infirmities, our shame, our torments, and bearing our sins without sin. That thou, whom the heavens were too strait to contain, shouldst lay thyself in an obscure manger! Thou, who wast attended of angels, shouldst be derided of men, rejected of thine own, persecuted by tyrants, tempted with devils, betrayed of thy servant, crucified among thieves, and, (which is worse than all these,) for the time as forsaken of thy Father! That thou, whom our sins had pierced, shouldst for our sins, both sweat drops of blood in the garden, and pour out streams of blood upon the cross! O the invaluable purchase of our peace! O ransom enough for more worlds! Thou, who wast in the council of thy Father, the Lamb slain from the beginning of time, camest now in fulness of time to be slain by man, for man; being at once the sacrifice offered, the priest that did offer, and the God to whom it was offered. How graciously didst thou proclaim our peace, as a prophet in the time of thy life upon

earth, and purchase it by thy blood as a priest at thy death, and now confirmest and appliest it as a king in heaven! By thee only it was procured, by thee it is proffered. O mercy without example, without measure! God offers peace to man, the holy seeks to the unjust, the potter to the clay, the king to the traitor. We are unworthy that we should be received to peace though we desired it; what are we then that we should have peace offered for the receiving? An easy condition of so great a benefit: he requires us not to earn it, but to accept it of him. What could he give more? What could he require less of us?

SECT. IV.—*Peace offered must be received by Faith.*

THE purchase therefore was paid at once, yet must be severally reckoned to every soul whom it shall benefit. If we have not an hand to take what Christ's hand doth either hold or offer, what is sufficient in him, cannot be effectual to us. The spiritual hand, whereby we apprehend the sweet offer of our Saviour, is Faith, which, in short, is no other than an affiance in the Mediator. Receive peace, and be happy: believe, and thou hast received. Thus it is that we have an interest in all that God hath promised, or Christ hath performed. Thus have we from God both forgiveness and love, the ground of all, whether peace or glory. Thus, of enemies, we become more than friends, sons: and as sons, may both expect and challenge not only careful provision and safe protection on earth, but an everlasting patrimony in heaven. This field is so spacious, that it were easy for a man to lose himself in it. And if I should spend all my pilgrimage in this walk, my time would sooner end than my way.

Behold now, after we have sought heaven and earth, where only the wearied dove may find an olive of peace. The apprehending of this all-sufficient satisfaction, makes it ours. Upon our satisfaction, we have remission; upon

remission, follows reconciliation ; upon our reconciliation, peace. When therefore thy conscience shall arrest thee upon God's debt, let thy only plea be, "That Christ hath already paid it:" bring forth that bloody acquittance sealed to thee from heaven upon thy true faith, straight-way thou shalt see the fierce and terrible look of thy conscience changed into friendly smiles ; and that rough and violent hand, that was ready to drag thee to prison, shall now lovingly embrace thee, and fight for thee against all the wrongful attempts of any spiritual adversary.

O heavenly peace, and more than peace, friendship ! whereby alone we are leagued with ourselves, and God with us, which, whoever wants, he shall find a sad remembrance in the midst of his dissembled jollity. O pleasure, worthy to be pitied, and laughter, worthy of tears, that is without this ! Ah ! fool, thy soul festereth within, and is affected so much more dangerously, by how much less it appeareth. Thou mayest amuse thyself with variety, thou canst not ease thee. Sin owes thee a spite, and will pay it thee, perhaps when thou art in worse case to sustain it. This flitting doth but provide for a further violence at last.

I have seen a little stream of no noise, which upon its stoppage hath swelled up, till with a loud gush, it hath borne down whatsoever hath stopped it. Thy death-bed shall smart for these wilful adjournings of repentance ; whereon how many have we heard raving of their old neglected sins, and fearfully despairing when they have had most need of comfort ? In sum, there is no way but this : thy conscience must have either satisfaction or torment. Discharge thy sin betimes, and be at peace.

#### SECT. VII.—*Solicitation of Sin remedied.*

NEITHER can it suffice for peace, to have crossed the old scroll of our sins, if we prevent not the future ; yea, the present importunity of temptation, breeds unquietness. Sin, where it hath had power and prevailed, if it

be not strongly repelled, doth nearly as much vex us with soliciting us, as with our yielding. Suitors are drawn on with an easy repulse; counting that as half granted, which is but faintly denied. Peremptory answers can only put sin out of heart for any second attempts. It is ever impudent when it meets not with a bold heart; hoping to prevail by wearying us, and wearying us by entreaties. Let all suggestions therefore find thee resolute; so shall thy soul find itself at rest; for as the devil, so sin, his natural brood, flies away with resistance. To which purpose, all our disordered affections, which are the secret factors of sin and satan, must be restrained by a strong and yet temperate command of reason and religion. Reason alone is too weak: only Christianity hath this power; which, with our second birth, gives us a new nature: so that, if excess of passions be natural to us as men, the order of them is natural to us as Christians. Reason bids the angry man say over his alphabet ere he give his answer; hoping by this intermission of time, to gain the mitigation of his rage. He was never throughly angry, that could endure the recital of so many idle letters. Christianity gives not rules, but power to avoid this short madness.

It was a wise speech that is reported of our best and last cardinal; who when a skilful astrologer, upon the calculation of his nativity, had foretold his future state, answered, "Such perhaps I was born, but since that time, I have been born again, and my second nature hath crossed my first." The power of nature is a good plea for those that acknowledge nothing above nature. But for a Christian to excuse his intemperateness by his natural inclination, and to say, "I was born choleric," is an apology worse than the fault. Wherefore serves religion, but to subdue nature? We are so much Christians, as we can rule ourselves; the rest is but form and speculation. The unregenerate mind is not capable of this, and therefore through the continual mutinies of passion, cannot but be subject to perpetual unquietness. There is

neither remedy nor hope in this state. But the Christian soul, by only looking up to Christ, cureth the burning venom of these fiery serpents that lurk within him. Hast thou nothing but nature? Look for no peace. God is not prodigal to cast away his best blessings on so unworthy subjects. Art thou a Christian? Do but remember the faith; and then, if thou darest, if thou canst, yield to the excess of passion.

SECT VIII.—*The second main Enemy to Peace, Crosses.*

THUS far of the most dangerous enemy of our peace; which if we have once mastered, the other field shall be fought and won with less blood. Crosses disquiet us, either in their present feeling, or their expectation; both of them, when they meet with weak minds, so extremely distempering them, that the patient for the time is not himself. How many, weary of their pain, weary of their lives, have made their own hands their executioners? How many, meeting with a head-strong grief, have been carried quite out of their senses? How many millions rub out their lives in perpetual discontent, therefore, living because they cannot yet die? If there could be any human receipt prescribed to avoid evils, it would be purchased at an high rate: but it is impossible that earth should redress that which is sent from heaven: and if it could be done, even the want of miseries would prove miserable: for the mind would grow a burden to itself. Summer is the sweetest season, yet, if it were not received with interchanges of cold frosts and piercing winds, who could live? Summer would be no summer, if winter did not both lead it in, and follow it. We may not therefore hope or strive to escape all crosses; some we may. What thou canst, flee from; what thou canst not, allay and mitigate. In crosses universally, let this be thy rule, Make thyself none, escape some, bear the rest, sweeten all.

SECT IX.—*Of Crosses that arise from Conceit.*

APPREHENSION gives life to crosses; and most are as they are taken. I have seen many who have framed themselves crosses out of imagination, and have found that insupportable for weight which in truth never existed: others again laughing out heavy afflictions, for which they were bemoaned of the beholders. One receives a deadly wound, and looks not so much as pale at the smart. Greenham, that saint of ours, (whom it cannot disparage that he was reserved for our loose age,) can lie quietly upon the form, looking for the surgeon's knife; binding himself as fast with a resolved patience as others with the strongest cords, abiding his flesh carved, and his bowels rifled, and not stirring more than if he felt not; while others tremble to expect, and shrink to feel but the pricking of a vein. There can be no remedy for imaginary crosses but wisdom, which will teach us to esteem all events as they are; like a true glass, representing all things to our minds in their due proportion. So that crosses may not seem to be which are not, nor little ones seem great and intolerable, give thy mind good counsel, thine ear to thy friend, and these fantastical evils shall vanish away.

SECT X.—*Of true and real Crosses.*

IT were idle advice, to bid men avoid evils. Nature hath taught this, even to brute creatures: and self-love, making the best advantage of reason, will easily make us wise. It is more worth our labour, since our life is so open to calamities, to teach men to bear what evils they cannot avoid. Wherein it is hardly credible how much good resolution will avail us. I have seen one man, by the help of a little engine, lift up that weight alone, which forty hands, by their clear strength, might have endeavoured to do in vain. We live here in an ocean of

troubles, wherein we can see no firm land; one wave falling upon another. So many good things as we have, so many evils arise from their privation; besides no fewer real and positive evils that afflict us. If I were to prescribe receipts to every particular cross, I doubt whether a life would not be too little to write, and but enough to read them.

SECT XI.—*The first Remedy of Crosses before they come.*

THE same medicines cannot help all diseases of the body; of the soul they may. In the first whereof, I would prescribe expectation, that either killeth or abateth evils. Evils will come never the sooner because thou lookest for them, but they will come the easier. It is a labour well lost, if they come not; and well bestowed, if they do come. We are sure the worst may come, why should we be secure that it will not? Suddenness finds weak minds secure, makes them miserable, leaves them desperate. If thou wilt not therefore be oppressed with evils, *expect and exercise*. Expect the evils themselves; yea, exercise thyself in expectation: so while the mind pleaseth itself in thinking, "Yet I am not thus," it prepareth itself against, "It may be so."

SECT XII.—*The next Remedy of Crosses, when they are come, from their Author.*

NEITHER doth it a little blunt the edge of evils, to consider that they come from a Divine hand, whose almighty power is guided by a most wise providence, and tempered with a fatherly love. Even the savage creatures will be smitten by their keeper, and repine not; if by a stranger, they tear him in pieces. He strikes me that made me, that moderates the world: why struggle I with him? why with myself? Am I a fool, or a rebel? A fool, if I be ignorant whence my crosses come: a rebel, if I know it, and be impatient. My sufferings are from a

God, from my God; he hath sent me every dram of sorrow that I now feel. Thus much shalt thou abide, and here shall thy miseries be stinted. All worldly helps cannot abate them; all the powers of hell cannot add one scruple to their weight. I must therefore either blaspheme God in my heart, detracting from his infinite justice, wisdom, power, mercy, which all shall stand inviolable, when millions of such worms as I am are gone to dust; or else confess that I ought to be patient. And if I profess I should be what I am not, I bewray miserable impotency. But (as impatience is full of excuse,) it says, "It was thine own rash improvidence, or the spite of thine enemy, that impoverish'd, that defam'd thee." "It was the malignity of some unwholesome dish, or some gross, corrupt air, that hath distemper'd thee." Why dost thou bite at the stone, which could never have hurt thee, but from the hand that threw it? If I wound thee, what matters it, whether with my own sword, or thine, or another's? God strikes some immediately from heaven with his own arm, or with the arm of angels: others he buffets with their own hands; some by the revenging sword of an enemy; others with the fist of his dumb creatures. God strikes in all; his hand moves theirs. If thou see it not, blame thy carnal eyes. Why dost thou censure the instrument, while thou knowest the Agent? Even the dying thief pardons the executioner, while he exclaims on the unjust judge, or his malicious accusers. Either then blame the first Mover, or discharge the means: which as they could not have touch'd thee but as from him; so from him they have afflicted thee justly; wrongfully perhaps in themselves.

SECT. XIII.—*The third Antidote on Crosses.*

BUT neither seemeth it enough to be patient in crosses, if we are not thankful also. Good things challenge more than bare contentment. Crosses, (unjustly termed evils,) as they are sent of Him that is all goodness, so they are

sent for good. What greater good can be to the diseased man, than fit and proper physic to cure him? Crosses are the only medicines of sick minds. Thy sound body carries within it a sick soul; thou feelest it not perhaps: so much more art thou sick, and so much more dangerously. It is a rare soul that hath not some notable disease: only crosses are thy remedies. What if they be unpleasant? they are physic. It is enough if they be wholesome. Not the pleasant taste, but the secret virtue commends medicines. If they cure thee, they shall please thee, even in displeasing; or else thou lovest thy palate above thy soul. What madness is this? When thou complainest of a bodily disease, thou sendest to the physician, that he may send thee not savoury, but wholesome potions: thou receivest them, in spite of thine abhorring stomach, and withal both thankest and rewardest the physician. Thy soul is sick; thy heavenly Physician sees it, and pities thee ere thou pity thyself; and unsend to, sends thee not a plausible, but a sovereign remedy. Thou loathest the savour, and rather wilt hazard thy life, than offend thy palate; and instead of thanks, repinest at, revilest the physician.

How comes it, that we love ourselves so little, (if at least we count our souls the best, or any part,) as that we had rather undergo death than pain; choosing rather wilful sickness than a harsh remedy? Surely we men are mere fools in the estimating of our own good. Like children, our choice is led altogether by shew; no whit by substance. We cry after every well-looking toy, and put from us solid proffers of good things. The wise Arbitrator of all things sees our folly, and corrects it, withholding our idle desires, and forcing upon us the sound good we refuse. It is a second folly in us, if we thank him not. The foolish babe cries for his father's bright knife, or gilded pills. The wiser father knows they can but hurt him; and therefore withholds them, after all his tears. The child thinks he is used unkindly. Every wise man, and himself at more years, can say, "It was

but childish folly in desiring it, in complaining that he missed it." The loss of wealth, friends, health, is sometimes gain to us. Thy body, thy estate is worse; thy soul is better: why complainest thou?

SECT. XIV.—*The Remedy of the last and greatest Breach of Peace, arising from Death.*

WHEN even the great adversary, death, like a proud giant, comes stalking out in his fearful shape, and insults over our frail mortality; while a host of worldlings flee for fear, the true Christian (armed with confidence of future happiness,) dares boldly encounter him, and can wound him in the forehead; and trampling upon him, can cut off his head with his own sword, and victoriously returning, sing in triumph, 'O death, where is thy sting?' An happy victory! we die, and are not foiled; yea, we are conquerors in dying: we could not overcome death, if we died not. That dissolution is well bestowed, that parts the soul from the body, that it may unite both to God.

How advantageous is that death that determines this false and dying life, and begins a true one, above all the titles of happiness! The epicure dares not die, for fear of not being. The worldling dares not die, for fear of being miserable. The half Christian dares not die, because he knows not whether he shall be miserable, or not be at all. The real Christian dares, and would die, because he knows he shall be happy; and looking towards heaven, (the place of his rest,) can unfeignedly say, I desire to be dissolved: I see thee, my home, (a sweet and glorious home, after a weary pilgrimage!) I see thee; and now, after many lingering hopes, I aspire to thee. How oft have I looked up at thee with rapture of soul! and by the goodly beams that I have seen, gazed at the glory that is above them! How oft have I scorned these dead pleasures of earth, in comparison of thine! I come now to possess you: I come through pain and death;

yea, if hell itself were in the way betwixt you and me, I would pass through hell itself to enjoy you. An Italian said, "My death is sharp, my fame shall be everlasting." The voice of a Roman, not of a Christian. "My fame shall be eternal!" An idle comfort. My fame shall live; not my soul live to see it! What will it avail thee to be talked of, while thou art not? Then fame only is precious, when a man lives to enjoy it. The fame that survives us is useless. Yet even this hope cheered him against the violence of his death. What good should it do us, that (not our fame, but) our life, our glory after death, cannot die? He that hath Stephen's eyes to look into heaven, cannot but have the tongue of the saints, "Come, Lord! how long?" Such a man, seeing the glory of the end, cannot but contemn the hardness of the way. But whoso wants those eyes, if he say and swear that he fears not death, believe him not. If he protest he has this tranquillity, and yet fears death, believe him not: believe him not, if he say he is not miserable.

SECT. XV.—*The second Rank of the Enemies of Peace.*

THE former are enemies on the left hand. There want not some on the right, which, with less profession of hostility, hurt no less; but are not so easily perceived, because they distemper the mind, not without some kind of pleasure. Surfeit kills more than famine. These are the *over-desiring* of, and *over-rejoicing* in, these earthly things. He that desires, wants as much as he that hath nothing. Hence are the studies, cares, fears, jealousies, hopes, griefs, envies, wishes, and a thousand such like things; whereof each is enough to make life troublesome.

One perhaps is sick for his neighbour's field. What he hath is not regarded, for the want of what he cannot have. Another feeds on crusts, to purchase what he must leave (perhaps) to a fool; or, (which is not much better,) to a prodigal. One cares not what attendance

he dances at all hours, what vices he soothes, what deformities he imitates, what servile offices he doth, in hopes to rise. Another is vexed at the covered head and stiff knee of his inferior; angry that other men think him not so good as he thinks himself. Another eats his own heart with envy at the richer furniture and better estate, or more honour of his neighbour; thinking his own not good, because another hath better.

For the avoiding of all which inconveniences, the mind must be settled in a persuasion of the worthlessness of these outward things. Let it know that these riches have made many prouder, none better: that as never man was, so never any wise man thought himself, better for enjoying them: Would that wise prophet have prayed as well against riches as poverty? Would so many great men (whereof our little island hath yielded nine crowned kings, while it was held of old by the Saxons,) after they had continued their life on the throne, have ended it in the cell, and changed their sceptre for a book, if they could have found as much felicity in the highest estate, as security in the lowest? I hear Peter and John (the eldest and dearest apostles,) say, "Gold and silver I have none." I hear the devil say, "All these will I give thee; and they are mine to give." Which shall I desire to be in, the state of these saints, or of that devil? He was a better husband than a philosopher, that first termed riches *goods*. And he mended the title well, that called them goods of *fortune*; false goods, ascribed to a false patron. There is no fortune to give or guide riches: there is no true goodness in riches to be guided. In sum, who would account those riches as *goods*, which hurt the owner, and disquiet others? Which the worst have; which the best have not; which those that have not, want not; which those want that have them: which are lost in a night; and a man is not worse, when he hath lost them? It is true of them, that we say of fire and water, They are good servants, ill masters. Make them thy slaves, they shall be goods indeed; in use, if

not in nature; good to thyself, good to others by thee. But if they be thy masters, thou hast condemned thyself to thine own galleys.

SECT. XVI.—*The second Enemy on the right hand, Honour.*

HONOUR, perhaps, is yet better; such is the confused opinion of those that know little: but it is hard to define in what point the goodness thereof consisteth. Is it in high descent of blood? I would think so, if nature were tied by any law to produce children like their parents. Either greatness must shew some charter, wherein it is privileged with succession of virtue; or else the goodness of honour cannot consist in blood. Is it then in the admiration others have conceived of thee, which draws all dutiful respect from them? O fickle good, that is ever in the keeping of others! especially of the unstable vulgar, that beast with many heads; whose divided tongues, as they never agree with each other, so seldom agree long with themselves. There only is true honour, where blood and virtue meet together. Rejoice, ye great men, if your blood is ennobled with the virtues and deserts of your ancestors. This only is yours; this only challengeth respect of your inferiors. Count it praiseworthy, not that you have, but that you deserve honour. Blood may be tainted; the opinion of the vulgar cannot be constant; only virtue is ever like itself, and wins reverence even of those that hate it. Without which, greatness is as a beacon of vice, to draw men's eyes the more to behold it: and those that see it, dare loathe it, though they dare not censure it.

SECT. XVII.—*The Vanity of Pleasure; the third Enemy on the right Hand.*

BUT, if there be any sorceress upon earth, it is pleasure; which so enchanteth the minds of men, and

worketh the disturbance of our peace with secret delight, that foolish men think this want of *tranquillity*, happiness. She turneth men into swine, with such sweet charms; that they would not change their brutish nature for their former reason. Thou fool, thy pleasure contents thee: how much? how long? If she have not more befriended thee than ever she did any earthly favourite; yea, if she have not given thee more than she hath herself, thy best delight hath had some mixture of discontent.

See how that great king, who never had any match for wisdom, scarce ever any superior for wealth, traversed all this world with diligent inquiry to find out that goodness of the children of men which they enjoy under the sun; abridging himself of nothing that either his eyes or his heart could suggest to him: (as what was it that he could not either know or purchase?) and now coming home to himself, (after the disquisition of all things,) he complains, "Behold, all is not only *vanity*, but *vexation*." Go then, thou wise scholar of experience, and make a more accurate search for that which he sought, and missed. Perhaps, somewhere (betwixt the tallest cedars of Lebanon, and the shrubby hyssop upon the wall,) pleasure shrouded herself, that she could not be descried of him; whether through ignorance or negligence. Thine insight may be more piercing, thy success happier. If it were possible for any man to entertain such hopes, his vain experience could not make him a greater fool: it could but teach him what he is, and knoweth not. And yet so imperfect as our pleasures are, they have their satiety: and as their *continuance* is not good, so their *conclusion* is worse. Look to the end, and see how sudden, how bitter it is.

Sorrow and repentance are the best end of pleasure; pain is yet worse: but the worst is despair. If thou miss of the first of these, one of the latter shall find thee; perhaps both. How much better is it for thee to want a little honey, than to be swollen up with a venomous sting?

Thus, then, the mind, being resolved that these earthly things, *honour, wealth, pleasure*, are casual, unstable, deceitful, imperfect, dangerous, must learn to use them without trust, and to want them without grief; thinking still, "If I have them, I have some benefit with a great charge: if I have them not, I have much security and ease:" which once obtained, we cannot fare amiss in either state: and without which, we cannot but miscarry in both.

SECT XVIII.—*Positive Rules of our Peace.*

ALL the enemies of our inward peace are thus discomfited. Which done, we have enough to preserve us from misery. But since we seek to live happily, there yet remain those *positive rules*, whereby our *tranquillity* may be both had, continued, and confirmed. In order to this, we must cast our anchor in heaven, while it can find no hold on earth. All earthly things are full of variableness; and therefore, having no stay in themselves, can give none to us. He that will have right *tranquillity*, must find in himself a sweet fruition of God, and a feeling apprehension of his presence; that, when he finds manifold occasions of vexation in earthly things, he may find in him such matter of contentment, that he may pass over all these petty grievances with contempt.

What state is there wherein this heavenly stay shall not afford me not only peace, but joy? Am I in prison? or in the hell of prisons; in some dark, low, and desolate dungeon? Lo, there Algerius, that sweet martyr, finds more light than above; and pities the darkness of our liberty. We have but a sun to enlighten our world, which every cloud dimmeth, and hideth from our eyes: but the Father of lights shines into his pit, and the presence of his glorious angels makes that an heaven to him which the world purposed to be as an hell. What *walls* can keep out that infinite Spirit, which fills all things? What *darkness* can be where the God of this sun dwelleth?

What *sorrow* where he comforteth? Am I wandering in banishment? Can I go where God is not? What sea can divide betwixt him and me? Then would I fear exile, if I could be driven away as well from God as my country. But he alone is a thousand companions; he alone is a world of friends. That man never knew what it is to be familiar with God, that complains of the want of a home, of friends, of companions, while God is with him. Am I contemned of the world? It is enough for me that I am honoured of God: of both I cannot. The world would love me more, if I were less in friendship with God.

I am weak and diseased: he cannot miscarry, who hath his Maker for his physican. Yet my soul (the better part,) is sound; for that cannot be weak, whose strength God is. Let me know that God favours me, then I have *liberty* in prison, *home* in banishment, *honour* in contempt, *wealth* in losses, *health* in infirmity, *life* in death; and in all these, *happiness*. And surely, if our perfect fruition of God be our complete heaven, it must needs be that our thus conversing with him is the entrance into heaven: which differs from this, not in the kind of it, but in the degree. For the continuation of which happy society on our part, there must be a daily renewing of heavenly familiarity, by talking with God in our secret invocations; by hearing his conference with us; and by mutual entertainment of each other in the sweet discourses of our daily meditations.

He is a sullen, unsociable friend, that wants words. The heart that is full of love, cannot but have a busy tongue. All our talk with God is either suits or thanks. In them the Christian heart pours out itself to his Maker, and would not change his privilege for a world. All his wants, all his dislikes are poured into the bosom of his invisible Friend; who likes us still so much more as we ask more, as we complain more. Oh, the easy and happy recourse that the poor soul hath to the high throne of heaven! We stay not for the holding out of a golden

sceptre, before which our presence should be presumption and death. No hour is unseasonable, no person too base, no words too homely, no importunity too great. We speak familiarly; we are heard, answered, comforted. Another while, God interchangeably speaks unto us by the secret voice of his Spirit, or by the audible sound of his Word; we hear, adore, answer him. By both which, the mind so communicates itself unto God, and hath God so plentifully communicated unto it, that hereby it grows to such an habit of heavenliness, as that now it wants nothing, but dissolution, of full glory.

# HOLY OBSERVATIONS.

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I HAVE seldom seen the son of an excellent and famous man excellent; but that an ill bird hath an ill egg, is not rare: children possessing, as the bodily diseases, so the vices of their parents. Virtue is not propagated, vice is; even in them which have it not reigning in themselves. The grain is sown pure, but comes up with chaff and husk. Hast thou a good son? He is God's, not thine. Is he evil, nothing but his sin is thine. Help by thy prayers and endeavours to take away that, which thou hast given him, and to obtain from God that which thou hast, and canst not give.

2. These things are comely and pleasant to see, and worthy of honour from the beholder: A young saint, an old martyr, a religious soldier, a conscientious statesman, a great man courteous, a learned man humble, a child understanding the eye of his parent, a friend not changed with honour, a sick man cheerful, a soul departing with comfort and assurance.

3. You shall rarely find a man eminent in sundry faculties of mind, or manual trades. If his memory be excellent, his fancy is but dull: if his fancy be quick, his judgment is but shallow: if his judgment be deep, his utterance is harsh; which also holds no less in the activities of the hand. And if it happen that one man is qualified with skill in divers trades, and practise this variety, you will seldom find such one thriving in his

state. With spiritual gifts it is otherwise ; which are so chained together, that he who excels in one, hath some eminency in more, yea, in all. Look upon faith, it is attended with a bevy of graces. He that believes cannot but have hope ; if hope, patience. He that believes and hopes, must needs find joy in God : if joy, love of God. He that loves God cannot but love his brother. His love to God produces piety and care to please, sorrow for offending, fear to offend. His love to men, fidelity and Christian beneficence. Vices are seldom single ; but virtues go ever in troops. They go so thick, that sometimes some are hid in the crowd ; which yet are, but appear not. They may be shut out from sight ; they cannot be severed from each other.

4. I have seen the worst natures, and most depraved minds, not affecting all sins : but still some they have condemned in others and abhorred in themselves. One exclaims on covetousness, yet he can too well abide riot. Another inveighs against drunkenness, not caring how cruel he be in oppression. One cannot endure a rough disposition, yet gives himself over to uncleanness. Another hates all wrongs, save wrong to God. One is a civil Atheist, another a religious usurer, a third an honest drunkard, a fourth a chaste quarreller. I know not, whether every devil excel in all sins : I am sure some of them have denomination from some sins more special. Let no man applaud himself for those sins he wanteth, but condemn himself for that sin he hath. Thou censurest another man's sin, he thine ; God curseth both.

5. A Christian in all his ways must have three guides : truth, charity, wisdom. Truth to go before him ; charity and wisdom on either hand. If any of the three be absent, he walks amiss. I have seen some do hurt by following a truth uncharitably. And others, while they would salve up an error with love, have failed in their wisdom, and offended against justice. A charitable untruth, and an uncharitable truth, and an unwise managing of truth or love, are all to be carefully avoided.

by him, that would go with a right foot in the narrow way.

6. A man must give thanks for what he may not pray for. It hath been said of courtiers, that they must receive injuries, and give thanks. God cannot wrong his, but he will cross them; those crosses are beneficial; all benefits challenge thanks. Yet I have read, that God's children have with condition prayed against them, never for them. In good things, we pray both for them, and their good use: in evil, for their good use, not themselves; yet we must give thanks for both.

7 He that takes his full liberty in what he may, shall repent him; how much more in what he should not? I never read of a Christian that repented him of too little worldly delight. The surest course I have still found in all earthly pleasures, is to rise with an appetite, and to be satisfied with a little.

8. There is a time when kings go not forth to war: our spiritual war admits no intermission: it knows no night, no winter, no peace, no truce. This calls us not into garrison, where we may have ease and respite, but into pitched fields continually. We see our enemies in the face always, and are always seen and assaulted; ever resisting, ever defending, receiving, and returning blows. If either we be negligent or weary we die. What other hope is there while one fights, and the other stands still? We can never have safety and peace, but in victory. There must our resistance be courageous and constant, where both yielding is death, and all treaties of peace are mortal.

9. In the choice of companions for our conversation, it is good dealing with men of good natures: for though grace exerciseth her power in bridling nature, yet, (since we are still men, at the best,) some swing she will have in the most mortified. Austerity, sullenness, or strangeness of disposition, and whatsoever qualities may make a man unsociable, cleave faster to our nature than those

which are absolutely sinful. True Christian love may be separated from acquaintance, and acquaintance from intimacy. These are not qualities to hinder our love, but our familiarity.

10. Where are divers opinions, they may be all false; there can be but one true; and that one truth oft-times must be fetched by piece-meal out of divers branches of contrary opinions. For it falls out not seldom, that truth is through ignorance or rash vehemency, scattered into sundry parts; and like to a little silver, melted amongst the ruins of a burnt house, must be searched out from heaps of much superstitious ashes. There is much pains in the search of it; much skill in finding it; but the value of it once found, requites the cost of both.

11. Our sensual hand holds fast whatsoever delight it apprehendeth; our spiritual hand easily remits; because appetite is stronger in us than grace; whence it is, that we so hardly deliver ourselves of earthly pleasures, which we have once entertained; and with such difficulty, draw ourselves to a constant course of faith, hope, and spiritual joy, or to the renewed acts of them once intermitted. Age is naturally weak; and youth vigorous; but in us the old man is strong; the new faint and feeble. The fault is not in grace, but in us. Faith doth not want strength, but we want faith.

12. God hath, in nature, given every man inclinations to some one particular calling; which, if he follow, he excels; if he cross, he proves a non-proficient, and changable. But all men's natures are equally indisposed to grace, and to the common vocation of Christianity. We are all born heathens. To do well in the first, nature must be observed and followed; in the other crossed and overcome.

13. It is not good to be continual in denunciation of judgment. The noise to which we are accustomed, though loud, wakes us not; whereas a less, if unusual, stirreth us. The way to make threatenings contemned, is to

make them common. It is a profitable rod that strikes sparingly, and affrights somewhat oftener than it smiteth.

14. Want of use causeth disability, and custom perfection. Those that have not used to pray in their closet, cannot pray in publick, except coldly and in a form. He that discontinues meditation, shall be long in recovering; whereas the man inured to these exercises who is not dressed till he have prayed, nor hath supped till he have meditated, doth both these well, and with ease. He that intermits good duties, incurs a double loss: of the blessing that followeth good; of the faculty of doing it.

15. It is a wonder how full of shifts nature is; ready to turn over all good purposes. If we think of death, she suggests secretly, "Tush, it shall not come yet:" if of judgment for sin, "This concerns not thee; it shall not come at all:" address thyself to pray, "It is yet unseasonable; stay for a better opportunity:" to give alms, "Thou knowest not thine own future wants:" to reprove, "What need hast thou to thrust thyself into wilful hatred?" Every good action hath its hindrance. He can never be good, that is not resolute.

16. It is an argument of a good action not well done, when we are glad that it is done. To be affected with the comfort of the conscience of well performing it, is good: but merely to rejoice that the act is over, is carnal. He never can begin cheerfully that is glad he hath ended.

17 Words and diseases grow upon us with years. In age, we talk much, because we have seen much, and soon after shall cease talking for ever. We are most diseased, because nature is weakest; and death which is near, must have harbingers. Such is the old age of the world. No marvel if this last time be full of writing and weak discourse; full of sects and heresies; which are the sicknesses of this great and decayed body.

18. With us vilest things are most common; but with God the best things are most frequently given. Grace, which is the noblest of all God's favours, is impartially

bestowed upon all willing receivers ; whereas nobility of blood, and height of place, blessings of an inferior nature, are reserved for few. Herein the Christian follows his Father ; his prayers, which are his richest portion, he communicates to all ; his substance, according to his ability, to few.

19. God therefore gives, because he hath given ; making his former favours arguments for more. Man therefore shuts his hand, because he hath opened it. There is no such way to procure more from God, as to urge him with what he hath done. All God's blessings are profitable and excellent ; not so much in themselves, as that they are inducements to greater.

20. God and man build in a contrary order. Man lays the foundation first, then adds the walls, the roof last. God began the roof first, spreading out this vast vault of heaven, ere he laid the base of the earth. Our thoughts must follow the order of his workmanship. Heaven must be minded first ; earth afterward. A few miles give bounds to our view of earth ; whereas we may nearly see half the heaven at once. He that thinks most, both of that which is most seen, and of that which is not seen at all, is happiest.

21 It argues the world full of Atheists, that those offences which impeach human society, are entertained with hatred and rigour ; those which immediately wrong the supreme majesty of God are turned over with scarce so much as dislike. If we conversed with God as we do with men, his right would be at least as precious to us as our own. All that converse not with God are without God : not only those that are against God, but those that are without God are Atheists. I fear not to say, that these our last times abound with honest Atheists.

22. The best thing corrupted is worst. An ill man is the worst of all creatures ; an ill Christian the worst of all men ; an ill professor the worst of all Christians ; an ill minister the worst of all professors.

23. *Death did not first strike Adam, the first sinful*

man; nor Cain, the first hypocrite; but Abel, the innocent and righteous. The first soul that met with death, overcame death: the first soul that parted from earth went to heaven. Death argues not displeasure; because he whom God loves best dies first; and the murderer is punished with living.

24. In temporal good things, it is best to live in doubt; not making full account of that which we hold in so weak a tenure: in spiritual, with confidence; not fearing that which is warranted to us by an infallible promise and sure earnest. He lives most contentedly, that is, most secure for this world, most resolute for the other.

# SOLOMON'S SONG

## PARAPHRASED.



### CHAP. I.

#### THE CHURCH TO CHRIST.

1. *LET him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth ; for thy love is better than wine.\**—Oh, that he would bestow upon me the comfortable testimonies of his love, and that he would vouchsafe me yet a nearer conjunction with himself ; as in glory hereafter, so for the mean time in his sensible graces ! For thy love, O my Saviour, and these fruits of it, are more sweet unto me than all earthly delicacies can be to the bodily taste.

2. *Because of the savour of thy good ointment, thy name is as an ointment poured out : therefore the virgins love thee.*—Yea, so wonderfully pleasant are the savours of those graces that are in thee, wherewith I desire to be endued, that all whom thou hast blessed with the sense thereof, make as high and dear account of thy gospel, whereby they are wrought, as of some precious ointment or perfume ; the delight whereof is such, that (hereupon) the pure and holy souls of the faithful place their whole affection upon thee.



\* The old translation is used throughout.

3. *Draw me, we will run after thee: the king hath brought me into his chamber, we will rejoice and be glad in thee: we will remember thy love, more than wine: the righteous do love thee.*—Pull me therefore out of the bondage of my sins. Deliver me from the world, and do thou powerfully incline my will and affections towards thee! And in spite of all temptations give me strength to cleave unto thee! And then both I, and all those faithful children thou hast given me, shall all at once with speed and earnestness walk to thee, and with thee. Yea, when once my royal and glorious Husband hath brought me, both into these lower rooms of his spiritual treasures on earth, and into his heavenly chambers of glory, then will we rejoice and be glad in none, but thee, who shalt be all in all to us. Then will we celebrate and magnify thy love above all the pleasures we found upon earth; for all of us, thy righteous ones, both angels and saints, are inflamed with the love of thee.

4. *I am black, O daughters of Jerusalem, but comely; if I be as the tents of Kedar, yet, I am as the curtains of Solomon.*—Never upbraid me, O ye foreign congregations, that I seem, in outward appearances, discoloured by my infirmities, and duskish with tribulations. For whatsoever I seem to you, I am yet inwardly well-favoured in the eyes of him, whom I seek to please. And though I be to you black, like the tents of the Arabian shepherds; yet to him, and in him, I am glorious and beautiful, like the curtains of Solomon.

5. *Regard ye me not because I am black: for the sun hath looked upon me; the sons of my mother were angry with me: they made me keeper of the vines; but I kept not mine own vine.*—Look not therefore disdainfully upon me, because I am blackish, and dark of hue. For this colour is not so much natural to me, as caused by that continual heat of afflictions wherewith I have been usually scorched: neither this, so much upon my own just desert, as upon the rage and envy of my false brethren, the

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world; who would needs force upon me the observation of their idolatrous religions and superstitious impieties; through whose wicked importunity, and my own weakness, I have not so entirely kept the sincere truth of God committed to me as I ought.

6. *Shew me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest at noon. For why should I be as she that turneth aside to the flocks of thy companions?—* Now, therefore, that I am some little started aside from thee, O thou whom my soul notwithstanding dearly loveth, shew me, I beseech thee, where, and in what wholesome and divine pastures, thou (like a good shepherd,) feedest and retest thy flocks with comfortable refreshings, in the extremity of these hot persecutions. For how can it stand with thy glory, that I should, through thy neglect, thus suspiciously wander up and down, amongst the congregations of them, that both command and practise the worship of false gods?

CHRIST TO THE CHURCH.

7 *If thou know not, O thou the fairest among women, get thee forth by the steps of the flock, and feed thy kids above the tents of the shepherds.—*If thou know not, O thou my church, whom I both esteem, and have made most beautiful by my merits, and thy sanctification, stray not amongst these false worshippers, but follow the holy steps of those blessed patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, which have been my true and ancient flock; who have both known my voice, and followed me; and feed thou my weak and tender ones with this their spiritual food of life, far above the reach of false teachers.

8. *I have compared thee, O my love, to the troops of horses in the chariots of Pharaoh.—*Such is mine estimation of thee, O my love, that so far as the choicest Egyptian horses of Pharaoh, for comely shape, for honourable service, for strength and speed, exceed all others, so far thou excellest all that may be compared with thee.

9. *Thy cheeks are comely with rows of stones, and thy neck with chains.*—Those parts of thee, which both are the seats of beauty, and most conspicuous to the eye, are gloriously adorned with the graces of my sanctification; which are, for their worth, as so many precious borders of the goodliest stones, or chains of pearl.

10. *We will make the borders of gold, with studs of silver.*—And though thou be already thus set forth; yet I and my Father have purposed a further ornament unto thee, in the more plentiful effusion of our Spirit upon thee: which shall be to thy former deckings, instead of pure gold, curiously wrought with specks of silver.

#### THE CHURCH.

11. *While the king was at his repast, my spikenard gave the smell thereof.*—Behold, O ye daughters, even now, whilst my Lord and King seems far distant from me, and sits in the throne of heaven amongst the companies of angels, (who attend around upon him,) yet now do I find him present with me in spirit. Even now the sweet influence of his graces, like to some precious ointment, spreads itself over my soul, and returns a pleasant savour into his own nostrils.

12. *My beloved is as a bundle of myrrh unto me, lying between my breasts.*—And though I be thus delightful to my Saviour, yet nothing so much as he is unto me. For lo! as fragrant myrrh, laid between the breasts, sends up a most comfortable scent; so his love, laid close unto my heart, doth still give me continual and unspeakable refreshings.

13. *My well-beloved is as a cluster of camphire unto me among the vines of Engeddi.*—Or if any thing can be of more excellent virtue, such smell as the clusters of camphire, within the fruitfulest, pleasantest, and richest vineyards and gardens of Judea, yield unto the passengers; such, and more delectable, do I find the savour of his grace to me.

## CHRIST.

14. *My love, behold, thou art fair, thine eyes are like the doves.*—Neither dost thou, on my part, lose any of thy love, O my dear church: for behold! in mine eyes, thus clothed, as thou art, with my righteousness, oh, how fair and glorious thou art! How above all comparison glorious and fair! Thine eyes, which are prophets, apostles, ministers, and those inward eyes, whereby thou seest him that is invisible, are full of grace, chastity, simplicity.

## THE CHURCH.

15. *My well-beloved, behold thou art fair and pleasant: also our bed is green.*—Nay then, O my Saviour and Spouse, thou alone art that fair and pleasant one indeed, from whose fulness I confess to have received all this little measure of my spiritual beauty. And behold, from this our mutual delight, and heavenly union, there ariseth a plentiful and flourishing increase of thy faithful ones in all places, and through all times.

16. *The beams of our house are cedars, our galleries are of fir.*—And behold! the congregations of saints, the places where we sweetly converse and walk together, are both firm and durable, (like cedars amongst the trees,) not subject, through thy protecting grace, to corruption; and through thy favourable acceptation, (like to galleries of sweet wood,) full of pleasure and contentment.

## CHAP. II,

## CHRIST.

1. *I am the rose of the field, and the lily of the vallies.*—Thou hast not, without just cause, magnified me, O my church: for, as the fairest and sweetest of all flowers, which the earth yieldeth, the rose and lilly of the vallies, excel for beauty, for pleasure, for use, the most base and

odious weeds that grow : so doth my grace, to all them that have felt the sweetness thereof, surpass all worldly contentments.

2. *Like a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.*—Neither is this my dignity alone : but thou, O my spouse, (that thou mayest be a fit match for me,) art thus excellent above the world, that no lily can be more in goodly shew beyond the naked thorn, than thou in the glory thou receivest from me, excellest all the assemblies of the unregenerate.

#### THE CHURCH.

3. *Like the apple-tree among the trees of the forest, so is my well-beloved among the sons of men. Under his shadow had I a delight, and sat down ; and his fruit was sweet unto my mouth.*—And, (to return thine own praises,) as some fruitful and well-grown apple-tree, in comparison of all the barren trees of the wild forest ; so art thou, O my beloved Saviour, to me, in comparison of all men and angels. Under thy comfortable shadow alone, I find safe shelter against all my temptations and infirmities, against all the curses of the law, and dangers of judgment, and cool myself after all the scorching beams of thy Father's displeasure, and (besides) feed and satisfy my soul with the sovereign fruit of thy holy Word, unto eternal life.

4. *He brought me into the wine-cellar, and love was his banner over me.*—He hath graciously led me by his Spirit, into the midst of the mysteries of godliness ; and hath plentifully broached unto me the sweet wines of his Scriptures and sacraments. And look how soldiers are drawn by their colours from place to place, and cleave fast to their ensign ; so his love, which he spread forth in my heart, was my only banner, whereby I was both drawn to him, directed by him, and fastened upon him.

5. *Stay me with flagons, and comfort me with apples : for I am sick of love.*—And now, O ye faithful evangelists, apostles, teachers, apply unto me with all care and

diligence, all the cordial promises of the gospel. These are the full flaggons of that spiritual wine, which only can cheer my soul. These are the apples of that tree of life, in the midst of the garden, which can feed me to immortality. Oh! come and apply these unto my heart: for I am even overcome with a longing expectation and desire of my delayed glory.

6. *His left hand be under my head: and let his right hand embrace me.*—And whilst I am thus spiritually languishing in this agony of desire, let my Saviour employ both his hands to relieve mine infirmity. Let him comfort my head and my heart, (my judgment and affections, which both complain of weakness,) with his gracious embraces; and so let us sweetly rest together.

7. *I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor waken my love, until he please.*—In the mean time, I charge you, (O all ye that profess any friendship or affinity with me,) I charge you, by whatsoever is comely, dear, and pleasant unto you, take heed how you vex and disquiet my merciful Saviour, and grieve his Spirit, and wrong his name; and do not dare, by the least provocation of your sin, to interrupt his peace.

8. *It is the voice of my well-beloved: behold, he cometh leaping by the mountain, and skipping by the hills.*—Lo! I have no sooner called, but he hears and answers me with his loving voice. Neither doth he only speak to me afar off, but he comes to me with much willingness and swiftness; so willingly, that no human resistance can hinder him, neither the hills of my infirmities, nor the mountains of my sins, (repented of,) can stay his merciful pace towards me.

9. *My well-beloved is like a roe, or a young hart: lo! he standeth behind our wall, looking forth of the windows, shewing himself through the grates.*—He is so swift, that no roe or hind can fully resemble him in this his speed. And lo! even now, before I can speak it, is he come near unto me, close to the door and wall of my heart.

And though this wall of my flesh hinder my full fruition of him, yet lo! I see him by the eye of faith, looking upon me. I see him as in a glass. I see him shining gloriously, through the grates and windows of his word and sacraments, upon my soul.

10. *My well-beloved spake, and said unto me, Arise, my love, my fair one, and come thy way.*—And now, methinks, I hear him speak to me, and say, “Arise, O my church, rise up, whether from thy security, or fear. Hide not thy head any longer, O my spouse, for danger of thine enemies, neither suffer thyself to be pressed with the dulness of thy nature, or the sleep of thy sins; but come forth into the comfortable light of my presenee, and shew thyself cheerful in me.”

11. *For behold, the winter is past, the rain is changed and gone away.*—For behold, all the cloudy winter of thy afflictions is passed, all the tempests of temptations are blown over; the heaven is clear, and now there is nothing that may not give thee cause of delight.

12. *The flowers appear in the earth: the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.*—Every thing now resembles the face of a spiritual spring. All the sweet flowers and blossoms of holy profession put forth, and shew themselves. Now is the time of that heavenly melody, which the cheerful saints and angels make in mine ears; while they sing songs of deliverance, and praise me with their hallelujahs, and say, “Glory to God on high, in earth peace, goodwill towards men.”

13. *The fig-tree hath brought forth her young figs, and the vines with their small grapes have cast a savour: arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.*—What speak I of blossoms? Behold! those fruitful vines, and fig-trees of my faithful ones, whom my husbandry hath carefully tended and dressed, yield forth both pleasant, though tender, fruits of obedience, and the comfortable savours of better desires. Wherefore now shake off all

that dull security, wherewith thou hast been held, and come forth and enjoy me.

14. *My dove, thou art in the holes of the rock, in the secret places of the cliffs. Shew me thy sight, let me hear thy voice: for thy voice is sweet, and thy sight comely.*—O my beautiful and chaste spouse, (which like some solitary dove, hast long hid thine head in the secret cliffs of the rocks, out of the reach and knowledge of thy persecutors,) however thou art concealed from others, shew thyself, in thy works and righteousness unto me: and let me be ever plied with thy prayers and thanksgivings. For thy voice, though it be in mourning, and thy face, though it be sad, are exceeding pleasing unto me.

15. *Take us the foxes, the little foxes which destroy the vines: for our vines have small grapes.*—And in the mean time, O ye that wish well to my church, do your utmost endeavour to deliver her from her secret enemies, not sparing the least, who, either by heretical doctrine, or profane conversation, hinder the course of the gospel, and pervert the faith of many; especially of those that have newly given up their names to me, and are but newly entered into the profession of godliness.

#### THE CHURCH.

16. *My well-beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies.*—My beloved Saviour is mine, through my faith; and I am his through his love; and we both are one, by virtue of that blessed union, whereby we enjoy each other. And how worthily is my love placed upon him, who leadeth me forth into pleasant pastures, and at whose right hand there is the fulness of joy for evermore!

17 *Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, return, my well-beloved, and be like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether.*—Come, therefore, O my Saviour, (and till the day of thy glorious appearance shall shine forth to the world, wherein our spiritual

marriage shall be consummated, and till all these shadows of ignorance, of infidelity, of troubles of conscience, and of outward tribulations, be utterly chased away,) come and turn thee to me again! Thou, who to the eyes of the world seemest absent, come quickly, and delay not! but, for the speed of thy return, be like some swift roe, or hind, upon those smooth hills of Gilead.

### CHAP. III.

1. *In my bed by night I sought him whom my soul loved: I sought him, but found him not.*—My security told me, that my Saviour was near unto my soul; yea, with it, and in it. But when, by serious and silent meditation, I searched my own heart, I found that (for ought my own sense could discern,) he was far off from me.

2. *I will rise therefore now, and go about in the city by the streets, and by the open places, and will seek him that my soul loveth: I sought him, but I found him not.*—Then thought I with myself, shall I lie still contented with this want? No, I will stir up myself; and the help I cannot find in myself, I will seek in others. Of all that have been expericnced in all kinds of difficulties, of all deep philosophers, I will diligently inquire for my Saviour. Amongst them I sought him, yet could receive no answer to my satisfaction.

3. *The watchmen that went about the city found me: to whom I said, Have you seen him whom my soul loveth?*—Missing him there, I ran to those wise and careful teachers, whom God hath set as so many watchmen upon the walls of his Jerusalem; who sooner found me, than I could ask after them. To whom I said, (as thinking no man could be ignorant of my love,) Can you give me no direction where I might find him whom my soul loveth?

4. *When I had passed a little from them, then I found him, whom my soul loveth: I took hold on him, and left him not, till I had brought him unto my mother's house, into the chamber of her that conceived me.*—Of whom,

when I had almost left hoping for comfort, that gracious Saviour, who would not suffer me to be tempted above my measure, presented himself to my soul. Lo then! by a new act of faith, I laid fast hold on him, and will not let him any more part from my joyful embraces, until I have brought him home fully into the seat of my conscience, and have won him to a full accomplishment of love, in that Jerusalem, which is above, which is the mother of us all.

## CHRIST.

5. *I charge ye, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up nor awaken my love, until she please.*—Now, since my distressed church hath been all the night, because of my seeming absence, toiled in seeking me, I charge you, O all ye, that profess any friendship with me, I charge you, by whatsoever is comely, dear and pleasant unto you, that you trouble not her peace with any unjust or unseasonable suggestions, with uncharitable contentions, with any novelties of doctrine; but suffer her to rest sweetly in that Divine truth, which she hath received, and this true apprehension of me, wherein she rejoiceth.

6. *Who is she that cometh up out of the wilderness, like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and incense, and with all the chief of spices.*—Oh! who is this? How admirable! how lovely! Who, but my church, that ascendeth thus gloriously out of the wilderness of the world, wherein she hath thus long wandered, into the blessed mansions of my Father's house, all perfumed with the graces of perfect sanctification, mounting right upward into her glory, like some straight pillar of smoke, that riseth from the most rich and pleasant composition of odours?

## THE CHURCH.

7. *Behold his bed is better than Solomon's: three-score strong men are round about it, of the valiant men of*

*Israel.*—I am ascended; and lo! how glorious is this place, where I shall eternally enjoy the presence and love of my Saviour! How far doth it exceed the earthly magnificence of Solomon? About his bed attends a guard of threescore choicest men of Israel.

8. *They all handle the sword, and are expert in war. Every one hath his sword upon his thigh, for the fear by night.*—All stout warriors, able and expert to handle the sword; which for more readiness, each of them wears upon his thigh. But about this heavenly pavilion of my Saviour, attend millions of angels, spiritual soldiers, mighty in power, ready to be commanded by him.

9. *King Solomon made himself a bed of the trees of Lebanon.*—The bride-bed, that Solomon made, (so much admired of the world,) was but of the cedars of Lebanon.

10. *He made the pillars thereof of silver, and the stead thereof of gold, the hangings thereof of purple, whose midst was in-laid with the love of the daughters of Jerusalem.*—The pillars but of silver, and the bedstead of gold; the canopy but of purple; the coverlet wrought with the curious and painful needle-work of the maids of Jerusalem. But this celestial resting-place of my God is not made with hands, nor of any corruptible metal, but is full of incomprehensible light, shining evermore with the glorious presence of God.

11. *Come forth ye daughters of Sion, and behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his marriage, and in the day of the gladness of his heart.*—And as the outward state, so the majesty of his person, is above all comparison. Come forth, O ye daughters of Sion, lay aside all private and earthly affections. Look upon King Solomon, as he sits solemnly crowned in the day of his greatest royalty and triumph, and compare his highest pomp, with the Divine magnificence of my Saviour, in that day, when his blessed marriage shall be fully perfected above, to the eternal rejoicing of himself and his church; and see whether there be any proportion betwixt them.

## CHAP IV

## CHRIST.

1. *Behold thou art fair, my love, thou art fair, thine eyes are like the doves within thy locks: thine hair is like a flock of goats which look down from the mountains of Gilead.*—Oh! how fair thou art and comely, my dear spouse! How inwardly fair with the gifts of my Spirit! How fair outwardly in thy comely administration and government! Thy spiritual eyes of understanding and judgment, are full of purity, chastity, simplicity; not wantonly cast forth, but modestly shining amidst thy locks. All thy gracious profession, and all thy ornaments of expedient ceremonies, are as comely to behold as a flock of well-fed goats, grazing upon the fruitful hills of Gilead.

2. *Thy teeth like a flock of sheep in good order, which go up from the washing. Which every one bring out twins, and none is barren among them.*—Those that prepare the heavenly food for thy soul, are of gracious simplicity, and of sweet accordance one with another; having all one heart and one tongue. Both themselves are sanctified and purged from their uncleanness, and are fruitful in their holy labours unto others; so that their doctrine is never in vain, but is still answered with plentiful increase of souls added to the church.

3. *Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy talk is comely. Thy temples are within thy locks as a piece of pomegranate.*—Thy speech, (especially in the mouth of thy teachers,) is both gracious in itself, and such as administers grace to the hearers; full of zeal and fervent charity; full of gravity and discretion. And that part of thy countenance, which thou wilt have seen, (though dimly and sparingly,) is full of holy modesty and bashfulness; so blushing that it seemeth like the colour of a broken piece of pomegranate.

4. *Thy neck is as the tower of David built for defence. A thousand shields hang therein, and all the targets of the strong men.*—Those, who by their holy authority, sustain thy government, (which are as some straight and strong neck to bear up the head,) are like unto David's high tower of defence, furnished with a rich armory; which affords infinite ways of safe protection, and infinite monuments of victory.

5. *Thy two breasts are as two young kids, that are twins, feeding among the lilies.*—Thy two testaments, (which are thy two full and fair breasts, whereby thou nursest all thy faithful children,) are as two twin-kids: twins, for their excellent and perfect agreement one with another: kids, that are daintily fed among the sweet flowers, for the pleasant nourishment which they yield.

6. *Until the day break, and the shadows fly away, I will go into the mountain of myrrh, and to the mountains of incense.*—Until the day of my gracious appearance shall shine forth, and until all these shadows of ignorance, infidelity, and afflictions, be utterly dispersed, O my spouse, I will retire, (in regard of my bodily presence,) into my delightful and glorious rest of heaven.

7 *Thou art all fair my love, and there is no spot in thee.*—Thou art exceeding beautiful, O my church, in all the parts of thee. For all thy sins are done away, and thine iniquity is covered; and lo! I present thee to my Father without spot, or wrinkle, or any deformity.

8. *Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, even from Lebanon, and look from the top of Amanah, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the dens of lions, and from the mountains of the leopards.*—And now, (O thou, whom I have married to myself,) thou shalt be gathered to me from all parts of the world; not only from the confines of Judea, where I planted and found thee; but from the remotest and most savage places of the nations; out of the company of infidels, of cruel and bloody persecutors, who like lions and leopards have tyrannized over thee, and mercilessly torn thee in pieces.

9. *My sister, my spouse, thou hast wounded my heart with one of thine eyes : and with a chain of thy neck.*—Thou hast utterly ravished me from myself, O my sister, my spouse ; (for so thou art, both joined to me in that spiritual union, and co-heir with me of the same inheritance and glory,) thou hast ravished my heart with thy love. Even one cast of one of thine eyes of faith, and one of the ornaments of thy sanctification, wherewith thou art decked by my Spirit, hath stricken me with love.

10. *My sister, my spouse, how fair is thy love ! How much better is thy love than wine, and the savour of thine ointment than spices.*—Oh ! how excellent, how precious, are those loves of thine, O my sister, my spouse ! How far surpassing all earthly delicacies ! and the savour of those divine virtues, wherewith thou art endued, more pleasing to me, than all the perfumes in the world !

11. *Thy lips, my spouse, drop as honey-combs ; honey and milk are under thy tongue, and the savour of thy garment is as the savour of Lebanon.*—Thy gracious speeches are as so many drops of the honey-comb, that drop from thy lips. And whether thou exhort, or confess, or pray, or comfort, thy words are both sweet and nourishing ; and the savour of thy good works, and outward conversation, is to me, as the smell of the wood of Lebanon to the sense of man.

12. *My sister, my spouse, is as a garden enclosed, as a spring shut up, and a fountain sealed up.*—My sister, my spouse, is as a garden full of heavenly trees, and flowers of grace ; not lying carelessly open, either to the love of strangers, or to the rage of enemies ; but safely walled about, by my protection, and reserved for my delight alone. She is a spring of wholesome waters, from whom flow forth the pure streams of my Word ; but both enclosed and sealed up ; partly, that she may the better, (by this closeness,) preserve her own natural taste and vigour from the corruptions of the world ; and partly, that she may not be defiled by the profane feet of the wicked.

13. *Thy plants are as an orchard of pomegranates with sweet fruits : as cypress, spikenard, even spikenard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all the trees of incense, myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices.*—Thou art an orchard, yea, a paradise, whose plants, (which are thy faithful children that grow up in thee,) are as pomegranate trees ; the apples whereof are esteemed, for their largeness, colour, and taste, above all others. Or, (if I would feed my other senses,) the plentiful fruits of thy holy obedience, which thou yieldest unto me, are for their smell, as some composition of cypress, spikenard, saffron, sweet cane, cinnamon, incense, myrrh, aloes, and whatsoever else may be devised, unto the most perfect state.

14. *O fountain of the gardens, O well of living waters, and the springs of Lebanon !*—The streams, which are derived from thee, water all the gardens of my particular congregations, all the world over. Thou art that fountain, from whose pure head issue all those living waters, which whoso drinketh shall never thirst again ; even such clear currents, as flow from the hill of Libanus, which like unto another Jordan, water all the Israel of God.

## THE CHURCH.

15. *Arise, O north wind, and come, O south, and blow on my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out : Let my well-beloved come to his garden, and eat his pleasant fruit.*—If I be a garden, as thou sayest, O my Saviour, then arise, O all ye winds of the Spirit of God, and breathe upon this garden of my soul, that the sweet odours of these my plants may be both increased, and may also be dispersed afar off, and carried into the nostrils of my well-beloved. And so let him come into his own garden, which his own hand hath digged, planted, watered, and accept of the fruit of that service and praise, which he shall enable me to bring forth to his name.

## CHAP. V.

## CHRIST.

1. *I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse : I gathered my myrrh with my spice ; I ate my honey with my honey-comb, I drank my wine with my milk. Eat, O my friends ; drink, and make you merry, O well-beloved.*— Behold! according to thy desire, I am come into my garden, O my sister, my spouse. I have received those fruits of thine obedience, which thou offeredst unto me, with much joy and pleasure. I have accepted, not only of thy good works, but thy endeavours and purposes of holiness, both which are as pleasant to me, as the honey and the honey-comb. I have allowed of the cheerfulness of thy service, and the wholesomeness of thy doctrine. And ye, O my friends, whether blessed angels, or faithful men, partake with me in the joy arising from the faithfulness of my church. Fill yourselves, O my beloved, with the same spiritual dainties, wherewith I am refreshed.

## THE CHURCH.

2. *I sleep, but my heart waketh. It is the voice of my well-beloved that knocketh, saying, Open unto me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled ; for mine head is full of dew, and my locks with the drops of the night.*— When the world had cast me into a secure sleep, or slumber rather, (for my heart was not utterly bereaved of a true faith in my Saviour,) even in this darkness of my mind, it pleased my gracious Redeemer not to neglect me. He came to me, and knocked often, and called importunately at the door of my heart, by his Word and chastisements, and said, “ Open the door of thy soul, O my sister, my dear, chaste, comely, unspotted church. Let me come in, and lodge and dwell with thee, in my graces. Shut out the world, and receive me with a more lively act, and renovation of thy faith. For lo, I have long waited patiently for this effect of thy love, and have

endured all the injuries, both of the night, and weather of thy provocations."

3. *I have put off my coat : how shall I put it on ? I have washed my feet : how shall I defile them ?*—I answered him, pleading excuses for my delay : "Alas, Lord, I have now, since I left my forward profession of thee, avoided a great number of cares and sorrows ? Must I take them up again to follow thee ? I have lived clean from these evils ; and shall I now thrust myself into danger of them ?"

4. *My well-beloved put his hand from the hole of the door ; and my bowels yearned toward him.*—When my Saviour heard this unkind answer of delay, he let his hand fall from the key-hole, and withdrew himself from soliciting me any more. Whereupon my heart and bowels yearned within me for him.

5. *I rose up to open to my well-beloved, and my hands dropped down myrrh, and my fingers pure myrrh upon the handles of the bars.*—And now I roused up my drowsy heart, that I might receive so gracious a Saviour. Which when I but endeavoured, I found that he had left behind him such a plentiful blessing, as the monument of his late presence, upon the first motions of my heart, that, with the very touch of them, I was exceedingly refreshed.

6. *I opened to my well-beloved : but my well-beloved was gone and past ; mine heart was gone when he did speak : I sought him, but I could not find him : I called him, but he answered me not.*—I opened to my beloved Saviour ; but my Saviour had now withdrawn himself, and hid his countenance from me. And now I was almost past myself with despair, to remember that sweet invitation of his, which I neglected. I sought him therefore in my thoughts, in the outward use of his ordinances, and of my earnest prayers ; but he would not as yet be found of me.

7. *The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, and wounded me The watchmen of the walls took away my veil from me.*—Those, which should

have regarded me, and, by their vigilance, have secured me from danger, proved mine adversaries. Instead of comforting me, they fell upon me and wounded me with their false doctrines, drawing me on into further errors, spoiling me of that purity and sincerity, wherewith, as with some rich and modest veil, I was formerly adorned, and covered.

8. *I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my well-beloved, that you tell him, I am sick of love.*—I advise you solemnly, O all ye that wish well to me, if you shall find my Saviour's presence in yourselves before me, pray for the recovery of his love to me; and bemoaning my state to him, tell him, how I languish with the impatient desire of his presence.

9. *O thou fairest among women, what is thy well-beloved more than another well-beloved? What is thy well-beloved more than another lover, that thou dost so charge us?*—O thou, which art the most happy, and most glorious of all creatures, the chosen of the living God; what is thy well-beloved, whom thou seekest, above all other the sons of men? What eminency is there in him above all saints and angels, that thou art both so far gone in affection to him, and dost so vehemently adjure us to speak unto him for thee?

10. *My well-beloved is white and ruddy, the standard-bearer of ten thousand.*—My well-beloved, (if you know not,) is of perfect beauty. In his face is an exact mixture of the colours of the purest and healthfullest complexion of holiness: for he hath not received the Spirit by measure. In him the Godhead dwells bodily. He is infinitely fairer than all the sons of men; and for goodness of person may bear the standard of comeliness and grace amongst ten thousand.

11. *His head is as fine gold, his locks curled, and black as a raven.*—The Deity which dwells in him, is most pure and glorious. And that fulness of grace which is communicated to his human nature, is wondrously beautiful,

and so sets it forth, as the black curled locks do a fresh and well-favoured countenance.

12. *His eyes are like doves upon the rivers of waters, which are washed with milk, and remain in their fulness.*—His judgment of all things, and his respect to his church, which are as his eyes, are full of love, shining like unto doves, washed in water; yea, in milk, so as there is no spot or blemish to be found in them. And they are withal so fitly placed, as is both most comely and most expedient for the perfect sight of the state, and necessities of his servants.

13. *His cheeks are as a bed of spices, and as sweet flowers, and his lips like lilies dropping down pure myrrh.*—The manifestation of himself to us in his Word is sweet, as an heap of spice, or those flowers, that are used to make the best perfuming ointments. His heavenly instructions, and the promises of his gospel are unspeakably comfortable, and plenteous, in the grace that is wrought by them.

14. *His hands as rings of gold set with the chrysolite; his belly like white ivory covered with sapphires.*—His actions and his instruments, (which are his hands,) are set forth with much majesty, as some precious stone beautifies the ring, wherein it is set. The secret counsels of his breast, and the mysteries of his will, are most pure and holy, and full of excellent glory.

15. *His legs are as pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold: his countenance as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars.*—All his proceedings are firm and stable; and withal, as pillars of marble set in sockets of tried gold; so as they are neither subject to wavering, nor to any danger of infirmity and corruption. The shew and carriage of his whole person, whereby he makes himself known to his chosen, is exceeding goodly and upright, like to the straight and lofty cedars of Lebanon.

16. *His mouth is as sweet things, and he is wholly delectable: this is my well-beloved, and this is my lover, O daughters of Jerusalem.*—His mouth, out of which pro-

ceed innumerable blessings and comfortable promises, is to my soul even sweetness itself. What speak I of any one part? He is all sweets. There is nothing but comfort in him; and there is no comfort but in him; and this, (if ye would know,) is my well-beloved; of so incomparable glory and worthiness, that ye may easily discern him from all others.

FOREIGN CONGREGATIONS.

17. *O thou fairest among women, whither is thy well-beloved gone? Whither is thy well-beloved turned aside, that we might seek him with thee?*—Since thy well-beloved is so glorious and amiable, (O thou, who art for thy beauty worthy to be the spouse of such an husband,) tell us, (for thou only knowest it; and to seek Christ without the church we know is vain,) tell us where this Saviour of thine is to be sought: that we may join with thee in the same holy study of seeking after him.

CHAP. VI.

1. *My well-beloved is gone down into his garden to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies.*—My well-beloved Saviour is to be sought and found in the particular assemblies of his people, which are his garden of pleasure, wherein are varieties of all the beds of renewed souls; which he hath planted, and dressed by his continual care, and wherein he walketh for his delight; solacing himself with those fruits of righteousness and obedience, which they bring forth unto him.

2. *I am my well-beloved's, and my well-beloved is mine, who feedeth among the lilies.*—And now, lo! in spite of all temptations, my beloved Saviour is mine, through faith; and I am his, through his love; and both of us are by an inseparable union knit together; whose conjunction and love is most sweet and happy; for all that are his he feedeth continually with heavenly repast.

## CHRIST.

3. *Thou art beautiful, my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners.*—Notwithstanding this thy late blemish of neglecting me, O my church, yet still in mine eyes, through my grace, upon this thy repentance, thou art beautiful, like unto that near and elegant city Tirzah, and that orderly building of Jerusalem. And with this thy loveliness, thou art awful unto thine adversaries, through the power of thy censures, and the majesty of him that dwelleth in thee.

4. *Turn away thine eyes from me, for they overcome me: thine hair is like a flock of goats which look down from Gilead.*—Yea, such beauty is in thee, that I am overcome with the vehemency of my affection to thee. Turn away thine eyes awhile from beholding me; for the strength of that faith, whereby they are fixed upon me, ravisheth me from myself. I do therefore again renew thy former praise; that thy gracious profession, and all thy ornaments of expedient ceremonies are as comely to behold, as a flock of well-fed goats grazing upon the fruitful hills of Gilead.

5. *Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep, which go up from the washing, which every one bring out twins, and none is barren among them.*—Thy teachers, that prepare the heavenly food of thy soul, are of sweet accordance one with another; having all one heart and one tongue; themselves are sanctified and purged from their uncleanness, and are fruitful in their holy labours unto others: so that their doctrine is never in vain, but still answered with plentiful increase of souls to the church.

6. *Thy temples are within thy locks, as a piece of pomegranate.*—That part of thy countenance, which thou wilt have seen, (though dimly and sparingly,) is full of holy modesty and bashfulness: so blushing, that it seemeth like the colour of a broken piece of pomegranate.

7. *There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, and of the damsels without number.*—Let there be never

so great a number of people and nations, of churches and assemblies, which challenge my name and love, and perhaps by their outward prosperity, may seem to plead much interest in me, and much worth in themselves ;

8. *But my love is alone, and undefiled, she is the only daughter of her mother, and she is dear to her that bare her. The daughters have seen her, and counted her blessed, even the queens and concubines, and they have praised her.*—Yet thou only art my true and chaste spouse, pure and undefiled in the truth of thy doctrine, and the imputation of my holiness. Thou art she, whom that Jerusalem which is above, (the mother of us all,) acknowledgeth for her only true, and dear daughter. And this is not my commendation alone : but all those foreign assemblies, which might seem to be rivals with thee, applaud and bless thee in this thy estate, and say, “Blessed is this people, whose God is the Lord.”

9. *Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, pure as the sun, terrible as an army with banners.*—And admiring thy godliness, they shall say, “Who is this that looks out so freshly as the morning new risen ; which from these weak beginnings is grown to such high perfection, that now she is as bright and glorious, as the sun in its full strength, and the moon in a clear sky ; and withal is so dreadful through the majesty of her countenance, and power of her censures, as some terrible army, with ensigus displayed, is to a weak adversary ?”

10. *I went down to the dressed orchard, to see the fruits of the valley, to see if the vine budded, and if the pomegranates flourished.*—Thou complainest of my absence, O my church ; there was no cause. I meant not to forsake thee. I did only walk down into the well-dressed orchard of thine assemblies, to view their forwardness, to see the happy progress of the humble in spirit, and the gracious beginnings of those tender souls, which are newly converted unto me.

11. *I knew nothing, my soul set me as the chariots of*

*my noble people.*—So earnestly did I long to re-visit thee, and to restore comfort unto thee, that I hasted, I knew not which way. And with insensible speed I am come back, as it were upon the swiftest chariot.

12. *Return, return, O Shulamite: return, return, that I may behold thee. What shall you see in the Shulamite, but as the company of an army?*—Now therefore return, O my spouse, the true daughter of Jerusalem, return to me; return to thyself, and to thy former feeling of my grace. Return, that both myself and all the company of angels, may see and rejoice in thee. And what shall ye see, O ye hosts of heaven, what shall ye see in my church? Even such an awful grace and majesty, as is in a well-marshalled army, ready to meet with the enemy.

## CHAP. VII.

1. *How beautiful are thy goings with shoes, O prince's daughter? The compass of thy hips like jewels: the work of a cunning workman.*—How beautiful are thy feet, O daughter of the highest; being shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and readily addressed to run the way of the commandments of thy God! Thou art compassed about thy loins with the girdle of truth; which is both precious for the matter of it, and cunningly framed by the skill of the Spirit.

2. *Thy navel is as a round cup, that wanteth not liquor. Thy belly is as an heap of wheat compassed about with lilies.*—The navel, whereby all thy spiritual conceptions receive their nourishment, is full of all fruitful supply, and never wants means of sustenance, to feed them in thy womb. Which also is so plenteous in thy blessed increase, that it is as an heap of wheat, consisting of infinite pure grains, which consort together with much sweetness and pleasure.

3. *Thy two breasts are as two young kids that are twins.*—Thy two testaments, (which are thy two full and comely breasts, by whose wholesome milk thou nourishest all thy

faithful children, once born into the light,) are, for their excellent and perfect agreement, and their amiable proportion, like two twins of kids.

4. *Thy neck is like a tower of ivory: thine eyes are like artificial pools in a frequented gate: thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon, that looketh toward Damascus.*—Those who by their holy authority support thy government, (which are as some straight and strong neck, to bear up thy head,) are, for their height and defence, like a tower: for their order, pureness and dignity, like a tower of ivory. Thy teachers and ministers (which are thine eyes,) are like unto ponds of water in a place of greatest resort; whence all may plentifully draw the waters of life. Thy nose, by which all spiritual scents are conveyed to thee, is perfectly composed, and featured like some curious turret of that goodly house in Lebanon; so that thy judgment, and power of discerning the spirits, is admirable.

5. *Thine head upon thee is as scarlet, and the bush of thine head like purple: the king is tied in thy beams.*—The whole tire of thine head (which are the ceremonies used by thee,) are very graceful, and of high price to all the beholders. And as for me, I am so enamoured of thee, that I am even tied by my own desire to a perpetual presence in thine holy assemblies.

6. *How fair art thou, and how pleasant art thou, O my love, in pleasures!*—Oh! how beautiful and lovely art thou, therefore, O my church, in all thy parts and ornaments! How sweet and pleasant art thou, O my love, in whatsoever might give me true contentment!

7. *This thy stature is like a palm-tree, and thy breasts like clusters.*—Thy whole frame is, for goodness, like a tall palm-tree, which the more it is depressed by the violence of persecutions, riseth the more; and the two breasts of thy testaments are like two full juicy clusters, which yield comfortable and abundant refreshing.

8. *I said I will go up into the palm-tree; I will take hold of her boughs. Thy breasts shall now be like the*

*clusters of the vines, and the savour of thy nose like apples.*—Seeing then thou art my palm-tree, I have resolved in myself to join myself to thee, to gather those sweet fruits of thy graces which thou yieldest; and by my presence also will cause thee to be more plentiful in all good works and doctrine; so as thou shalt afford abundance of heavenly liquor unto all the thirsty souls of thy children, and an acceptable verdure of holiness and obedience unto me.

9. *And the roof of thy mouth like good wine, which goeth straight up to my well-beloved, and causeth the lips of him that is asleep to speak.*—And the delivery of my word, by the mouths of my ministers, shall be as some excellent wine, which sparkleth right upward; being well accepted of that God in whose name it is taught; and being no less highly esteemed of the receivers: which is of such wonderful power, that it is able to put words both of repentance and praise, into the lips of him that lies asleep in his sins.

## THE CHURCH.

10. *I am my well-beloved's, and his desire is towards me.*—Behold, such as I am, I am not mine own; much less am I any others. I am wholly my Saviour's. And now I see and feel whatsoever I had deserved, that he is mine also in all entire affection; who hath chosen me, and given himself for me.

11. *Come, my well-beloved, let us go into the fields, let us lodge in the villages.*—Come, therefore, O my Saviour, let us join together; let thy Spirit and my service be intent upon thy congregations here below; and let us stay in the place where our spiritual husbandry lieth.

12. *Let us go up early in the morning to the vines, and see if the vine flourish; whether it hath disclosed the first grapes; or whether the pomegranates blossom: there will I give thee my love.*—Let us with all haste visit the fruitful vines of our believing children, and be witnesses

and partakers of all the signs and fruits of grace,—of all those good works and thanksgivings, of those holy endeavours and worthy practices, which they yield forth unto us. Let us judge of their forwardness, and commend it. Whereupon it will easily appear that the consummation of our happy marriage draweth near, in which there shall be a perfect union betwixt us.

13. *The mandrakes have given a smell, and in our gates are all sweet things, new and old; my well-beloved, I have kept them for thee.*—Behold, thy godly servants, which not only bear fruit themselves, but are powerful in the provocation of others, present their best services unto thee. And even at our doors (not far to seek, nor hard to procure,) is offer made unto thee of all variety of fruit, whether from the young converts, or thy more settled professors. And all these I spend not lavishly; but in my loving care, duly reserve them for thee, and for the solemn day of our full marriage.

## CHAP VIII.

### THE JEWISH CHURCH.

1. *Oh, that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breast of my mother! I would find thee without; I would kiss thee; then should they not despise me.*—Oh, that I might see thee, my Saviour, clothed in flesh! Oh, that thou, who art my everlasting husband, mightest also be my brother, in partaking the same human nature with me; that so I, finding thee below upon earth, might familiarly entertain thee, and converse with thee, without reproach of the world: yea, might be exalted in thy glory!

2. *I will lead thee and bring thee into my mother's house; there thou shalt teach me: I will cause thee to drink spiced wine, and new of the pomegranates.*—Then would I (though I be now pent up in the limits of Judea,) bring thee forth into the light and knowledge of

the universal church, whose daughter I am. And thou shouldst teach me how perfectly to worship thee, and I shall gladly entertain thee with a royal feast of the best graces that are in my holiest servants; which I know thou wilt account better cheer than all the spiced cups and pomegranate wines in the world.

3. *His left hand shall be under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me.*—Then shall I attain to a nearer communion with him; and both his hands shall be employed to sustain and relieve me: yea, he shall comfort my head and my heart (my judgment and affections,) with his gracious embraces.

4. *I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, that you stir not up, nor waken my Love until he please.*—I charge you, O all ye that profess any friendship to me, take heed how ye vex and disquiet my merciful Saviour, and grieve his Spirit. Do not dare, by the least provocation of him, to interrupt his peace.

#### CHRIST.

5. *Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness, leaning upon her well-beloved? I raised thee up under an apple-tree: there thy mother conceived thee: there she conceived that bare thee.*—Who is this, that, from the comfortless deserts of ignorance, of infidelity, of tribulations, ascendeth thus up into the glorious light and liberty of my chosen, relying wholly upon her Saviour? Is it not my church? It is she, whom I have loved, and acknowledged of old. For even under the tree of offence, the forbidden fruit which thou tastedst to thy destruction, I raised thee up again from death. Even there thy first mother conceived thee; while by faith she laid hold on that blessed promise of the gospel, whereby she and her believing seed were restored.

#### THE JEWISH CHURCH.

6. *Set me as a seal on thy heart, and as a signet on thine arm: for love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel*

*as the grave ; the coals thereof are fiery coals, and a vehement flame.*—Have thou me still, O my Saviour, in perpetual remembrance. Keep me sure in thine heart, yea, in thine arms, as that which thou holdest most precious: and let me never be removed from thy love; the least shew and danger whereof I cannot endure. For this my spiritual love is exceeding powerful, and can no more be resisted than death. And the jealous zeal which I have for thee and thy glory consumes me, even like the grave; and burns me up, like unto the coals of some most vehement fire.

7 *Much water cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it. If a man should give all the substance of his house for love, they would greatly contemn it.*—Yea, more than any fire: for any flame may be quenched with water; but all the waters of afflictions, yea, whole streams of persecutions, cannot quench this love. And for all tempting offers of wealth, of pleasures and honour, how easily are they contemned for the love of my Saviour!

8 *We have a little sister, and she hath no breasts: what shall we do for our sister when she shall be spoken for?*—We have a sister, (as thou knowest, O Saviour,) ordained, through thy mercy, to the same grace with me; the uncalled church of the Gentiles; small (as yet) of growth, and destitute of the help of any outward ministry, whereby she might either bear, or nourish children unto thee. When she grows unto her maturity, and the mystery of calling her to thee shall be revealed, what course will it please thee to take with her?

CHRIST.

9 *If she be a wall, we will build upon her a silver palace: and if she be a door, we will keep her in with boards of cedar.*—If she shall continue firm and constant in the expectation of her promises, and the profession of that truth which shall be revealed, we will beautify and strengthen her with further grace, and make her a pure and costly palace, fit to entertain my Spirit. And if she

will give free passage and good entrance to my word and grace, we will make her sure and safe from corruption, and reserve her to immortality.

THE JEWISH CHURCH.

10. *I am a wall, and my breasts are towers : then was I in his eyes as one that findeth peace.*—Behold that condition, which thou requirest in the church of the Gentiles, thou findest in me. I am thus firm and constant in my expectation, in my profession: and that want thou findest in her, of ability to nourish her children, by the breast of thy word, is not in me; who have abundance both of nourishment and defence: Upon which my confession and plea, I found grace and peace in the eyes of my Saviour.

CHRIST.

11. *Solomon had a vine in Baalhamon : he gave the vineyard unto keepers. Every one bringeth for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of silver.*—My church is my vine, and I am the owner and husbandman. Our thrift and profit thereof far exceedeth the good husbandry of Solomon. He hath a rich vineyard indeed in a most fruitful soil; but he lets it forth to the hands of others, as not being able to keep and dress it himself; and therefore he is fain to be content with the greatest part of the increase, not expecting the whole.

12. *But my vineyard, which is mine, is before me. To thee, O Solomon, appertaineth a thousand pieces of silver, and two hundred to them that keep the fruit thereof.*—But my vine is ever before me. I am with it to the end of the world. I reserve it in mine own hands, and dress it with mine own labour. And therefore if thou, O Solomon, canst receive from thine to the proportion of a thousand, thy workmen and farmers will look for the fifth part to come unto their share; whereas the gain of my vineyard ariseth wholly and only unto myself.

13. *O thou that dwellest in the gardens, the companions*

*hearken unto thy voice, cause me to hear it.*—Since, therefore, such is my care of thee, and joy in thee, O my church, (which consisteth of the particular assemblies of men professing my name,) see thou be diligent in declaring my will, and giving holy counsels to all thy fellow members. Speak forth my praise in the great congregations, (which all attend willingly upon thee,) and let me hear the voice of thy constant and faithful confession of me before the world.

#### THE CHURCH.

14. *Oh, my well-beloved, flee away, and be like unto the roe, or to the young hart upon the mountain of spices.*—I will most gladly do what thou commandest, O my Saviour. But that I may perform it accordingly, be thou (who art, according to thy bodily presence, in the highest heavens,) ever present with me by thy Spirit; and hasten thy glorious coming, to my full redemption!

# LETTERS

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

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TO MY

LADY MARY DENNY.

*Containing the Description of a Christian.*

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MADAM,

IT is true, that worldly eyes can see no difference betwixt a Christian and another man; the outside of both is made of one clay, and cast in one mould; both are inspired with one common breath. Outward events distinguish them not; these God never made for evidences of love or hatred. So the senses can perceive no difference betwixt the reasonable soul, and that which informs the beast; yet the soul knows there is much more than betwixt their bodies. The same holds in this; faith sees more inward difference than the eye sees outward resemblance. This point is not more high than material: which, that it may appear, let me shew what it is to be a Christian. You that have felt it can second me with your experience, and supply the defects of my discourse. He is the living temple of the living God, where the Deity is

both resident and worshipped. The highest thing in a man is his own spirit ; but in a Christian, the Spirit of God, which is the God of spirits. No grace is wanting in him ; and those which there are want not stirring up. Both his heart and his hands are clean. All his outward purity flows from within ; neither doth he frame his soul to counterfeit good actions ; but out of his holy disposition commands and produces them in the light of God.

Let us begin with his beginning, and fetch the Christian out of this nature as another Abraham from his Chaldea ; whiles the worldling lives and dies in nature, out of God. The true convert therefore, after his wild and secure courses, puts himself (through the motions of God's Spirit,) to school unto the law ; there he learns what he should have done, what he could not do ; what he hath done, what he hath deserved. These lessons cost him many a tear, and not more grief than terror : for this sharp master makes him feel what sin is, and what hell is ; and in regard of both, what himself is. When he hath well smarted under the whip of this severe usher, and is made vile in himself, then he is led up into the higher school of Christ, and there taught the comfortable lessons of grace : there he learns what belongs to a Saviour ; what he is, what he hath done, and for whom ; how he became ours, and we his. And now, finding himself in a true state of danger, of need, of desire, he brings home to himself all that he learns ; and what he knows he applies. His former tutor he feared, this he loveth : that shewed him his wounds, yea, made them ; this binds and heals them. That killed him ; this shews him life, and leads him to it. Now at once he hates himself, defies Satan, trusts in Christ, tastes both of pardon and glory. This is his most precious faith, whereby he appropriates, yea, engrosses Christ Jesus to himself : whence he is justified from his sins, purified from his corruptions, established in his resolutions, comforted in his doubts, defended against temptations, over-

comes all his enemies. He sees that this is sound, lively, growing: sound, not rotten, not hollow, not presumptuous: sound in the act; not a superficial conceit, but a true, deep, and sensible apprehension; an apprehension, not of the brain, but of the heart; and of the heart not approving, or assenting, but trusting and reposing. Sound in the object, none but Christ: he knows that no friendship in heaven can do him good without this; the angels cannot; God will not. "Ye believe in the Father, believe also in me."

Lively; for it cannot give life, unless it have life; the faith that is not fruitful is dead. The fruits of faith are good works; whether inward, within the roof of the heart, as love, awe, sorrow, pity, zeal, joy, and the rest; or outward, towards God or our brethren: obedience and service to the one—to the other, relief and beneficence: these he bears in his time; sometimes all, but always some.

Growing: true faith cannot stand still; but as it is fruitful in works, so it increaseth in degrees. From a little seed it proves a large plant, reaching from earth to heaven, and from one heaven to another: every shower and every sun adds something to it. Neither is this grace ever solitary, but always attended royally; for he that believes what a Saviour he hath, cannot but love him; and he that loves him, cannot but hate whatsoever may displease him; cannot but rejoice in him, and hope to enjoy him, and desire to enjoy his hope, and contemn all those vanities which he once desired and enjoyed. His mind now scorneth to grovel upon earth, but soareth up to the things above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God; and after it hath seen what is done in heaven, looks strangely upon all worldly things. He dares trust his faith above his reason and sense; and hath learned to wean his appetite from craving much. He stands in awe of his own conscience, and dares no more offend it than please himself. He fears not his enemies, yet neglects them not; equally avoiding security

and timorousness. He sees him that is invisible, and walks with him awfully, familiarly. He knows what he is born to, and therefore digests the troubles of life with patience. He finds more comfort in his afflictions, than any worldling in pleasures.

And as he hath these graces to comfort him within, so hath he the angels to attend him without; spirits better than his own; more powerful, more glorious. These bear him in their arms, wake by his bed, keep his soul while he hath it, and receive it when it leaves him. These are some present differences: the greatest are future; no less than betwixt heaven and hell, torment and glory; an incorruptible crown, and fire unquenchable. Whether infidels believe these things or not, we know them; so shall they, but too late.

What remains but that we applaud ourselves in this happiness, and walk on in this heavenly profession? acknowledging that God could not do more for us, and that we cannot do enough for him. Let others boast, (as your ladyship might with others,) of ancient and noble houses, large patrimonies or dowries, honourable commands; others of famous names, high and envied honours, or the favours of the greatest; others of valour or beauty; or some perhaps of eminent learning and wit; it shall be our glorying that we are Christians.

TO

## MY LORD DENNY.

*How our Days are, or should be spent.*

EVERY day is a little life ; and our whole life is but a day repeated ; whence it is that old Jacob numbers his life by days ; and Moses desires to be taught this point of holy arithmetic, To number not his years, but his days. Those therefore that dare lose a day, are dangerously prodigal ; those that dare mis-spend it, desperate.

We can best teach others by ourselves. Let me tell your lordship how I would pass my days, whether common or sacred ; that you may either approve my thriftiness, or correct my errors. To whom is the account of my hours either more due, or more known ? All days are his, who gave time a beginning and continuance ; yet some he hath made ours, not to command, but to use. In none may we forget him ; in some we must forget all besides him.

First, therefore, I desire to awake at those hours, not when I will, but when I must. Pleasure is not a fit rule, but health ; neither do I consult so much with the sun, as mine own necessity, whether of body or in that of the mind. If this vassal could well serve me waking, it should never sleep ; but now it must be pleased, that it may be serviceable. Now, when sleep is rather driven

away, than leaves me, I would ever awake with God; my first thoughts are for him, who hath made the night for rest, and the day for travel; and as he gives, so he blesses both. If my heart be early seasoned with his presence, it will savour of him all day after.

While my body is dressing, not with an effeminate curiosity, nor yet with rude neglect; my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task; bcthinking what is to be done, and in what order; and marshalling my hours with my work. That done, after some meditation, I walk to my books; and sitting down amongst them, I dare not reach forth my hand to salute any of them, till I have first looked up to heaven, and craved favour of him, to whom all my studies are rferred; without whom, I can neither profit nor labour. After this, out of no great variety, I call forth those, which best fit my occasions; wherein I am not too scrupulous of age. Sometimes I put myself to school to one of those ancients, whom the church hath honoured with the name of *Fathers*; whose volumes I confess not to open, without a secret reverence for their holiness and gravity: sometimes to those later doctors, who want nothing but age to make them classical: always to God's book. That day is lost, whereof sonic hours are not improved in those Divine monuments. Others I turn over out of choice; these out of duty.

Ere I can have sat unto weariness, my family, having now overcome all household distractions, invites me to our common devotions; not without some short preparation. These heartily performed, send me up, with a more strong and cheerful appetite, to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intercession and variety. Now, therefore, I can deceive the hours with change of pleasures, that is, of labours. One while mine eyes are busied, another while my hand, and sometimes my mind takes the burden from them both: wherein I would imitate the skilfullest cooks, who make the best dishes with manifold mixtures. One hour is spent in textual divinity, another in controversy: histories relieve them

both. And, when the mind is weary of other labours, it begins to undertake its own. Sometimes it meditates for future use; sometimes I write for myself, or for others. The decay of a weak body makes me think these delights insensibly laborious.

Thus could I all day, (as ringers use,) make myself music with changes, and complain sooner of the day for shortness, than of the business for toil; were it not that this faint monitor interrupts me still in the midst of my busy pleasures, and urges me both to respite and repast. I must yield to both; while my body and mind are joined together in these unequal couples, the better must follow the weaker. Before my meals, therefore, and after, I let myself loose from all thoughts; and now would forget that I ever studied. A full mind takes away the body's appetite, no less than a full body makes a dull and unwieldy mind. Company and discourse are now seasonable and welcome. These prepare me for a diet, not glutinous, but medicinal. The palate may not be pleased, but the stomach; nor that for its own sake. Neither would I think any of these comforts worth regarding in themselves, but in their use, in their end; so far as they may enable me to better things. If I see any dish to tempt my palate, I fear a serpent in that apple, and please myself in a wilful denial. I rise capable of more, not desirous: not now immediately from my trencher, to my book; but after some intermission. Moderate speed is a sure help to all proceedings; where those things, which are prosecuted with violence, either succeed not, or continue not.

After my later meal, my thoughts are slight; only my memory may be charged with her task, of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day; and my heart is busy in examining my hands and mouth, and all other senses, of that day's behaviour. And now the evening is come, no tradesman doth more carefully take in his wares, clear his shop-board, and shut his windows, than I

would shut up my thoughts and clear my mind. That student shall live miserably, who like a camel lies down under his burden. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God. Thus do we rather drive away the time before us, than follow it.

I grant, neither is my practice worthy to be exemplary, neither are our callings proportionable. The lives of a nobleman, of a courtier, of a scholar, of a citizen, of a countryman, differ no less than their dispositions: yet must all conspire in honest labour. Sweat is the destiny of all trades, whether of the brow, or of the mind. God never allowed any man to do nothing. How miserable is the condition of those men, who spend the time as if it were given them, and not lent! As if hours were waste creatures, and such as should never be accounted for: as if God would take this for a good bill of reckoning; *item*, Spent upon my pleasures forty years. These men shall once find, that no blood can privilege idleness; and that nothing is more precious to God, than that which they desire to cast away, *time*.

Such are my common days: but God's day calls for another respect. The same sun arises on this day, and enlightens it; yet because that Sun of Righteousness arose upon it, and gave a new life unto the world in it, and drew the strength of God's moral precept unto it, therefore justly do we sing with the Psalmist, "This is the day which the Lord hath made." Now I forget the world, and in a sort, myself; and deal with my wonted thoughts, as great men use, who at some times of their privacy, forbid the access of all suitors. Prayer, meditation, reading, hearing, preaching, singing, good conference, are the business of this day; which I dare not bestow on any work, or pleasure, but heavenly. I hate superstition on the one side, and looseness on the other; but I find it hard to offend in too much devotion, easy in profaneness. The whole week is sanctified by this day; and according to my care of this is my blessing on the

rest. I shew your lordship what I would do, and what I ought: I commit my desires to the imitation of the weak; my actions to the censures of the wise and holy; my weaknesses to the pardon and redress of my merciful God.

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TO

**SIR FULK GREVILLE.**



*How we may use the World without Danger.*

HOW to live out of the danger of the world, is both a great and good care, and that which troubles few. Some, that the world may not hurt them, run from it; and banish themselves to the tops of solitary mountains; changing the cities for desarts, houses for caves, and the society of men for beasts; and lest their enemy might insinuate himself into their secreeey, have abridged themselves of diet, clothing, lodging, harbour, fit for reasonable creatures; seeming to have left off themselves, no less than companions: as if the world were not every where; as if we could hide ourselves from the devil; as if solitariness were privileged from temptations; as if we did not more violently affect restrained delights; as if these Jeromes did not find Rome in their heart, when they had nothing but rocks and trees in their eye. Hence, these places of retiredness, founded at first upon necessity mixed with devotion, have proved impiously unclean; cells of lust, not of piety. This course is preposterous.

If I were worthy to teach you a better way, I would say, Learn to be an hermit at home. Begin with your own heart, estrange and wean it from the love, not from the use of the world. Christianity hath taught us nothing if we have not learned this distinction. It is a great weakness not to see, but we must be enamoured. Elisha saw the secret state of the Syrian court, yet as an enemy. The blessed angels see our earthly affairs, but as strangers. Moses' body was in the court of Pharaoh, amongst the delicate Egyptians, his heart was suffering with the afflicted Israelites. Lot took part of the fair meadows of Sodom, not of their sins. Our blessed Saviour saw the glory of all kingdoms, and contemned them. And cannot the world look upon us Christians, but we are bewitched? We see the sun daily, and warm us at his beams, yet make not an idol of it.

All our safety or danger is from within. In vain is the body an anchorite, if the heart be a ruffian. And if that be retired in affections, the body is but a cypher. Then the eyes will look carelessly and strangely on what they see, and the tongue will sometimes answer to what was not asked. We eat and recreate ourselves, because we must, not because we would. And when we are pleased, we are suspicious. Lawful delights we neither refuse nor doat upon, and all contentments go and come like strangers.

That all this may be done, take up your heart with better thoughts. Be sure it will not be empty. If heaven have forestalled all the rooms, the world is disappointed, and either dares not offer, or is repulsed. Fix yourself upon the glory of that eternity which awaits you after this short pilgrimage. You cannot but contemn what you find, in comparison of what we expect. Leave not till you attain to this, that you are willing to live, because you cannot as yet be dissolved. Be but one half upon earth. Let your better part converse above, whence it is, and enjoy that whereto it was ordained. Think how little the world can do for you: and what

it doth, how deceitfully! what stings there are with this honey! what farewell succeeds this welcome! When this Jael brings you milk in one hand, know she hath a nail in the other. Ask your heart what it is the better for all those pleasures wherewith it hath befriended you. Let your own trial teach you contempt. Think how sincere, how glorious those joys are, which await you elsewhere; and a thousand times more certain, (though future,) than present.

And let not these thoughts be flying, but fixed. In vain do we meditate, if we resolve not. When your heart is once thus settled, it shall command all things to advantage. The world shall not betray, but serve it; and that shall be fulfilled, which God promises by his Solomon, "When the ways of a man please the Lord, he will make his enemies also to be at peace with him."

A

## PASSION SERMON,

PREACHED ON GOOD FRIDAY, 1609, AT PAUL'S-CROSS.



JOHN XIX. 30.

*When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said,  
It is finished; and bowing the head, he gave up the  
ghost.*

THE bitter and yet victorious passion of the Son of God, as it was the strangest thing that ever befel the earth; so it also is of most sovereign use, and looks for the most frequent and careful meditation. It is one of those things which was once done, that it might be thought of for ever. Every day, therefore, must be the Good Friday of a Christian: who, with that great doctor of the Gentiles, must desire to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

There is no branch or circumstance in this wonderful business which yields not infinite matter of discourse. According to the solemnity of this time and place, I have chosen to recommend unto your Christian attention, our

Saviour's farewell to nature in his last word, in his last act. His last word, "It is finished;" his last act, "He gave up the ghost." That which he said, he did.

If there be any theme that may challenge and command our ears and hearts, this is it. For behold, the sweetest word that ever Christ spake, and the most meritorious act that ever he did, are met together in this his last breath. In the one ye shall see him triumphing; yielding in the other, yet so as he overcomes. Imagine, therefore, that you see Christ Jesus in this day of his passion, (who is every day here crucified before your eyes,) advanced upon the chariot of his cross; and now, after a weary conflict, cheerfully overlooking the despite and shame of men, the wrath of his Father, sin, death, hell; which all lie gasping at his foot: and then you shall conceive, with what spirit he saith, "It is finished." What is finished? All the prophecies that were of him; all legal observations, that prefigured him; his own sufferings; our salvation.\* The prophecies are accomplished, the ceremonies abolished, his sufferings ended, our salvation purchased. These four heads shall limit this first part of my speech; only let them find and leave you attentive.

It would take up a life to compare the prophets and evangelists, the predictions and the history, and largely to discourse how the one foretels, and the other answers: let it suffice to look at them running. Of all the evangelists, St. Matthew hath been most studious in making these correspondences and references; with whom the burden of every event is still, "that it might be fulfilled." Thus hath he noted, (if I have reckoned them aright,) two and thirty several prophecies concerning Christ,



\* That is, the *procuring* of our salvation: for, strictly speaking, our salvation itself will not be finished till our bodies are rescued from corruption and dust, and we are acquitted at the judgment-seat of Christ, and received into everlasting habitations.

fulfilled in his birth, life, death.\* St. John adds many more. Our discourse must be directed to his passion. Omitting the rest, let us insist on those.

He must be apprehended. It was prophesied, "The anointed of the Lord was taken in their nets." But how? He must be sold. For what? For thirty silver pieces. And what must those do? Buy a field. All foretold; "And they took thirty silver pieces, the price of him that was valued, and gave them for the potter's-field," saith Zechariah, (miswritten Jeremiah, by one letter mistaken in the abbreviation.) By whom? "That child of perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled." Which was he? It is foretold, "He that eateth bread with me." And what shall his disciples do? Run away. So saith the prophecy, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." What shall be done to him? He must be scourged and spit upon: not without a prophecy, "I hid not my face from shame and spitting." What shall be the issue? He shall be led to death. It is the prophecy, "The Messiah shall be slain." What death? He must be lifted up; "Like as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so shall the Son of Man be lifted up."



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|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| * Isaiah vii. 14.  | —Matt. i. 23.    | Zech. ix. 9.       | —Matt. xxi. 5.    |
| Micah v. 2.        | —Matt. ii. 6.    | Jer. vii. 11.      | —Matt. xxi. 13.   |
| Isaiah xi. 1.      | —Matt. ii. 15.   | Psalms viii. 2.    | —Matt. xxi. 16.   |
| Jer. xxxi. 15.     | —Matt. ii. 18.   | Isaiah v. 8.       | —Matt. xxi. 33.   |
| Judg. xiii. 4.     | —Matt. ii. ult.  | Psalms cxviii. 22. | —Matt. xxi. 44.   |
| Isaiah xl. 3.      | —Matt. iii. 2.   | Psalms cx. 1.      | —Matt. xxii. 44.  |
| Isaiah ix. 1.      | —Matt. iv. 15.   | Isaiah viii. 14.   | —Matt. xxi. 44.   |
| Lev. xiv. 4.       | —Matt. viii. 4.  | Psalms xli. 9.     | —Matt. xxvi. 31.  |
| Isaiah liii. 4.    | —Matt. viii. 17. | Isaiah liii. 10.   | —Matt. xxvi. 54.  |
| Isaiah lxi. 1.     | —Matt. xi. 4.    | Zech. xiii. 7.     | —Matt. xxvi. 31.  |
| Isaiah xlii. 1.    | —Matt. xii. 17.  | Lam. iv. 20.       | —Matt. xxvi. 56.  |
| Jonah i. 17.       | —Matt. xii. 40.  | Isaiah l. 6.       | —Matt. xxvi. 67.  |
| Isaiah vi. 9.      | —Matt. xiii. 14. | Zech. xi. 13.      | —Matt. xxvii. 9.  |
| Psalms lxxviii. 2. | —Matt. xiii. 35. | Psalms xxii. 18.   | —Matt. xxvii. 35. |
| Isaiah xxxv. 5, 6. | —Matt. xv. 30.   | Psalms xxii. 2.    | —Matt. xxvii. 46. |
| Isaiah lxii. 11.   | —Matt. xxi. 5.   | Psalms lxix. 22.   | —Matt. xxvii. 48. |

Chrysostom saith well, that some actions are parables : so may I say, some actions are prophecies. Such are all types of Christ, and this with the foremost. *Lifted up*, whither ? To the cross. It is the prophecy, "Hanging upon a tree." How *lifted up* ? Nailed to it. So is the prophecy, "They have pierced my hands and my feet." With what company ? Two thieves. "With the wicked was he numbered." Where ? "Without the gates," saith the prophecy. What becomes of his garments ? They cannot so much as cast the dice for his coat, but it is foretold, "They divided my garments, and on my vesture cast lots." He must die then on the cross : but how ? Voluntarily. "Not a bone of him shall be broken." What hinders it ? Lo, there he hangs, as it were neglected and at mercy ; yet all the raging Jews, nay, all the devils in hell, cannot stir one bone in his blessed body. It was prophesied in the Easter-lamb, and it must be fulfilled in him that is the true passover, in spite of fiends and men. How then ? He must be pierced in the side. Behold, not the very spear could touch his precious side being dead, but it must be guided by a prophecy, "They shall look on him whom they have pierced." What shall he say the while ? Not his very words but are fore-spoken. His complaint, "Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani," Psa. xxii. 2. His resignation, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit," Psa. xxxi. 5. His request, "Father, forgive them." "He prays for the transgressors," saith Isaiah. And now, when he saw all these prophecies were fulfilled, knowing that one remained, he said, "I thirst." A strange hearing ! that a man, yea, that God and man dying, should complain of thirst. Could he endure the scorching flames of the wrath of his Father, the curse of our sins, those tortures of body, those horrors of soul, and doth he shrink at his thirst ? No, no : he could have borne his drought, but he could not bear that the Scripture should not be fulfilled. It was not necessity of nature, but the necessity of his Father's decree, that drew forth, "I thirst." They offered it before, he refused it :

whether it were an ordinary potion for the condemned to hasten death, or whether it were that Jewish potion whereof the rabbins speak; whose tradition was, that the malefactor to be executed, should, after some good counsel from two of their teachers, be taught to say, "Let my death be to the remission of all my sins;" and then that he should have given him a bowl of mixed wine, with a grain of frankincense, to bereave him both of reason and pain.

Thus the prophecies are finished. Of the legal observations with more brevity. "Christ is the end of the law." What law? Ceremonial, moral. Of the moral; it was kept perfectly by himself, satisfied fully for us. Of the ceremonial; it referred to him, was observed of him, fulfilled in him, abolished by him. Nothing is more easy, than to shew you how all those Jewish ceremonies looked at Christ: how circumcision, the passover, the tabernacle, both outer and inner, the temple, the laver, both the altars, the tables of shew-bread, the candlesticks, the veil, the holy of holies, the propitiatory, the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, the high-priest, his order and line, his habits, his inaugurations, his washings, his anointings, his sprinklings, offerings, sacrifices, and all Jewish rites, had their virtue from Christ, relation to him, and their end in him. This was then their last gasp; for now straight they die with Christ; the veil of the temple was rent, when Christ's last breath passed. The veil rent, is the obligation of the ritual law cancelled; the way into the heavenly sanctuary opened; the shadow giving place to the substance. Even now the law of ceremonies died. It had a long and solemn burial, as Augustine saith well; perhaps figured in Moses, who died not lingeringly, but was thirty days mourned for.

Thus the ceremonies are finished. Now hear the end of his sufferings, with like patience and devotion. His death is here included. It was so near, that he spake of it as done; and when it was done, all was done. How easy it is to lose ourselves in this discourse! How hard

not to be overwhelmed with matter of wonder; and to find either beginning or end! His sufferings found an end, our thoughts cannot.

All his life was but a perpetual passion. In that he became man, he suffered more than we can do, either while we are men, or when we cease to be men. He humbled, yea, he emptied himself. That man should be turned into a beast, into a worm, into dust, into nothing, is not so great a disparagement, as that God should become man. And yet it is not finished; it is but begun. But what man? If, as the absolute monarch of the world, he had commanded the vassalage of all emperors and princes, and had trod on nothing but crowns and sceptres, this had carried some port with it, suitable to the majesty of God's Son. No such matter: here is neither form nor beauty; unless the form of a servant. Behold, he is a man to God; a servant to man. He is despised and rejected of men; yea, (as himself, of himself,) a worm, and no man, the shame of men, and contempt of the people. "Who is the King of glory? The Lord of Hosts, he is the King of glory." Set these two together; the King of glory; the shame of men. The more honour, the more abasement.

Look back to his cradle: there you find him rejected of the Bethlehemites; born and laid, how homely, how unworthily? sought for by Herod, exiled to Egypt, obscurely brought up in the cottage of a poor foster-father, tempted by satan, derided of his kindred, traduced by the Jews, pinched with hunger, restless, harbourless, sorrowful. Persecuted by the elders and Pharisees, sold by his own servant, apprehended, arraigned, scourged, condemned, and yet it is not finished.

Let us, with that disciple, follow him afar off; and passing over all his contemptuous usage in the way, see him brought to his cross. Still the further we look, the more wonder. Every thing adds to this ignominy of suffering, and triumph of overcoming. Where was it? Not in a corner, as Paul saith to Festus, but in Jerusalem,

the heart of the world. In Jerusalem, which he had honoured with his own presence, taught with his preaching, astonished with his miracles, bewailed with his tears; crying over it, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I, and thou wouldst not. O yet, if in this thy day!" Cruelty and unkindness, after good desert, afflict so much more, as our merit hath been greater. Whereabouts? Without the gates: in Calvary, among the stinking bones of execrable malefactors. Before, the glory of the place bred shame; now the vileness of it. When? In the passover; a time of the greatest concourse of all Jews and proselytes: a holy time: when they should receive the figure, they reject the substance: when they should kill and eat the sacramental lamb, in faith, in thankfulness, they kill the Lamb of God, our true Passover, in cruelty and contempt. With whom? (The quality of our company either increases or lessens shame,) in the midst of thieves, as the prince of thieves. There was no guile in his mouth, much less in his hands; yet behold, he that "thought it no robbery to be equal with God," is made equal to robbers and murderers; yea, superior in evil. What suffered he? As all lives are not alike pleasant, so all deaths are not equally fearful. See the apostles' gradation: "He was made obedient to the death, even the death of the cross." The cross, a lingering, tormenting, ignominious death. The Jews had four kinds of death for malefactors; the towel, the sword, fire, stones; each of these above other in extremity. Strangling with the towel they accounted easiest; the sword worse than the towel; the fire worse than the sword; stoning worse than the fire: but this Roman death was worst of all. "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." Yet he is not therefore accursed, because he hangeth; but therefore he hangeth, because he is accursed. "He was made a curse for us." The curse was more than the shame: yet the shame was unspeakable; and yet not more than the pain. Yet all that die the same death are not equally miserable. The very thieves fared better in their death than he. I hear of no irrision, no inscription,

no taunts, no insult on them. They had nothing but pain to encounter, he pain and scorn. The Jews, the soldiers, yea, the very thieves, triumph over his misery; his blood cannot satisfy them, without his reproach. Which of his senses now was not a window to let in sorrow? His eyes saw the tears of his mother and friends, the unthankful demeanour of mankind, the cruel despite of his enemies. His ears heard the revilings and blasphemies of the multitude. His touch felt the nails; his taste the gall.

Look up, O all ye beholders, look upon this precious body, and see what part ye can find free. That sacred head which is adored by the angelical spirits, is all harrowed with thorns. That face, of whom it is said, "Thou art fairer than the children of men," is all besmeared with the spittle of the Jews, and furrowed with his tears. Those eyes, clearer than the sun, are darkened with the shadow of death. Those ears that hear the heavenly consorts of angels, now are filled with the cursed speakings and scoffs of wretched men. Those lips that spake as never man spake, that command the spirits both of light and darkness, are scornfully wet with vinegar and gall. Those feet that trample on all the powers of hell are now nailed to the cross. Those hands that sway the sceptre of the heavens, are nailed to the tree of reproach. That whole body, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, was all scourged, wounded, mangled. This is the outside of his sufferings. Was his heart free? Oh, no: the inner part, or soul of this pain, which was unseen, is as far beyond these outward and sensible parts, as the soul is beyond the body. "O all ye that pass by the way, behold and see, if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow!" Alas, Lord, what can we see of thy sorrows? We cannot conceive so much as the heinousness and desert of one of those sins which thou bearest. We can no more see thy pain, than we could undergo it: only this we see, that what the infinite sins, of almost infinite men, committed against an infinite

majesty, deserved in infinite continuance, all this thou, in the short time of thy passion, hast sustained. We may behold and see; but all the glorious spirits in heaven cannot look into the depth of this suffering.

Do but look yet a little into the passions of this his passion: for, by the manner of his suffering, we shall best see what he suffered. Wise and resolute men do not complain of a little. Holy martyrs have been racked, and would not be loosed. What shall we say if the Author of their strength, God and man, bewray passions? What would have overwhelmed men, would not have made him shrink; and what made him complain, could never have been sustained by men. What shall we then think, if he were affrighted with terrors, perplexed with sorrows, and distracted with both these? And lo! he was all these. For, first, here was an amazed fear. For millions of men to despair was not so much as for him to fear. And yet it was no slight fear. He began (*ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι*,) to be astonished with terror, "Who in the days of his flesh, offered up prayers and supplications, with strong cries and tears, to him that was able to help him, and was heard in that he feared." Never was man so afraid of the torments of hell, as Christ, (standing in our room,) of his Father's wrath. Fear is still suitable to apprehension. Never man could so perfectly apprehend this cause of fear; he felt the chastisements of our peace, yea, the curse of our sins; and therefore might well say with David, "I suffer thy terrors with a troubled mind;" yea, with Job, "The arrows of God are in me, and the terrors of God fight against me." With fear, there was a dejecting sorrow, (*ἀδημονία*,) "My soul is heavy to the death." His strong cries, his many tears, are witnesses of this passion. He had formerly shed tears of pity, and tears of love, but now of anguish. He had before sent forth cries of mercy; never of complaint till now. When the Son of God weeps and cries, what shall we say or think? Yet further, betwixt both these and his love what a conflict was there? *ἀγωνία*, a

struggling passion of mixed grief. Behold, this field was not without sweat and blood; yea, a sweat of blood.

Oh, what man or angel can conceive the state of that heart, which, without all outward violence, merely out of the extremity of his own passion, bled (through the flesh and skin,) not some faint dew, but solid drops of blood? No thorns, no nails fetched blood from him, with so much pain as his own thoughts. He saw the fierce wrath of his Father, and therefore feared. He saw the heavy burden of our sins to be undertaken; and thereupon, besides fear, justly grieved. He saw the necessity of our eternal damnation, if he suffered not: if he did suffer, of our redemption; and therefore his love encountered both grief and fear. In itself, he would not drink of that cup. In respect of our good, he would and did; and while he thus strives, he sweats and bleeds. There was never such a combat, never such a bloodshed, and yet it is not finished. To see the carelessness of mankind, the slender fruit of his sufferings, the sorrows of his mother, disciples, friends; to foresee, from the watch-tower of his cross, the future temptations of his children, desolations of his church; all these must needs strike deep into a tender heart. These he still sees and pities, but without passion; then he suffered in seeing them.

Can we yet say any more? Lo, all these sufferings are aggravated by his fulness of knowledge, and want of comfort. For, he did not shut his eyes, as one saith, when he drunk this cup: he saw, and knew how bitter it was. He foresaw every particular he should suffer. So long as he foresaw he suffered. The expectation of evil is not less than the sense. To look long for good is a punishment; but for evil is a torment. No passion is excited by an unknown object. As no love, so no fear is of what we know not. Hence men fear not hell, because they foresee it not. If we could see that pit open before we come at it, it would make us tremble at our sins, and our knees to knock together, and perhaps without faith, to run mad at the horror of judgment. He saw the

burden of all particular sins to be laid upon him. Every dram of his Father's wrath was measured out to him, ere he touched this potion. This cup was full, and he knew that it must be drunk, not a drop left. It must be finished.

Oh, yet, if as he foresaw all his sorrows, so he could have seen some mixture of refreshing. *But I found none to comfort me, no, none to pity me.* And yet it is a poor comfort that arises from pity. Even so, O Lord, thou treadest this wine-press alone; none to accompany, none to assist thee. Even the greatest torments are easy, when they have answerable comforts; but a wounded and comfortless spirit who can bear? If but the same messenger of God might have attended his cross, that appeared in his agony, it might have given some ease. And yet, what can angels help, where God will smite? Against the violence of men, against the fury of satan, they have prevailed in the cause of God for men. They dare not, they cannot comfort, where God will afflict. When our Saviour had been wrestling with satan before, then they appeared to him, and served; but now, while he is wrestling with the wrath of his Father for us, not an angel dare be seen to look out of the windows of heaven to relieve him. For men; much less could they if they would. But what did they? Miserable comforters are ye all. The soldiers, they stripped him, scorned him with his purple crown, reed, spat on, smote him. The passengers, they reviled him, wagging their heads. The elders and scribes bought his blood, suborned witnesses, incensed Pilate, preferred Barabbas, undertook the guilt of his death, cried out, "Crucify, crucify." His disciples forsook him; one of them forswears him, another runs away naked, rather than he will stay and confess him. His mother and other friends look on indeed, and sorrow with him; but to his discomfort.

Where the grief is extreme, partnership doth increase sorrow. The tears of those we love, do either relieve

our hearts, or wound them. Who then shall comfort him? His Father? Here, here was his hope. "If the Lord had not holden me, my soul had dwelt in silence. I and my Father are one." But now, (alas!) he, even he, delivers him into the hands of his enemies; and then turns his back upon him as a stranger; yea, he wounds him as an enemy. "The Lord would bruise him," Isa. liii. 10. Any thing is light to the soul while the comforts of God sustain it. Who can dismay, where God will relieve? But here, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" What a word was here, to come from the mouth of the Son of God? My disciples are men, weak and fearful; no marvel if they forsake me. The Jews are themselves cruel and obstinate. Men are men, graceless and unthankful. Devils are, according to their nature, spiteful and malicious. All these do but their kind, and let them do it: but thou, O Father, thou that hast said, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased:" thou of whom I have said, "It is my Father that glorifies me;" what? "forsaken me?" Not only brought me this shame, smitten me; but, as it were, forgotten, yea, forsaken me? What, even me, my Father? How many of thy constant servants have suffered heavy things; yet in the multitude of the sorrows of their hearts, thy comforts have refreshed their souls? Hast thou relieved them, and dost thou forsake me? Me, thine only, dear, eternal Son? O ye heavens and earth, how could you stand, while the Maker of you thus complained? Ye stood: but partaking of his passion. The earth trembled and shook, her rocks were rent, her graves opened, the heavens withdrew their light, as not daring to behold this fearful spectacle.

Oh, Christians! how should these earthen and rocky hearts of ours shake, and rend in pieces at this meditation! How should our faces be covered with darkness, and our joy be turned into heaviness! All these voices, and tears, and sweats, and pangs, are for us; yea, from *us*. Shall the Son of God thus smart for our sins, yea,

with our sins, and shall we not grieve for our own? Shall he weep to us, and shall not we mourn? Nay, shall he sweat and bleed for us, and shall not we weep for ourselves! Shall he thus shriek out, under his Father's wrath, and shall not we tremble? Shall the heavens and earth suffer with him, and we suffer nothing? I call you not to a weak and idle pity of our glorious Saviour. To what purpose? His injury was our glory. No, no! "Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves:" for our sins, that have done this; not for his sorrow that suffered it: not for his pangs that were; but for our own, that should have been, and (if we repent not,) shall be.

Oh! how grievous, how deadly are our sins, that cost the Son of God, (besides blood,) so much torment? How far are our souls gone, that could not be ransomed with an easier price! That which took so much of this infinite Redeemer of men, God and man, how can it do less than swallow up and confound thy soul, which is but finite and sinful? If thy soul had been in his soul's stead, what had become of it? This weight that lies thus heavy on the Son of God, and wrung from him these tears, sweat, blood, and these inconceivable groans of his afflicted spirit, how should it but press down thy soul to the bottom of hell? And so it would: if he had not suffered it for thee, thou must and shouldst have suffered it for thyself. Go now, thou lewd man, and make thyself merry with thy sins; laugh at the uncleanness of thy youth. Thou little knowest the price of a sin; thy impenitent soul shall do; thy Saviour did, when he cried out, to the amazement of angels, and horror of men, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?"

But now no more of this, "It is finished." The greater conflict, the more happy victory. Well doth he find and feel of his Father, what his type said before, "He will not chide always, nor keep his anger for ever." It is fearful; but in him short: eternal to sinners; short to his Son, in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily. Behold!

this storm, wherewith all the powers of the world were shaken, is now over. The elders, Pharisees, Judas, the soldiers, priests, witnesses, judges, thieves, executioners, devils, have all tired themselves in vain, with their own malice; and he triumphs over them all, upon the throne of his cross. His enemies are vanquished, his Father satisfied, his soul with this word at rest and glory; "It is finished." Now there is no more betraying, agonies, arraignments, scourgings, scoffing, crucifying, conflicts, terrors; all is finished. Alas! beloved, and will ye not let the Son of God be at rest? Do ye now again go about to fetch him out of his glory, to scorn and crucify him? I fear to say it: God's Spirit dares, and doth say, "They crucify again to themselves the Son of God, and put him to an open shame." See and consider: the sinful conversations of those, that should be Christians, offer violence unto our glorified Saviour; they stretch their hand to heaven, and pull him down from his throne, to his cross. They tear him with thorns, pierce him with nails, load him with reproaches. Thou hatest the Jews, spittest at the name of Judas, railest on Pilate, condemnest the cruel butchers of Christ; yet, thou canst blaspheme, and swear, curse, lie, oppress, boil with lust, riot, and live like an human beast; yea, like an unclean devil. Cry hosanna as long as thou wilt; thou art a Pilate, a Jew, a Judas, an executioner of the Lord of life; and so much greater shall thy judgment be, by how much thy light and his glory is more.

Oh! beloved, is it not enough that he died once for us? Were those pains so light, that we should every day redouble them? Is this the entertainment that so gracious a Saviour hath deserved of us by dying? Is this the recompence of that infinite love of his, that thou shouldst thus cruelly vex and wound him with thy sins? Every one of our sins is a thorn, and nail, and spear to him. While thou pourest down thy drunken carouses, thou givest thy Saviour a potion of gall. While thou despisest his poor servants, thou spittest on his face.

While thou putttest on thy proud dresses, and liftest up thy vain heart, thou settest a crown of thorns on his head. While thou oppressest his poor children, thou whippest him, and drawest blood of his hands and feet. Thou hypocrite, how darest thou offer to receive the sacrament of God with that hand which is thus embrued in the blood of him whom thou receivest? Thou makest no scruple of thine own sins, and scornest those that do. Not to be wicked, is crime enough.

Hear him that saith, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Saul strikes at Damascus, Christ suffers in heaven. Thou strikest, Christ Jesus smarteth, and will revenge. These are his [*ὑπερλήματα,*] after-sufferings. In himself it is *finished*; in his members it is not, till the world be *finished*. We must toil, and groan, and bleed, that we may reign. If he had not done so, *it had not been finished*. This is our warfare. Now we are set upon the pavement of our theatre, and are matched with all sorts of evils; evil men, evil spirits, evil accidents; and (which is worst,) our own evil hearts; temptations, crosses, persecutions, sicknesses, wants, infamies, death; all these must, in their courses, be encountered by the law of our profession. What should we do but strive and suffer, as our General hath done, that we may reign as he doth? God and his angels sit upon the scaffolds of heaven, and behold us. Our crown is ready. Our day of deliverance shall come; yea, our redemption is near, when all tears shall be wiped from our eyes; and we, that have sown in tears, shall reap in joy. In the mean time, let us possess our souls, not in patience only, but in comfort: let us adore and magnify our Saviour in his sufferings, and imitate him in our own. Our sorrows shall have an end, our joys shall not. Our pains shall soon be finished; our glory shall be finished, but never ended.

Thus his sufferings are finished; now, together with them, the purchase of *man's salvation*. Who knows not that man had made himself a deep debtor, a bankrupt, an outlaw to God? Our sins are our debts; and by sins,

death. Now, in this word and act, our sins are discharged, death endured,—and therefore we cleared.\* The debt is paid; the score is crossed; the creditor satisfied; the debtors acquitted. We are all sick, and that mortally. Sin is the disease of the soul. So many sins, so many fevers, and those pestilent. What wonder is it that we have so much plague, while we have so much sin? Our Saviour is the physician. “The whole need not the physician, but the sick.” Wherein? “He healeth all our infirmities.” He healeth them after a miraculous manner; not by giving us receipts, but by taking our receipts for us. A wonderful physician; a wonderful course of cure. One while he would cure us by abstinence; our superfluity, by his forty days emptiness; according to that old rule, Hunger cures the diseases of gluttony. Another while, by exercise: “He went up and down from city to city, and in the day was preaching in the temple; in the night praying in the mount.” Then by diet: “Take, eat, this is my body:” and “Let this cup pass.” After that yet, by sweat; such a sweat as never was—a bloody one! Yet more, by incision; they pierced his hands, feet, and side. And yet again by potion; a bitter potion of vinegar and gall. And lastly, which is both the strangest and strongest receipt of all, by dying: “Who died for us; that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.” We need no more, we can go no further; there can be no more physic of this kind. There are cordials after these of his resurrection and ascension; no more penal receipts. By his blood we have redemption, Ephes. i. 17; justification, Rom. iii. 24; reconciliation, Colos. i. 20; sanctification, 1 Pet. i. 2; entrance into glory, Heb. x. 19. Is it not now finished? Wo were us if he had left but one mite

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\* That is, on condition of our true repentance and faith in this Saviour. For, notwithstanding what he hath done and suffered, the impenitent and unbelieving remain under guilt, condemnation, and wrath.

of satisfaction upon our score, to be discharged by our souls. And wo be to them that derogate from Christ, that they may charge themselves ; that botch up these all-sufficiently meritorious sufferings of Christ as imperfect, with the superfluitics of flesh and blood.

Hear this, thou languishing, afflicted soul. There is not one of thy sins but it is atoned for ; not one farthing of all thine infinite ransom is unpaid. Alas ! thy sins (thou sayest,) are ever before thee, and God's indignation goes still over thee, and thou goest mourning all the day long ; and with that pattern of distress, criest out in the bitterness of thy soul, "I have sinned, what shall I do to thee, O thou Preserver of men?" What shouldst thou do? Turn and believe. Now thou art stung in thy conscience with this fiery serpent, look up with the eyes of faith to this brazen serpent, Christ Jesus, and be healed. Behold, his head is humbly bowed down to thee ; his arms are stretched out lovingly to embrace thee ; yea, his precious side is open to receive thee ; and his tongue interprets all these to thee for thine endless comfort. "It is finished." There is no more accusation, judgment, death, hell for thee : all these are no more to thee than if they were not. "Who shall condemn? It is Christ who died."

But still, after all, here is the doubt : Thou sayest, Well, Christ "is the good shepherd." Wherein? "He gives life:" but for whom? "For his sheep." What is this to thee? While thou art secure, profane, impenitent, thou art a wolf, or a goat. "My sheep hear my voice." What is his voice, but his precepts? Where is thine obedience to his commandments? If thou wilt not hear his law, never hearken to his gospel. Here is no more mercy for thee, than if there were no Saviour. If thou have no beginnings of grace as yet, hope not for ever finishing of salvation. "Come to me, all ye that are heavy laden," saith Christ. Thou shalt get nothing, if thou come when he calls thee not. Thou art not called, and canst not be refreshed, unless thou be laden, not

with sin, (that alone keeps thee from God,) but with conscience of sin. "A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Is thy heart wounded with thy sin? Do grief and hatred strive within thee, whether shall be more! Are the desires of thy soul with God? Dost thou long for holiness, complain of thy imperfections, struggle against thy corruptions? Thou art the man; fear not; "It is finished." That law which thou wouldst have kept, and couldst not, thy Saviour could, and did keep for thee. That salvation which thou couldst never procure for thyself, (alas! poor impotent creatures, what can we do towards heaven without him, which cannot move on earth but in him?) he alone hath purchased for thee. He would be spit on, that he might wash thee. He would be covered with scornful robes, that thy sins might be covered. He would be whipped, that thy soul might not be scourged eternally. He would thirst, that thy soul might be satisfied. He would bear all his Father's wrath, that thou mightest bear none. He would yield to death, that thou mightest never taste of it. He would be for a time as forsaken of his Father, that thou mightest be received for ever.

Thus our speech of Christ's last word is finished. His last act accompanied his words; our speech must follow it. Let it not want your devout and careful attention: "He bowed his head, and gave up the ghost."

The cross was a slow death, and had more pain than speed. Whence a second violence must despatch the crucified: their bones must be broken that their hearts might break. Our Saviour waits not death's leisure, but willingly and courageously meets him in the way; and like a champion that scorns to be overcome, yea, knows he cannot, yieldeth in the midst of his strength; that he might, by dying, vanquish death. "He bowed and gave up:" not bowing because he had given up, but because he would. "He cried with a loud voice," saith Matthew. Nature was strong; he might have lived, but "he gave up the ghost;" and would die to shew himself Lord of

life and death. Oh wondrous example! He that gave life to his enemies, gave up his own. He gives them to live that persecute and hate him; and himself will die for those that hate him. "He bowed and gave up." Not they; they might crown his head, they could not bow it. They might vex his spirit, not take it away. They could not do that without leave; this they could not do, because they had no leave. He alone would bow his head, and give up his ghost. "I have power to lay down my life." Man gave him not his life; man could not deprive him of it. "No man takes it from me." Alas, who could? The high-priest's forces, when they came against him armed; he said but, "I am he;" they flee and fall backward. How easy a breath dispersed his enemies! whom he might as easily have bidden the earth, yea, hell to swallow up, or fire from heaven to devour. Who commanded the devils, and they obeyed, could not have been attached by men. He must give, not only leave, but power to apprehend himself, else they had not lived to take him. He is laid hold on: Peter fights; "Put up," (saith Christ;) "thinkest thou that I cannot pray to my Father, and he would give me more than twelve legions of angels?" What an army were here? More than threescore and twelve thousand angels, and every angel able to subdue a world of men. He could, but would not be rescued. He is led by his own power, not by his enemies; and stands now before Pilate like the scorn of men, crowned, robbed, scourged: "yet thou couldst have no power against me, unless it were given thee from above."

Behold, he himself must give Pilate power against himself, or else he could not be condemned. He will be condemned, lifted up, nailed; yet no death without himself. "He shall give his soul an offering for sin," Isai. liii. 10. No action that savours of constraint can be meritorious. He would deserve, therefore he would suffer and die. "He bowed his head, and gave up the ghost." O gracious and bountiful Saviour! He might have kept

his soul, in spite of all the world. "The weakness of God is stronger than men." And if he had but spoken the word, the heavens and earth should have vanished away before him; but he would not. Behold, when he saw that impotent man could not take away his soul, he gave it up, and would die, that we might live. See here a Saviour, that can contemn his own life for ours; and shuns not to be dissolved in himself, that we might be united to his Father. "Skin for skin," saith the devil, "and all that a man hath will he give for his life." Lo here! to prove Satan a liar, skin, and life, and all hath Christ Jesus given for us. We are besotted with the earth, and make base shifts to live; one with a maimed body, another with a perjured soul, and a third with a rotten name. And how many had rather neglect their soul than their life, and will rather renounce and curse God, than die! It is a shame to tell. Many of us Christians dote upon life, and tremble at death; and shew ourselves fools in our excess of love, eowards in our fear. Oh! let me live, saith the fearful soul. Thou weak and timorous creature, what wouldst thou do with thyself? Hast thou thus learned Christ? He died voluntarily for thee; thou wilt not be foreed to die for him. He gave up the ghost for thee; thou wilt not let others take it from thee for him; thou wilt not let him take it for himself.

When I look baek to the first Christians, and compare their zealous contempt of death with our backwardness, I am at once amazed and ashamed. I see there even women running, with their little ones in their arms, for the preferment of martyrdom, and ambitiously striving for the next blow. I see holy and tender virgins choosing rather a sore and shameful death, than honourable espousals. I hear the blessed martyrs entreating their tyrants and tormentors for the honour of dying. Ignatius, among the rest, fearing lest the beasts will not devour him. And what less courage was there in our glorious forefathers of the last age? And do we, their

cold and feeble offspring, look pale at the face of a natural death; abhor the violent, though for Christ? Alas, how have we gathered rust with our long peace! Our unwillingness is from inconsideration, from distrust.

Look but up to Christ Jesus upon his cross, and see him bowing his head, and breathing out his soul, and these fears shall vanish. He died, and wouldst thou live? He gave up the ghost, and wouldst thou keep it? Whom wouldst thou follow, if not thy Redeemer? If thou die not, if not willingly, thou goest contrary to him, and shalt never meet him. Though thou shouldst every day die a death for him, thou couldst never requite his one death; and dost thou stick at one? Every word hath its force, both to him and thee. He died, who is Lord of life, and commander of death. Thou art but a tenant of life, a subject of death. And yet it was not a dying, but a giving up, not of a vanishing breath, but of a soul, which, after separation, hath an entire life in itself. "He gave up the ghost:" he died, that hath both overcome, and sanctified, and sweetened death. What fearest thou? He hath pulled out the sting and malignity of death: if thou be a Christian, carry it in thy bosom, it hurts thee not.

Darest thou not trust thy Redeemer? If he had not died, death had been a tyrant; now he is a slave. "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Yet the Spirit of God saith not, He died, but "gave up the ghost." How gave he it up, and whither? So as, after a sort, he retained it. His soul parted from his body; his Godhead never, either from soul or body. This union is not in nature, but in person. If the natures of Christ could be dividcd, each would have its subsistence; so there should be more persons. One of the natures thereof may have a separation in itself; the soul from the body: one nature from another, or either nature from the person. If you cannot conceive, wonder. The Son of God hath wedded unto himself our humanity, without all possibility of divorce. The body hangs on

the cross, the soul is yielded, the Godhead is eternally united to them both; acknowledges, sustains them both. Whither gave he it up? Himself expresses: "Father, into thy hands." He knew where it should be both safe and happy. True: he might be bold, (thou sayest,) as the Son with the Father. The servants have done so; David before him, Stephen after him. It is not presumption, but faith, to charge God with thy spirit; neither can there ever be any believing soul so mean that he should refuse it. All the fear is in thyself. How canst thou trust thy jewel with a stranger? What sudden familiarity is this? God hath been with thee, and gone by thee; thou hast not saluted him: and now in all haste thou bequeatest thy soul to him. On what acquaintance? How desperate is this carelessness!

O the fearful and miserable state of that man that must part with his soul he knows not whither! Which if thou wouldst avoid, (as this very warning shall judge thee if thou do not,) be acquainted with God in thy life, that thou mayest make him the guardian of thy soul in thy death. Given up it must needs be, but to him that hath governed it. If thou have given it up to Satan in thy life, how canst thou hope God will in thy death entertain it? "Did you not hate me, and expel me out of my Father's house? How then come ye to me now in this time of your tribulation?" said Jephtha to the men of Gilead. No, no, either give up thy soul to God, while he calls for it in his word, in his love, in his afflictions, in the holy motions of his Spirit to thine: or else, when thou wouldst give it, he will not have it, but as a Judge to deliver it to the tormentor. What should God do with an unclean, drunken, profane, proud, covetous soul? Without holiness, there is no seeing of God. "Depart from me, ye wicked, I know you not:" go to the gods you have served. See how God is even with men. They had, in the time of the gospel, said to the Holy One of Israel, "Depart from us;" now, in the time of judgment, he saith to them, "Depart from me."

They would not know God when they might ; now God will not know them when they would. Therefore, if thou wouldst not have God scorn the offer of thy death-bed, fit thy soul for him now in thy health ; furnish it with grace ; inure it to a sweet conversation with the God of heaven. Then mayest thou boldly give it up ; and he shall as graciously receive it, yea, fetch it by his angels to his glory.

“ He gave up the ghost.” We must do as he did : not all with the same success. *Giving up* supposes a receiving, a returning. This inmate that we have in our bosom is sent to lodge here for a time, but may not dwell here always. The right of this tenure is the Lord’s, not ours. It is ours to keep, his to dispose of and require.

If thou hadst no soul, if a mortal one, if thine own, if never to be required, how couldst thou live but sensually ? Oh ! remember but who thou art, what thou hast, and whither thou must go ; and thou shalt live like thyself while thou art, and give up thy ghost confidently when thou shalt cease to be. Neither is there here more certainty of our departure than comfort. Carry this with thee to thy death-bed, and see if it cannot refresh thee when all the world cannot give thee one dram of comfort. Our spirit is our dearest riches ; if we should lose it, here were just cause of grief. Howl and lament, if thou thinkest thy soul perisheth ; it is not forfeited, but surrendered. How safely doth our soul pass through the gates of death, without any impeachment, while it is in the hand of the Almighty ? Wo were us, if he did not keep it while we have it ; much more when we restore it. We give it up to the same hands that created, infused, redeemed, renewed it ; that doth protect, preserve, establish, and will crown it. “ I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.” O secure and happy state of the godly ! O blessed exchange of our condition ! While our soul dwells in our breast, how is it subject to infinite miseries, distempered

with passions, charged with sin, vexed with temptations! Above, none of these. How should it be otherwise? This is our pilgrimage, that our home. This is our wilderness, that our land of promise. This our bondage, that our kingdom. Our impotence causeth this our sorrow.

When our soul is once given up, what evil shall reach unto heaven, and wrestle with the Almighty? Our loathness to give up comes from our ignorance and infidelity. No man goes unwillingly to a certain preferment. "I desire to be dissolved," saith Paul. "I have served thee, I have believed thee, and now I come to thee," saith Luther. The voice of saints this, not of carnal men. If thine heart can say thus, thou shalt not need to entreat, with old Hilarion, "Go forth, my soul, go forth, what fearest thou?" but it shall fly cheerfully from thee, and give up itself into the arms of God as a faithful Creator and Redeemer. This earth is not the element of thy soul, it is not where it should be. It shall be no less thine when it is more the owners. Think now seriously of this point; God's angel is abroad, and strikes on all sides. We know not which of our turns shall be the next. We are sure we carry death within us. If we be ready, our day cannot come too soon. Stir up thy soul to an heavenly cheerfulness, like thy Saviour. Know but whither thou art going, and thou canst not but, with divine Paul, say, from our Saviour's mouth, even in this sense, "It is a more blessed thing to give than to receive." God cannot abide an unwilling guest. Give up that spirit to him, which he hath given thee, and he will both receive what thou givest, and give it thee again with that glory and happiness which can never be conceived, and shall never be ended. Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly!



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**EXTRACTS**

**FROM**

**T H E W O R K S**

**OF**

**ROBERT BOLTON, B.D.**

*Some time Fellow of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford; and Rector  
of Broughton, in Northamptonshire.*

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THE  
LIFE AND DEATH  
OF  
**MR. BOLTON.**

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MR. ROBERT BOLTON was born at Blackburn, a town in Lancashire, on Whitsunday, in the year 1572. His parents finding in him a strong propensity for learning, put him to a schoolmaster that was in the town. And he plied his book so well, that in a short time he became the best scholar in the school.

About the twentieth year of his age, he was placed at Oxford, in Lincoln College, under the tuition of Mr. Randall, a man of no great note then ; but afterward an eminent preacher at London. In that college he kept close to the studies of logic and philosophy ; and by reason of that ground-work of learning he received at school, he quickly got the start of those of his own time, and grew into fame in that house. In the midst of these his studies, his father died, and then his means failed. But this cross, by God's providence, proved a great advantage to him for his growth in learning ; for now, wanting means to buy him books, he borrowed of his

tutor and others, the best writers on natural and moral philosophy, read them over, abridged them in his notebooks, and then returned the books to the owners. Nay, such a desire he had to attain perfection in the things he studied, that though he was well skilled in the Greek tongue, yet, that he might attain exactness in it, he wrote out with his own hand, all Homer, in a fair Greek character ; for he wrote that language better than he did either English or Latin. This brought him to such a readiness, that he could with as much facility, discourse in the publick schools, (for he was a famous disputant,) in the Greek tongue, as in the Latin or English : and in them all, he wrote and spake in a high and lofty style, which was so familiar to him, that he could not avoid it in ordinary conversation.

From Lincoln College he removed to Brazen Nose : for, by the founders of that house, most of the fellowships therein were for Lancashire and Cheshire men ; but having but few friends, he staid long without a fellowship, till about the thirtieth year of his age ; at which time he commenced Master of Arts ; and then, by the exercises he performed in the house and abroad, being Regent-Master, he grew into fame, and was successively chosen to be reader of the lectures of Logic, and moral and natural philosophy, (as by the statutes of the house they were appointed to be read) ; which he performed so strictly, and with such exactness, as that he got applause with the best, though envy with his successors. Such was his esteem in the university for his publick disputations, that when he was a Master of Arts but of small standing, he was chosen, by the then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, vice-chancellor, at King James's first coming to that university, to be one of the disputants before the

king. Besides his knowledge in logic and philosophy, he was also well studied in metaphysics and mathematics, and in all school-divinity; especially in Thomas Aquinas, which he had read over once or twice, and exactly noted him throughout.

But all this while, though he was very learned, he was a very mean scholar in the school of Christ. He loved stage-plays, cards, and dice; he was a horrible swearer and sabbath-breaker, and was ever glad, (as he has been heard to say,) of Christmas holidays, and melancholy when they were ended. He loved not goodness nor good men; and of all sorts of company could least abide such as were of a strict and holy conversation. Such he would brand with the name of Puritans, thinking, thereby he had deprived them *ipso facto* both of learning and religion. This wretched humour Mr. Bolton further discovered at Cambridge; for being there at a Commencement, and induced by the fame of Mr. Perkins, he went to hear him preach; whose plain preaching, meeting at once in him with a curious palate and unsanctified heart, quite turned his stomach against that good man, so that he thought him, (to speak in his own phrase,) "a barren, empty fellow, and a passing mean scholar." But when God changed his heart, he changed his opinions of Mr. Perkins, and thought him as learned a divine as our church had for many years enjoyed.

The manner of his conversion was thus. When he was of Brazen Nose College, he had familiar acquaintance with one Mr. Anderton, his countryman, and sometime his schoolfellow, a very good scholar, but a strong papist. This man being become a popish priest, well knowing the good parts that were in Mr. Bolton, and perceiving that he was in some outward wants, took this advantage, and

used many arguments to persuade him to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and to go over with him to the English seminary; telling him he should be furnished with all necessaries, and should have gold enough, one of the best arguments to allure an unstable mind to popery. Mr. Bolton, being at that time poor in mind and purse, accepted of the motion, and a day and place was appointed in Lancashire, where they should meet, and from thence take shipping. Mr. Bolton met at the day and place, but Mr. Anderton came not, and so he escaped that snare, and soon after returned to Brazen Nose; where falling into the acquaintance of one Mr. Peacock, fellow of that house, a learned and godly man, it pleased God, by his acquaintance, to work in his soul true repentance and conversion to God.

The first news he heard of God was not by a soft and still voice, but in terrible tempests and thunder. "The Lord running upon him as a giant, taking him by the neck, and shaking him to pieces;" beating him to the ground, as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly visage of his sins, which lay so heavy upon him, that he roared for grief of heart, and so affrighted him, that he rose out of bed in the night for very anguish of spirit. And to augment his misery, he was exercised with foul temptations, \* *horribilia de Deo, terribilia de fide*, which Luther called, "The buffeting of satan;" for he was parallel with Luther in many things; and especially in these spiritual temptations, which were so vehement upon Luther, that the very venom of them drank up his spirits,



\* Horrible thoughts of God, terrible thoughts of faith.

and his body seemed dead, that neither speech, sense, blood, nor heat appeared in him, as Justus Jonas, who was present and saw it, reporteth of him. This sharp fit of Luther's lasted but for one day, but Mr. Bolton's continued for many months; yet God gave him, at length, a blessed issue, and these grievous pangs in his spiritual birth produced two admirable effects in him, (as well as in Luther,) which many times ensue upon such hard labour. 1. An invincible courage and resolution for the cause of God, in which he feared no colours, nor the face or force of any. 2. A singular dexterity in comforting afflicted spirits.

Upon this, he resolved to enter into the ministry, and about the 35th year of his age, he was ordained minister; after which he wholly applied himself to the work of the ministry, and improved all his learning and time to that excellent end. A little while after he was ordained he was made known to Mr. Justice Nichols, at that time serjeant at law, who observing the comeliness of his person and the learning that was in him, had it always in his thoughts to advance him. About the 37th year of Mr. Bolton's age, the parsonage of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, becoming void, he sent for him from the university to his chambers at Serjeant's-Inn, and presented him to that living. Then he published his first book, *A Discourse on True Happiness*, which he dedicated to Serjeant Nichols, his patron.

About the 40th year of his age, for the better settling of himself in house-keeping upon his parsonage, he resolved upon marriage, and took to wife Mrs. Anne Boyce, to whose care he committed the ordering of his outward estate, he himself only minding the weighty affairs of his heavenly calling. Twice every Lord's-day

he preached, and catechized in the afternoon; and upon every holiday, and on every Friday, before the sacrament, he expounded a chapter. In all his preaching he still aimed at the conversion of souls, the glory of a good minister; and herein God highly honoured his ministry, in making him to beget many sons and daughters unto righteousness; for many hundreds were either converted, or mightily confirmed, or singularly comforted by his ministry. He had such an art in relieving afflicted consciences, that he was sought to far and near; and many from beyond the seas desired his resolution in divers cases of conscience, which was the only cause that made him put forth that learned and godly treatise, *Instructions for a right comforting afflicted Consciences*.

And though in his manner of preaching he was a *son of thunder*, yet unto those that mourned in spirit, he was a *son of consolation*, and with a tender heart poured the oil of mercy into their bleeding wounds. He, (as was said of Luther,) was a mighty enemy to the devil's kingdom, and had a singular skill to discern his sleights, and that cunning craftiness whereby he lies in wait to deceive. He ever thought that there was no such way to cast down the strong holds of satan, as to lay the ax to the root of sin. And in all his sermons, he ever used to discover the filthiness of sin, and to press very powerfully upon men's consciences the duties of sanctification; in expression whereof three things were remarkable in him:

1. Such courage and resolution of spirit as is scarcely to be found in any; whereby he gave such vigour unto the truth he delivered, that it pierced the very joints and marrow.

2. Impartiality; he would spare none in their sins,

either great or small. He knew he was to deliver his Master's will, with whom was no respect of persons.

3. His wisdom; as he was of high courage, so was it excellently tempered with wisdom, described in these four things. 1. In all his denunciations against sin, he never personated any man, whereby to put him to shame, unless his own inward guiltiness caused him to apply it to himself. 2. He would never press upon the conscience the guilt of sin, but he would defend what he advanced by Scripture, by the ancient fathers, and the concurrence of the most renowned and orthodox writers, to stop the mouths of all slanderers that should accuse his doctrine either of novelty, or of too much preciseness. 3. When he had searched the conscience to the quick, he ever offered Christ in all his beauty and sweetness. 4. He would always protest unto his people, that it was a trouble to him to preach against their sins; he delighted not to vex any of their consciences; he should be glad the case were so with them, that he might only preach the riches of God's mercies in Christ all his days; but he knew no other way to pull them out of the snare of satan, than the way he took.

That which made his preaching more illustrious, was the burning and shining light, which appeared in his life and conversation, in these five particulars:

1. His piety, whereof I need not say much; *The Directions for Walking with God*, were framed out of the meditations of his own heart, as a guide for himself, for ordering his steps in the ways of righteousness; which he strictly observed throughout the course of his life. And no marvel if he attained to such a height of holiness, when he was lifted up thither by the wings of prayer. His constant course was to pray six times a

day, twice by himself, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. Besides, he observed many days of private humiliation and prayer, ever before the receiving of the communion, and many days besides, for the miseries of the churches in France and Germany, which he performed with such ardency of spirit, that (as was said of Martin Luther,) “He used such humility, as in the presence of Almighty God; but such fervency and faith, as if he had been talking with his friend.” And God heard his prayers; for, to the comfort of his soul, a little before his death, he heard of the mighty victories obtained by the King of Sweden against the emperor.

2. For his gravity, he was of a very comely presence. He had a countenance that commanded respect; inso-much that many forbore to speak or act unscemly things in his presence, who would not have been so modest in other company. Such a majesty doth grace imprint upon the countenances of holy men, that they draw respect from the greatest.

3. He was very zealous for God, not only in his ministry, but in any publick or private good, that tended to the honour of God; to whose glory he wholly sacrificed himself and all his studies; which I can the more safely affirm, in that I know he divers times refused preferment from some of the nobility and prelates of this kingdom; and for no other cause, but that he might not be divorced from that country, where his ministry wrought such good effects.

4. But the zeal of this pious man was always tempered with singular wisdom and discretion: for though in all his sermons he pressed mightily upon the consciences of his hearers; yet they were never able to resist the authority by which he spake; so that for the space of

twenty-two years, the whole time that his light shined in Northamptonshire, his doctrine was never drawn into question. So studious was he ever of the unity and peace of the Church of England, which he dearly loved, that none could justly quarrel with him but Papists and other *sectaries*, or men of notoriously evil lives.

5. Lastly, for his charity, he was ever universally bountiful; but he exceeded in those publick distresses of Germany, France, Bohemia, and to those that stood in true need. He spent every year all the revenues of his parsonage (which was of good value,) in the maintenance of his family, and acts of hospitality; and also gave away yearly, in other charities, the temporal estate he had. The town of Broughton will ever have cause to bless God for his charity: for when that lamentable fire was among them, September 21, in the year 1626, besides the many pounds he spent out of his own purse, he was a chief means that by the only supply of the country, without any *letters patent* from above, their houses, which were burnt down to the ground, were all new built, and their outward estates restored.

This inestimable treasure it pleased God to put in an earthen vessel, and about the beginning of September last he began to break it, by visiting him with a quartan ague; a disease which brought Calvin to his end; and by the judgment of the best physicians, is ever deemed mortal unto old men. Perceiving, after two or three fits, that it mastered his strength, he called for his will, which he had made long before, and perfecting some things in it, he caused it to be laid up, and afterwards wholly retired into himself, quitting the world, and solacing his soul with the meditation of the joys of heaven, which he had provided to preach to his people: for having com-

piled an elaborate discourse on the four last things, *death, judgment, hell, and heaven*, and having finished the three former, he told them, that the next day he would treat of heaven ; but the day before, being Saturday, he was visited with sickness, and never preached after. God then preparing him for the fruition of those inexplicable joys which he had provided for his people in contemplation.

Though his sickness was long and sharp, yet he bore it with admirable patience, for he saw him that *is invisible* ; and his whole delight was to be with him, often breathing out such speeches as these, when his fits gave him any intermission : “ Oh ! when will this good hour come ? When shall I be dissolved ? When shall I be with Christ ? ” Being told that it was indeed better for him to be dissolved, but the church of God could not but miss him, and the benefit of his ministry ; he replied, “ If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me both it and his habitation ; but if otherwise, lo ! here I am, let him do what seemeth good in his eye. ” Being asked by another, whether he could not be content to live, if God would grant him life ? He answered, “ I grant that life is a great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means that may preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God’s will ; but of the two, I infinitely desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. ”

In the time of his sickness, there came many to visit him, but he admitted none but his intimate friends ; using a speech of St. Augustine, who desired, ten days before he died, none might come to him, that he in that time might the better fit himself for God. But to those that came, he gave very wise exhortations adapted to

their callings and conditions ; for although his body was wasted, yet his understanding and memory were as active and quick as in the time of his health.

He encouraged the ministers that came to him to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to let their spirits faint or droop for any affliction that should arise thereupon. All that came to him he bade make sure of Christ before they came to die. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy in pulling him out of hell, in sealing his ministry with the conversion of many souls, which he wholly ascribed to his glory.

About a week before he died, when his *silver cord* began to *loosen*, and his *golden bowl* to *break*, he called for his wife, and desired her to bear his dissolution with a Christian fortitude, and make no doubt but she should meet him again in heaven. And turning towards his children, (one son and four daughters,) he told them, that they should not expect he could now say any thing to them, neither would his ability of body give him leave ; he had told them enough in the time of his sickness, and before, and hoped they would remember it ; and verily believed, “ that none of them durst think to meet him at that great tribunal in an unregenerate state.”

About two days after, divers of his parish coming to watch with him, he was moved by a friend that, as he had discovered to them by his doctrine, the exceeding comforts that were in Christ, he would now tell them what he felt in his soul. “ Alas, (said he,) do they look for that of me now, who want breath and power to speak ? I have told them enough in my ministry ; but yet, to give you satisfaction, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ ; with whom I

heartily desire to be." And then, looking upon some that were weeping, said, "Oh, what a deal ado there is before one can die!"

The night before he died, when *the doors without* began to be *shut*, and *the daughters of music* to be brought low, and he lying very low with his head, expecting every moment when the *wheel should be broken at the cistern*, yet being told that some of his dear friends were then about him, to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be lifted up, and then, like old Jacob, *bowing himself on his bed's head*, after a few gaspings for breath, he spake in this manner, "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out, faith and patience, your work will speedily be at an end." And then, shaking them all by the hands, prayed heartily and particularly for them, and desired them "to make sure of heaven, and to bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his ministry; protesting to them, that the doctrine which he had preached to them for the space of twenty years, was the truth of God, as he should answer it at the tribunal of Christ, before whom he should shortly appear." This he spake when the very pangs of death were upon him. Whereupon a dear friend of his, taking him by the hand, and asking him if he felt not much pain? "Truly no, (said he,) the greatest I feel is your cold hand." And then, speaking to be laid down again, he spake no more till the next morning, when he took his last leave of his wife and children, prayed for them, and blessed them all; and that day, in the afternoon, about five o'clock, being Saturday, the 17th day of December, 1631, in the 60th year of his age, he yielded up his spirit to God, and, according to his own speech, celebrated the ensuing Sabbath in the kingdom of heaven.

A  
**DISCOURSE**  
ON  
**TRUE HAPPINESS.**



PSALM 1.

1. *Blessed is the man that doth not walk in the counsel of the wicked, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornful.*

2. *But his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night.*

THERE is no greater encouragement, or stronger motive to excite a man to an eager and earnest pursuit of the means, than to propose unto him an end wherein at length his heart may repose, as in a concurrence of all comforts and contentments. To which there is no possibility of attainment but by pureness of heart, holiness of life, constancy in a course of sanctification, which only lead unto the face and presence of God; where, and with whom alone, is the highest perfection of bliss, a river of infinite pleasures, the well of life, and endless rest of all created desires. For the capacity of man's soul cannot possibly be filled with the sufficiency of any creature; no,

not with a world of creatures. For they are all nothing to the worth of a man's soul; Christ himself having preferred it in valuation, "What shall it profit a man, though he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" And therefore it can never be free from motion and vexation, until it reach, either in certain hope or actual fruition, unto an object, infinite, as well in excellency of nature, as duration of time. Blessed then was the wisdom of the disposer of these heavenly songs of David; whether it was himself, or Ezra, or whosoever, in that he prefixed this excellent psalm, as a preface to all the rest; wherein is proposed, and comprised a matchless happiness, whereby the godly man may even in this life flourish *like a palm-tree*, and grow *like a cedar in Lebanon*; refreshed continually with rivers of joys and comforts, shed into his heart by the Spirit of God; and may stand like Mount Zion, unastonished and unremoved, at that great and fearful day, when the wicked shall call for the mountains to cover them, and wish they had never been.

What ingenuous mind would not be inflamed with zeal, to the prosecution of those means, which lead unto an end as full of happiness, as the sun is full of light, and the sea of waters? What heart, not possessed with an iron sinew, would not thirst and long after sound and undissembled sincerity; even as the hart panteth after the rivers of water, and as the dry ground gapeth for drops of rain? Since by it alone we purchase and put on an unconquerable resolution, issuing from an *assurance* of being in Christ, and from the clearness of a good conscience, whereby we may walk even *as bold as lions*, through this valley of tears, amidst the merciless vexations of profane men; nay, we may "walk upon the lion and asp, the young lion and the dragon we may tread under feet;" and hereafter be sure to be satisfied with fulness of joy in the presence of God, and with pleasures at his right hand for evermore.

This happy man is here described unto us by many arguments.

1. Are laid down his marks and properties, negative and affirmative, in the two first verses.

2. His happiness is in a lively manner set out by a similitude, in the third verse.

3. Illustrated by an opposition of the misery of the wicked, in the fourth and fifth verses.

4. Concluded with the causes of them both, to wit, of the happiness of the godly, and vengeance upon the wicked, in the last verse.

The negative properties, in the first verse, are three : 1. *He doth not walk in the counsel of the wicked* ; 2. *He doth not stand in the way of sinners* : 3. *He doth not sit in the seat of the scornful* ; amplified with a three-fold gradation in the persons, actions, and objects of the actions. The gradation in the persons, the *wicked*, *sinners*, and *scornful*, implies all sorts of ungodly men. The gradation in the actions, *walk*, *stand*, and *sit*, all manner of commerce and correspondence with them. The gradation in the objects, the *counsel*, *way*, and *seat*, all kinds of iniquity ; inward corruptions, or outward impieties. The whole verse laboureth with an emphatical exaggeration, to shew the happy man's forbearance of sin, and all communicating with sinful men. The second verse, containing his employment in piety, seemeth to answer in opposition, these three negatives, with three affirmatives. 1. *His delighting in the law of the Lord*, is opposed to the *counsel of the wicked*. 2. *His meditation, and exercise in the law*, to the *way of sinners*. 3. *Day and night*. There is his constancy and habit, opposed to the seat of the scornful.

Why then, let the profane world say what they will ; let sensual men judge as they list : that man, and that man alone is truly happy, 1. *That walketh not in the counsel of the wicked* ; that is, that doth not delight in their vain imaginations, sinful affections, lustful desires ; in their proud and swelling thoughts ; which conceive mischief, and bring forth a lie ; that doth not partake with their impotent passions, unhallowed policies ; their

exorbitant projects for pleasures, honours, and profits ; whose soul desires not to come into the secret of their cruel consultations ; in a word, whose heart hateth the inward pollution, that hath either fountain or seat in any power of the soul.

2. *That standeth not in the way of sinners* : that is, that breaketh not out into open profaneness ; that imitateth not their actions and conversation ; whose mouth is not full of bitterness and lying ; whose lips are not infected with the poison of asps ; whose hands are not full of bribes and falsehood ; whose feet are not swift to run after mischief, vanity, and lewd companions.

3. *That sitteth not in the seat of the scornful* : that is, that confineth not himself to the chair of iniquity ; that confirmeth not himself in his hardness of heart ; that doth not make a mock at sin, and jest with the sacred Word of God ; that doth not direct the poisonous arrows of a spiteful tongue against God's dearest servants, who are even as the apple of his eye ; that, with the scorner, doth not dare the highest Majesty of the Almighty to whet his glittering sword, and take hold on judgment ; to put on his habergeon of righteousness, and the garments of vengeance for clothing : saying, as it is in Isa. v. 19, " Let him make speed : let him hasten his work, that we may see it : and let the Holy One of Israel draw near, and come, that we may know it."

Thus far his forbearance of sinful actions. Now follows his practice in actions of piety. 1. *His delight is in the law of the Lord* : that is, the whole doctrine divinely inspired, is the very joy of his heart, and delight of his soul. It is sweeter unto him than honey, and the honeycomb. It is more precious unto him than gold ; yea, than much fine gold. It is of more worth unto him than heaven and earth. And 2, where the heart is once enkindled with love, there the imagination embraceth with dearest apprehension : the thoughts are impatient of any other object ; all the powers of the soul are united in a strong endeavour of the attainment ; and the whole mind

must needs be possessed with meditation. If he delight in the law of the Lord, he must meditate therein. And this fervency of the heart cannot possibly be enclosed within the compass of the breast : it will spread itself in speech and actions ; as is plain from Psal. xxxvii. 30, “ The mouth of the righteous will speak of wisdom, and his tongue will talk of judgment.” The reason follows, “ For the law of his God is in his heart.” And from Psal. cxix. 167, “ My soul hath kept thy testimonies : for I love them exceedingly.” And 3, this love, delight, meditation, and exercise in the law of God, of this happy man, is not as a morning cloud, and as the morning dew before the sun : but like the light of the sun, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. It is not a start, for fear, upon restraint, for reputation, for advantage ; or to cover the terrors of conscience, for a while, with a few flashes of deceivable comforts, out of some misapplied promises in the Word of God ; but it is, out of a free resolution, and with undaunted constancy, *day and night*.

But give me leave, before I proceed to the explication of the rest, to propose unto you this general doctrine, which hath its strength from the body of the psalm, and the main scope of the Spirit of God. There is in the book of God offered unto us, an happiness, standing in opposition to all the vain felicities which ancient philosophers devised out of their deep speculations ; or profane men out of their corrupt affections ; not consisting in pleasures, riches, honours, greatness ; in civil honesty, formal hypocrisy ; or the whole possibility of nature : but in supernatural grace, and the blessed consequents.

The whole book of Ecclesiastes, Solomon’s sacred retractions, is a large demonstration of this doctrine. Solomon was son unto the worthiest king that ever swayed a sceptre upon earth ; and he was predecessor in the royal line unto the Son of God ; and so was matchless for nobility, if true happiness had consisted therein. He was king of Jerusalem, the perfection of beauty, and the

joy of the whole earth. He made silver as stones, and gave cedars as the wild fig-trees, that grow abundantly in the plain. He built him houses, and planted vineyards. He provided him men-singers, and women-singers; and the delights of the sons of men. Whatsoever his eyes desired, he with-held it not from them, and withdrew not his heart from any joy. For wisdom and understanding, he had a large heart, even as the sand that is on the sea-shore. In speculative knowledge, he excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt. He was able to discourse from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. In wisdom of policy and government, there was none like unto him before him, neither after him should arise the like unto him. So that Solomon was the most fit and absolute man that ever lived, both for ability in understanding, abundance in possession, and desire in searching, to take an exact measure of the worth and sufficiency of all creatures: and to raise from them the best satisfactions they could possibly afford. Yet, when he had wearied himself in the variety of passages of this life, (in the book of Ecclesiastes, see his judgment,) he utterly disavows and disclaims them all, as miserable comforters, as mere shadows and dreams; wherein there is no more matter of sound comfort, than there is light in the greatest darkness. He says of *laughter, thou art mad*; and of *joy, what is this that thou doest?* And whereas wisdom and knowledge are the most incomparable treasures this transitory world hath; he saith, that “in the multitude of wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.” And of these, and all other things under the sun; yea, and if to the glory of all created natures, were an addition of ten thousand excellencies, that never man saw or enjoyed; he hath pronounced of them all, in respect of true happiness, and divided from the grace and fear of God, that they are all *vanity*. And if he stayed there, it had been well; that argues but a passive imperfection, and a weak-

ness in the things themselves ; but they are *vexation of spirit* ; nothing in themselves ; yet full of power and activity, to inflict vengeance and vexation upon the spirit of a man.

The spirit of a man being sound in sincerity, and seconded with a good conscience, is able to bear out his infirmities, and all the miseries incident to his nature. It is able to pass by, with a resolute patience, the lying imputations of the profanest malice. It is able, by the grace of God, to encounter the terrors of death, and the fearfulness of the grave ; yea, to endure with gracious humility, even the presence of God and angels at that great day. But a wounded spirit who can bear ? If the eye be dark, how great is that darkness ? If the spirit of a man, which should refresh all the faculties of the soul with comfortable cheerfulness, and fill the whole body with a lively vigour, be itself wounded with vexation and terror ; how comfortless is that man ? If his strength were the strength of stones, and his flesh of brass ; yet would the torment of a bitter, afflicted soul, grind him to powder ; and melt, as the dew before the sun, whatsoever he accounted strongest, and most powerful to relieve his heaviness ; it would turn all his choicest and dearest pleasures into wormwood and bitterness.

And this vexation, with which riches, honours, or what other vanity desirable in this life, doth afflict the unregenerate heart, is two-fold ; 1. In the pursuit of them is much anguish, many grievances, fears, jealousies, disgraces, interruptions, discontentments. But 2. after the unsanctified enjoying of them, follows the sting of conscience, that will everlastingly vex the soul ; which is the very earnest of the fire of hell ; by which a man doth expect with inconceivable horror, the consummation of the wrath of God, (which burneth far hotter, and more unquenchably, than any fire, though augmented with infinite rivers of brimstone,) to be poured upon his body and soul for evermore, in the world to come. How then possibly can there be any happiness in these vexations ? Wherefore ? Solomon, having proved the negative part of

my doctrine, concludes the positive in the last chapter : that to fear God, and to keep his commandments, is the only way to be possessed of true happiness ; to find peace of conscience, and assurance of the favour of God.

For let a man, while he will, in this world of vanity, either sport himself in the soft and green way of fading pleasures ; or please himself in the glorious miseries of honours and high places ; or tire himself in the toils of insatiable greediness ; or brave it in his oaths, blasphemies, and strength of pouring in strong drink ; or tread the desperate path of contempt of the power of religion, the truth of God, and sincerity of his saints : all the while, when he is at the best, he is but as the raging sea that cannot rest. For so Isaiah compares the wicked, chap. lvii. 20. The sea, you know, is not only many times tossed up and down with winds and tempests ; but ever inwardly disquieted, even with its own motions, casting up continual mire and dirt upon the shore, and breaking into foam its proudest waves against the rocks ; even so the heart of that man, who hath reposed his affections upon the glory of this life, is not only many times disquieted with outward crosses ; as with loss of friends, discountenance of great ones, disappointment of his hopes, with wrongful railings and disgraces ; with looking upon the day of his death, and vengeance upon the wicked ; with disturbers of his security in his pleasures and dignities : but is also, besides the restless torture of his conscience, ever from within, foaming out his own shame, the dishonour of God, and the vexation of his brethren.

But it is not so with him that holds the fear of God for his surest sanctuary ; that hath resolved to resign up himself in holy obedience to the will of God. His heart is like the upper part of the world, which is ever full of serenity, constancy, and brightness ; be the air below never so troubled with storms and thunders ; or the earth with commotions and tumults. For let there be about him the devouring sword of the tyrant, the consuming flames of persecution, the keen razors of lying tongues, the mouths of lions, the cruel combinations of his ene-

mies ; nay, let the earth be moved, and let the mountains fall into the midst of the sea ; yet his heart is joyful, patient, resolute, and contented.

But, to descend more specially to the particulars of the negative part of my doctrine : let me add to the many and strong reasons of the ancient philosophers and late schoolmen, (against pleasures, riches, and honours,) these three ; which will for ever utterly disable them for claiming any shew of interest in man's happiness. 1. They cannot possibly fill the unlimited desire of the soul. For although the treasures, the greatness, the delights of all men living, were in the present possession of one : yet somewhat beside, and above all this, would still be sought, and thirsted for. Nay it is certain, if one man were, not only crowned with the sovereignty of all the kingdoms of the earth, but besides, were made commander of the motions of the sun, and the glory of the stars ; yet the restless eye of his unsatisfied understanding would pry beyond the heavens, for some hidden excellency, and supposed felicity, which the whole compass of this created world could not yield. So unquenchable is the thirst of man's soul, until it bathe itself in the river of life, and in the immeasurable ocean of goodness and wisdom. So impossible is it, that this material world, with all her perfections, should be a proportionable object to so precious a nature ; or that so divine a spark should cease rising and aspiring, until it join itself to that infinite flame of glory and majesty, from whence it first issued.

2. They cannot secure the conscience distressed with the apprehension of the wrath of God, or prevent his judgments. Memorable is that horrible amazement that surprised the heart of Belshazzar, amidst his greatest jollities. Melting he was in pleasures ; solacing himself amongst his wives and concubines ; carousing in the golden and silver vessels of the temple ; but when there appeared fingers of a man's hand, which wrote over-against the candlestick, upon the plaister of the wall, (a remembrancer unto his conscience, how contemptuously

and sacrilegiously he had dishonoured the highest majesty; and that the vials of God's heavy vengeance were ready to be poured upon his head,) all the joys of his royal pomp vanished as the smoke. For "then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other." And now, one pang of his wounded conscience did much more torment him than the kingdom, majesty, glory, and honour, which he received from his father Nebuchadnezzar, could ever comfort him. So, I doubt not, but many times, the hearts of many glorious ones in this life, that are not in trouble like other men, but spread themselves as green bay-trees; when they hear the certain judgments of God denounced out of his book by his ministers, against those sins, to which, (by long custom and vowed resolution,) they have fastened their affections: I say, that many times, (except their consciences be seared as with a hot iron, against the day of vengeance, and then their ease is unspeakably woeful,) their hearts tremble, even as the trees of the forest, that are shaken with the wind. Amidst their laughing, their hearts are sorrowful. Or if their mirth be entire, it is but "like the noise of thorns under the pot." Thorns under a pot, you know, make a great crackling, and a noise for a little time. They blaze fair and bright, but are suddenly extinct, and brought to nothing. Neither are those cold comforters able to quench God's fiery jealousy, when it breaks forth in plagues and judgments against a sinful people.

3. They cannot stretch themselves unto eternity. For there are no contentments of this life, (whether they lie in honours, riches, pleasures, or friends,) let them be never so many in number, so potent in the world, or in our own persuasions, so exempt from mixture of discomfort, that can possibly bring us further than our death-bed. It may be for a few days of our life, they have detained us in a fool's paradise, yet full of vipers and scorpions; it may be they have left some obscure prints of unsound

joys in our passages. But then, at their farewell, they are utterly despoiled of their weak and imaginary sweetness ; and are wholly turned into wounds and wormwood, into gall and vexation. They leave a sting in the conscience that never dies ; but themselves die all at our deaths, and lie down with us in our graves. Why then, when the immortal soul, being dislodged from this tabernacle of clay, shall enter the confines of eternity, what shall comfort it through that endless duration ? For if it look back to this inch of time, which it consumed in vanity, it may ask, Why have I been troubled about many things ? Why have I disquieted myself in vain ? Why have I insulted over innocency, and accounted sincerity madness ? What hath pride profited me ? Or what profit hath the pomp of riches brought me ? And it may be answered, “ All those things are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that passeth by ; as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path of it in the floods. Or as a bird, that flieth through the air, and no man can see any token of her passage, but only hear the noise of her wings, beating the light wind, parting the air through the vehemency of her going, whereas afterward no token of her way can be found. If then the expiration of all worldly comforts be most certain and inevitable, at the furthest at our departure from this life ; it is impossible there should be any absolute joy found in them. For there is wanting the very life of true happiness, assurance of perpetuity.

Imagine therefore a man to be abundantly encompassed even with the desire of his heart ; let him wash his paths with butter ; and let the rock pour him out rivers of oil ; let him heap up silver as the dust, and gold as the mire in the streets ; let him deck himself with majesty and excellency, and array himself with beauty and glory ; let him drink up the pleasures of this world in as great abundance as Behemoth the river Jordan ; yet all is nothing, himself being covered with corruption and mortality ;

and the fruition of them with vanity and change. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh. He must at length necessarily make resignation of all into the hands of a new succession ; and he shall take nothing away when he dies ; neither shall his pomp or pleasure descend after him. Yet if a man, besides an entire and uninterrupted possession of his worldly contentments, (which is never to be looked for in this life, for, as Job speaks, “ While his flesh is upon him, he shall be sorrowful ; and while his soul is in him, it shall mourn ;” yet, I say, if besides,) he were able to extend his life to many millions of years, the matter were a little more tolerable. But alas, the life of a man at most is but a span long ; and that which makes it much more miserable, he knows not in what part of that short span, how suddenly, or how soon he shall be cut off from the land of the living ; and go, and shall not return, even unto the land of darkness, and shadow of death. For “ the rejoicing of the wicked is short, and the joy of hypocrites is but a moment. Though his excellency mount up to the heaven, and his head reach unto the clouds : yet shall he perish for ever, like dung ; and they which have seen him, shall say, where is he ? He shall flee away as a dream, and they shall not find him, and shall pass away as a vision of the night. So that the eye, which had seen him, shall do so no more, and his place shall see him no more.” And in this respect, man’s condition is far inferior to other creatures. One generation passeth, and another generation succeedeth ; but the earth remaineth for ever. The sun seems every night to lie down in a bed of darkness ; but he rises in the morning clothed with the same glory and brightness, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course : but “ man (saith Job) dieth, man perisheth, and where is he ? As the waters pass from the sea, and as the flood decayeth, and drieth up ; so man sleepeth, and riseth not : for he shall not wake again, nor be raised from his sleep, till the heaven be no more.”

To let therefore these wretched vanities pass, as un-

worthy to be insisted on thus long ; howsoever, the worldly-minded man, wanting utterly the eye of faith, and having his eye of reason dimmed with mists, that rise from his tumultuous passions, may seem to see in them some glimmerings of happiness ; yet certainly, the more generous mind may clearly, out of the very light of reason, discern them all to be no better than a broken staff or reed ; whereupon if a man lean it will go into his hand, and pierce it, yea, and strike his heart too through with many sorrows ; and that in the time of trouble, they will all prove but as a broken tooth, and sliding foot. To let them pass, and die and perish, I come to two other branches of the negative part, *civil honesty*, and *formal hypocrisy*. These indeed are the two great engines, by which in this full light and glorious noontide of the gospel, the prince of this world draweth many multitudes into his snares in this life, and into chains of darkness in the life to come.

Sweetness of nature, loveliness of disposition, fairness of condition, a pleasing affability in carriage and conversation, an unswayed uprightness in civil actions and negotiations with men, make a goodly shew. But if there be an accession of profession of the gospel, of outward performance of religious exercises, of some correspondence with the servants of God ; there is the perfection. Whatsoever is above is proud hypocrisy, vain-glorious singularity, phantastic preciseness ; when, (God knows,) there may be all this, and yet no power of religion, no life of grace, no true happiness, no hope of eternity. To the demonstration of which point, before I proceed, let me prevent two objections.

1. I deny not, that moral virtue is good, and excellent in itself ; the outward performance of religious duties, and the exercise of the means of our conversion, are necessary. But if moral virtue were able to put on the greatest magnificence, that ever it anciently enjoyed among the precisest Romans, whereby it might worthily draw into admiration, even these times of Christianity ;

yet in respect of acceptance with God, and conformity to his will, it is but at the best very filthiness. And outward actions of religion, be they performed with as glorious a shew as ever they were by the most formal pharisee; yet severed from a sound and sanctified heart, (the fountain which gives life, sweetness, and acceptance to all outward services,) they are but all, as the cutting off of a dog's neek, and the offering of swine's blood.

2. I do not, here, by any means intend the discomfort of that man, whose soul is yet wrestling with the grievous afflictions and terrors of conscience, in the sore travel of his new birth. I wish unto him the sweetest comforts that either he in his greatest agonies can desire, or the bowels of God's tenderest compassion are wont to pour into broken and bleeding hearts; and that the joyful light of his Saviour's countenance may break forth upon his cloudy and drooping conscience, with far greater brightness than ever the clearest sun upon the face of the earth. Neither do I purpose the discouragement of him, who hath happily passed the fearful, but necessary pangs of remorse for sins, and hath already, (by the grace of God,) laid hold on the merits and mercies of Christ, by a true, though a weak faith. I wish that his soul, (as a new-born babe in Christ,) may be touched with the smoothest hand of the most wise and charitable discretion; and that it may be nourished with the sweetest milk of the most gracious and comfortable promises. I ever esteemed it most bloody cruelty to quench the smoking flax, or break the bruised reed, or to add sorrow unto him, whom the Lord hath wounded; and therefore rather infinitely desire to turn the smoking flax into a burning fire of zeal; to refresh the weak and wounded heart, with the softest oil of God's dearest mercies; to make the bruised reed a pillar of brass, that it may stand strong and sure at the day of trial. It is not difference of degrees and measure that takes away the nature of faith. A small drop of water is as truly water, as the whole ocean. A little spark is as truly fire, as the

mightiest flame. The hand of a little child may receive a pearl, as well as the hand of the greatest giant, though not hold it so strongly. A weak faith may be a true faith, and so a saving faith. This only I must advise, that if this grain of mustard-seed, watered with the dew of grace, grow not towards a great tree; if this spark, enkindled by the Spirit of God, spread not into a big flame; if this small measure of faith be not edged with a longing fervency after fulness of persuasion, and seconded with an assiduous and serious endeavour after more perfection, it is no sound and saving faith, but only a counterfeit shew, and a deceiving shadow.

But yet for all this, I cannot, (without a woe,) speak good of evil, and evil of good. I must not put darkness for light, and light for darkness. Wise Solomon hath taught us, "That he that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination unto the Lord." And therefore I must tell you, that a man may be great in the eye of the world, and in the judgment of the greater part, for his civil honesty, and solemn performances of outward duties of religion, (to which many thousands never attain,) and yet himself be not only a stranger to the life of God and right happiness, and holden fast under the power of the first death; but also, being puffed up, become a violent opposer of the power of religion and true godliness.

The reason whereof may be this: our corrupt nature, (as in matters of understanding and opinion,) worketh in every man too much love of his own conclusions. All opposition inflames the affections, and excites the wit, to find out arguments for their proof, lest he seem to have been too weak of judgment in framing them, or too inconstant in not defending them. Even so also in matters of life and conversation. And the more plausible a man's course is, and the more gloriously it is entertained by the world, the stronger is his resolution to continue in it, and the more impatient he is of all controlment and contradiction. So that moral honesty, and outward re-

ligiousness, being in themselves good and necessary, and a good step to Christianity ; yet are many times a strong bar to keep men from the power of godliness. Because, when they consider their present course is in good acceptance with the world, and that it may well consist with the free enjoyment of their honours and pleasures, they willingly and peremptorily repose upon it ; contented with the probable error of being in the state of grace, and with a plausible passage unto eternal death. And the rather, because they know full well, if they should step forward unto inward holiness, they would not only raise up against themselves many thundering tempests of the world's insolent, false, and spiteful censures ; but also even from the bottom of hell, many disturbances and fearful temptations. For I am persuaded, while a man lies secure in the course of unregeneration, if the devil can procure it, he shall enjoy his heart's desire, he shall bring his enterprizes to pass, and not fall into trouble like other men. He only then begins to bestir himself, when a man begins to stir towards grace ; or when by his trains he hath brought him to some point of advantage, to some dead lift, to his death-bed ; that he may have a full stroke at his destruction, that he may suddenly and certainly swallow him up, body and soul ; and then he pays him home : for either through senselessness, or despair, he sinks him down irrecoverably into the bottom of hell.

These two objections thus prevented, I come to the proof of the point in hand. And first, these reasons following may demonstrate, that he which reaches but to civil honesty, comes far short of being in Christ, and consequently of true happiness. 1. Some of the heathens attained a great measure of moral perfection. And yet all these excellencies of morality are justly censured by divinity, from that ground in the epistle to the Hebrews, "Without faith it is impossible to please God." Let a man's works in shew be never so good, except the heart be purged from dead works by a lively faith, and pure

from an evil conscience, he is but a painted sepulchre, or a whited wall.

The 2d reason is grounded upon the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 14, "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him : neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." In this place, by *natural man* is not meant only the sensual man, wallowing in vanities and pleasures ; but a man considered with the whole compass of the reasonable soul's possibility. And man's reasonable soul, by the strength that it yet retains, may purchase some kind of perfection. First, in itself it may be excellent, if endowed with a sharp wit, a quick apprehension, a strong understanding, a piercing judgment, a faithful memory, a more moderate will, and milder affections. But if by industry and art it furnish every faculty with those ornaments of which it is naturally capable, the perfection is much more admirable. And yet, besides these excellencies in itself, it may shine gloriously to others, it may go further, and enable itself by action, experience, and observation, to attain such an universal wisdom, that it may not only be qualified for notable offices of society, but also reach unto that depth of foresight and large comprehension of circumstances, that it may be worthy of employment in the affairs of state, and in the direction and guidance of whole kingdoms. All these perfections may concur on the soul, and yet it remain stark blind in the mysteries of salvation. Imagine them all jointly in one man, and in the highest degree of perfection and excellency, of which unsanctified morality is capable, and let them be never so much admired of the world ; yet without the salt of grace to season them, and the life of grace to animate them, they are but as gay attire upon a leprous body ; as bracelets upon a dead and rotten carcase.

Let no man then deceive his own heart ; he may be enriched with singular ability in all the faculties of the soul ; he may be stored with variety of the choicest and profoundest learning ; he may express in action

and civil honesty the absolute portraiture of Aristotle's moral virtues; he may be as politick as Ahitophel, "Whose counsel, which he counselled in those days, was like as if one had asked counsel at the oracle of God:" and yet without supernatural illumination, and the Divine graces of faith, love, zeal, sincerity, spiritual wisdom, a sanctified striving of spirit, in making towards God in all kinds of duties; which only put a man into possession of true happiness, and fit him for a blessed association with God, angels, and holy men: I say, without these supernatural graces, he not only cannot perceive the things of the Spirit of God, (but which is a horrible and fearful curse,) will even esteem them foolishness.

The 3d reason shall be taken from the example of Nicodemus, John iii. Nicodemus, I am persuaded, was an honest man. I am sure he was a great man, and a teacher of Israel; yet when he comes out of his civil honesty and natural wisdom, to reason with Christ about the salvation of his soul, he is strangely childish, and a mere infant. For when Christ tells him, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" he replies, "How can a man be born which is old? Can he enter into his mother's womb again and be born?" A reply, which may cause astonishment in all that shall ever read this story understandingly unto the world's end. Nay, it seems strange to Christ himself, by his interrogative admiration afterward, "Art thou a teacher of Israel, and knowest not these things?" And no marvel; for who would think that one of the best of the Pharisees, a ruler of the Jews, a professed doctor in the law and the prophets, and one careful to save his soul, should be so grossly ignorant in a most necessary point of salvation; especially, having many times, no doubt, read it in Moses and the prophets? Amongst many places, he might see in Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27, most clearly laid down, the great and glorious work of our new birth, "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you, and I will take the stony heart out of

your body, and I will give you a heart of flesh." But when he comes from teaching, and reading of this and the like places, to be examined in the experimental feeling of these graces of regeneration upon his own soul, he talks of a man that is old entering again into his mother's womb. But so it is, where the heart is not seasoned with saving grace. Let the understanding be never so great with swelling knowledge, the practical powers of the soul never so pregnant with wisdom and policy, and perfected with moral virtues; yet there is nothing to be expected from that man in matters of salvation, but darkness and blindness, childishness and stupidity.

4. The young man in the gospel may be a fit instance for our present purpose. He was irreprovable in external justice and the outward observance of the second table, wherein civil honesty doth principally consist; but how far he was from inward sanctification, the state of grace, and happiness of God's children, appears in the story. For, when the powerful words of our blessed Saviour had insinuated into the secrets of his soul, and struck at his sweet sin of covetousness, the young man is presently cast into a fit of melancholy. Christ is too precise a preacher for him, he cannot digest such a strict course. He will not abandon his pleasures, his palaces, his possessions, to follow Christ the Lord of heaven and earth in this life, though he assure him of the rich treasures of eternal blessedness in the life to come. "When the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions." Whereby we may see, that a man may be civilly honest and uncensurable in outward works of justice, and yet nourish some close corruptions, and sweet sin in his heart, from which rather than he will part, he will lose his part in Christ, the bottomless fountain of endless joys and comforts, and his portion of invaluable glory in the new Jerusalem.

This point being thus manifest, for conclusion I will

lay down certain differences, betwixt the righteousness of faith and sanctification, and the righteousness of civil honesty; that a man may have some directions to examine his soul and conscience in this respect.

1. The fountain and original of the righteousness of faith, is the sanctifying Spirit of God. But the fountain of civil honesty, may be goodness of constitution, whereby a man may not be so inclined to notorious sins, or want of trials and provocations, or fear of laws and temporal punishments, or desire of reputation, or a vain hope to stay God's judgments for inward corruptions, or at best, the restraining Spirit of God; by which he doth repress the passions and outrages of the wicked, and reduce them to some moderation.

2. The righteousness of civil honesty, in outward actions, may make a colourable pretence to piety and uprightness; but indeed hath many secret relations to pleasures, to friends, to profits, to revenge, to passions, and such like; not easily discernible, but by him, whose eyes are ten thousand times larger than the sun. But the righteousness of faith hath in all actions, for the principal end, the glory of God. And if infirmity do sometimes distain them with some mixture, (for who can say, my heart is clean?) it works in the faithful soul much sorrow, striving against it, repentance and humiliation.

3. Civil honesty makes no great conscience of smaller sins; as lying, gaming, jesting, idleness, pastime on the Sabbath-day. But the righteousness of faith having a sensible feeling of the heavy weight of sin, from those anguishes which the conscience felt before the effusion of faith; and being still stung with a check and smart for all kinds of transgressions, doth seasonably and proportionably hate and make resistance to all known sins.

4. Civil honesty doth not use to make opposition against the sins of the time, but is even willing to be carried with the stream; only upon fairer terms than

notorious sinners ; and therefore will go and encourage a man in godly courses, until he meet with, either a disgrace to his person, a disturbance to his pleasures, an imputation to his forwardness, a stop to his preferments, loss of friends, or some such cross and discouragement ; and then it teacheth him to step back, as a man ready to tread upon a serpent, and to start aside like a broken bow. But the righteousness of faith doth stand out for the honour of God, come what can ; crosses or calumniation, good report or evil report, men or devils. For it is completely armed with confidence of future happiness, and hath fixed the eye upon the crown of immortality ; which if heaven and earth conspired, they were not able to pull it out of his hand, who reserves it in the heavens, for all those that fight a good fight, that keep the faith, and run with constancy the race of sanctification.

The next point of the negative part of my doctrine is formal hypocrisy. Which, that you may more clearly understand, consider with me three kinds of hypocrisy : privy hypocrisy, gross hypocrisy, formal hypocrisy.

*Privy hypocrisy* is that by which a man makes profession of more than is in his heart. And this sometimes doth mix itself, even with the most sanctified actions of God's dearest children ; and doth soonest insinuate into a heart stored with the rich treasures of true godliness. For satan, if he cannot detain a man's soul in notorious sinfulness, in mere civil honesty, or formality, but that by the sacred inspirations of God's good Spirit, it is pulled out of the mouth of hell, from the slavery of sin, into the glorious light and liberty of Christ's kingdom ; he is enraged with implacable fury, and doth with cager pursuit persecute that soul, both by his own malice, and by the cruel agency of profane men. And if he cannot procure a relapse into gross sins ; yet that he may in some measure work the dishonour of God, he doth labour to distain the pure streams of Divine grace, in

the foul puddle of our corrupted nature; and at last to fasten the spots of privy hypocrisy upon the best actions. This hypocrisy ariseth from spiritual pride. For when a godly man, by the great work of regeneration, is become "more excellent than his neighbour," (as indeed he incomparably is, howsoever the world's estimation be otherwise. Because the one is, as yet, a limb of satan, receiving from him the cursed influence of foul pollutions. The other is already a blessed member of Christ's mystical body, continually inspired with holy motions and the life of grace :) and perceivcs this great difference, he is filled with joyful admiration of his own happiness; which satan secing, (who is perfectly experienccd in all advantages and opportunities for spiritual assaults, and working upon the relics of man's proud nature,) doth cunningly draw him to advance above that which is meet, in his own opinion, the worth of his own graces and virtues. Which that he may present to the view of the world, with an excellency proportionable to his own overweening conceit, he is forced to admit the secret and insensible poison of privy hypocrisy; which at first he doth more easily entertain, because the bitterness thereof is not discernible, by reason of the predominancy and sweetness of the fresh present graces of God's Spirit in his soul. But when by afflictions or disgraces, by some extraordinary temptation or particular checks from the ministry of the word, the ugliness of it is discovered to his conscience; he for ever abhors it, as a consuming canker, that would fret out the very heart of grace; and therefore with much humiliation and fervency doth pray against it, strive against it, and, by the mercies of God, prevail against it. This kind of hypocrisy belongs not to my present purpose; only by the way, let me give advertisement to the child of God, (for to him only I speak in this point, to the end he may keep his heart unblamable in holiness, and preserve the true relish and sound joy of good actions entire, and undistempercd,) that he would

strongly fence his heart with unfeigned humility, against privy pride, the mother of this hypocrisy, as against a close, undermining, and dangerous enemy.

The second kind is, *gross hypocrisy*; by which a man professeth that which is not in his heart at all, and so deceives others, but not his own heart. And this is most properly hypocrisy. For the Greek word Ὑποκριτής, signifieth *a stage-player*; who sometimes putteth on the robes and majesty of a prince, or the gravity and wisdom of a counsellor. Sometimes he representeth a chaste and modest lover. Sometimes he assumeth a good and honest vocation. Even such is the gross hypocrite upon the stage of this world, a very painted sepulchre and whited wall; glorious indeed in outward fashions, to the eye of the world; but if it were possible for a man to make an exact inquiry into the close hidden passages of his heart, under the veil of his outward religiousness, he would see a perfect anatomy of the infinite and deceitful corruptions of the heart of man, and many plausible politic contrivances to blear the eyes of the world; howsoever, wretched man, upon his own silly and forlorn soul he certainly draws an exceeding weight of vengeance. This kind of hypocrite is more miserable, and of less hope than the open sinner.

Good Lord, it is strange and fearful, that so excellent a creature as man, endued with reason and understanding, like an angel of God; having those great and universal motives, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, the joys of the kingdom of heaven, the endless pains of the wicked, which (except he be an avowed Atheist,) he doth certainly believe; and whereas he might live on earth with unconquerable comfort, and shine hereafter as the brightness of the firmament; be a companion of saints and angels, and stand in the glorious presence of the highest Majesty for ever and ever; yet for all this, will even wilfully, against the light of his conscience, and with the certain knowledge of his heart, by his gross hypocrisy, secret abominations and unclean-

ness, privy practices for some wretched pleasures, make himself in the eyes of God, (howsoever he deceive men,) a very incarnate devil upon earth; and after this life, justly heap upon his body and soul, all the horrors and despairs, tortures and plagues, which a created nature is capable of!

The third kind is, *formal hypocrisy*, by which a man doth not only deceive others with a shew of piety, but also his own heart, with a false persuasion, that he is in a happy state, when in truth his soul was never yet seasoned with the power of religion. And I besecch you mark me in this point. It is of great consequence to every one for a sound trial of the state of his conscience, whether he yet live the life of God, and stand in the state of grace, or lie enthralled in the slavery of sin and satan. For herein I must tell you, how far a man may proceed in outward profession of the truth, in supernatural decrease of sinfulness, in some kinds and measures of inward graces, and yet come short of true happiness.

For explication of this point, conceive with me those perfections which a man may possess while yet unregenerate, and in the state of damnation. We may suppose in him, first, all those gifts which the possibility of nature can confer upon him, all ornaments of arts and knowledge, of wisdom and policy; not only that which is purchased by experience, observation, and employment in points of state; but also the spirit of government, as Saul had. To these we may add gentleness, and fairness of conditions, an exactness of civil honesty, moral justice, and an immunity from gross sins. And thus far the heathen might go. But in these times of Christianity, a reprobate may go further far than the most innocent heathen that ever lived could; though some of them were admirable for their mild and merciful disposition, some for their virtuous severity, some for integrity of life, some for constancy in goodness. For to all these he may add, a profession of the gospel, a performance of

all outward duties and exercises of religion, many works of charity, and monuments of his rich munificence. Nay, besides all this, he may be made a partaker of some measure of inward illumination, of a shadow of true regeneration; there being no grace effectually wrought in the faithful, whereof a resemblance may not be found in the unregenerate. 1. He may be endued with understanding and knowledge in the word of God. 2. He may be persuaded that it is divinely inspired, and that it is most true. 3. He may see clearly by the law of God, the unspeakable evil of his sins, and the heavy judgments due unto them. 4. He may be amazed and terrified with fearful horror and remorse of conscience for his sins. 5. He may give assent unto the covenant of grace in Christ, as most certain and sure; and may conceive that Christ's merits are of an invaluable price, and a most precious restorative to a languishing soul. 6. He may be persuaded in a general manner, that the Lord will make good his covenant of grace unto the members of his church; and that he will plentifully perform all the promises of happiness to his children. 7. And from this faith may spring some kind and measure of hope, love, patience, and other graces. It is said in the evangelists, that that hearer, (which we call the formal hypocrite,) receives the word with joy; whence may be gathered: That with willingness and cheerfulness he may submit himself to the ministry of the word: that with forwardness and joyfulness he may follow preachers and frequent sermons: that with a discourse on the sufferings of Christ, he may be moved even unto tears, that such glorious and infinite innocency should be vexed with all manner of torments, for the impurities of sinful men: that he may love and reverence, give countenance and patronage to the ministers, whom he hears with gladness: that he may esteem the negligent, or no hearers of the word of God, as profane and of seared consciences. And the word of God, by this temporary faith, and other graces, may work such a change in him as is called "The unclean spirits going out of a

man," Matt. xii. 43. "A fleeing from the pollutions of the world," 2 Pet. ii. 20. "A washing," 2 Pet. ii. 22. And may have such power upon him, that he may do many things gladly.

Nay, and beside all these, that which nails him fast unto formality, and makes him with content walk in a course of outward profession, is a persuasion that he is already in the way of life, when as yet he never entered it. For indeed he may be persuaded (though from mistaken grounds,) that he is rich in heavenly things, and hath need of nothing; and that he is already possessed of the kingdom of grace, and entitled to the kingdom of glory; and yet be most "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:" his state in this case being not unlike the dream of a poor or hungry man, who in his sleep filleth himself with a variety of dainties, and when he awaketh, behold, he is faint, his soul longeth, and he embraceth nothing but emptiness and air; yea, and besides, the very imaginary fruition of his supposed happiness, when he is awaked, doubles the sense of his necessities. Even so the formal hypocrite in this life dreams much of comfort to come, makes sure of heaven, thinks himself the only man, and his "form of godliness," the only true state of salvation. Whatsoever is short of him, is profaneness; whatsoever is above him, is preciseness. But when upon his death-bed he awaketh, and hath his particular sins revealed unto him, instead of catching a crown of glory, which he hath vainly possessed in his security, he graspeth nothing but fear and amazement, anguish and sorrow. Yea, and now his former false persuasion of this happy state enlargeth the gulf of his despair, and makes him more sensible of his present and expected miseries.

Give me leave, I beseech you, to enlarge on this point, and to acquaint you with some reasons of this persuasion. For a false persuasion of already being in a state of grace, is a bar that keeps thousands from the state of grace indeed. The good Spirit of God, (you know,) doth

persuade every regenerate man by a sweet and silent inspiration, and out of a consideration of an universal change in all the powers and parts of his soul and body, and calling, that he is most certainly in the state of grace. Whence spring perpetually rivers of unspeakable comfort, that most then refresh his soul, when he is nearest to be overwhelmed in the main ocean of the world's bitterness and pressures. In a lying resemblance to this sacred work of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of God's children, satan, lest he be wanting to his, puts on the glory of an angel of light; and insinuateth into the imagination of the formal professor some flashes of comfort and conceit, that he is in a state of grace, and shall be saved. Whence issues a cursed security, a slumber of conscience, an impatience of having his formality censured, a neglect of a more sound search into the state of his soul. For satan, (in his angelical form,) tells him, that more strictness and purity is but only a proud hypocrisy and pretence of such as affect a transcendence above the ordinary degrees of holiness; and bids him take heed of being too busy and pragmatical in taking notice of every small corruption and infirmity. And howsoever, (saith satan,) some preachers of precise humour, out of their censorious austerity, breathe out nothing against thee but fire and brimstone, yet do not take these things to heart. Thus this wily serpent cries, "Peace, peace; when, (God knows,) there is no peace." The conscience indeed may be asleep for awhile, like a fierce wild beast gathering vigour, that being awakened by the hand of God, at the approach of sickness or death, it may more implacably rend, devour, and torment for ever.

But I come to the grounds of this persuasion. I told you before, that the Spirit of God assures his children, that they are in the state of grace, out of a consideration of an universal sincerity in all their ways. But satan for his children hath other reasons, which I conceive to be such as these: First, the formal hypocrite is confirmed,

that his state is good, when he compares himself with those which are more sinful; as murderers, adulterers, drunkards, profaners of the Sabbath, swearers, and liars. But if, (besides the disclaiming these,) his conscience be able to inform him of his honesty, external goodness, and works of charity, then the matter is put out of all controversy. You may see his picture in the 18th of Luke, "God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or as this publican." There is his exemption from common profaneness. "I fast twice in the week, I give tythes of all that I possess." There is his outward goodness and religious solemnities. But you must not conceive that the formal hypocrite doth proclaim this in publick, with such palpable ostentation. Nay, (perhaps,) when it ariseth, he lets it not rest long in his own thoughts, lest by this vanity his virtues lose their grace, and he is comfort. But certain it is, a consciousness of his being free from impious impieties, of his moral honesty, performance of outward and some inward duties of religion, in some measure, is one of the best grounds he hath for his assurance of being in a state of salvation.

The second reason whereby the formal hypocrite is moved to think his state to be good, and the way of his life to be right, is a prejudice which he conceives from the imputations which the world layeth upon the children of God: such as pride, hypocrisy, singularity, melancholy, and the like. But before I descend to these particulars, give me leave to propose unto you the fountain and ground of them, which I take to be that great and eternal opposition which is naturally betwixt light and darkness; the life of grace, and a death in sin; the children of God, and the wicked. God's children, you know, in this world, live as sheep among wolves. In the stormy times of the church, their persecutors are indeed wolves in the evening, for their insatiable cruelty, and unquenchable thirst, in drinking up the blood of the saints. And in the halcyon days and fairest times of the church, yet

they have those which will be prieks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides. If they cannot vex them in a higher degree, yet they will be sure to load them with indignities, disgraces, slanders, and lying imputations. And their hatred is of that strange nature, that it is discharged even against the goodness of the godly, their zeal, their forwardness in religion, their faithfulness in their calling, and the like, as against its proper object. You see then the fountain both of the greater floods of bloody persecutions, and the lesser streams of inferior vexations, as slanders, railings, and false imputations. To some particulars whereof now let us come :

First, pride. It is most certain that pride truly so called, is the most pestilent opposite that grace hath. And satan knows from his own experience, how to manage it with notable cunning ; and he follows this weapon with such eagerness and confidence, that after it is broken upon the shield of faith, yet he labours with might and main to fasten some splinter or other, even in the soul humbled for sin. But I appeal unto the consciences of the children of God, whether many times the world doth not interpret that to be pride in their actions and carriage, which is nothing else but a freedom of spirit, arising from a consciousness of their innocency, whereby they are enabled to stand with courage against the sins of the time, to support good causes with boldness, with resolution to defend a known and warrantable truth, and to prefer the salvation of their souls, before the gaining of the whole world.

Secondly, hypocrisy is many times by the world laid to the charge of the children of God. The causes I conceive to be two : The first may be suspiciousness. I know there is a godly jealousy, but I mean that suspicion, by which a man casts the worth, actions, and affections of another in his own mould, and thinks every man obnoxious to all the infirmities he finds in himself. Hence it is, that he who is truly an hypocrite, and never passed the perfection of the pharisee, most confidently

brands the child of God with that name : hoping thereby to give some satisfaction to his own thoughts, that would gladly rest in formality ; and notice to the world, that howsoever there may be pretences, yet indeed there is none better than himself. The second cause is disability, and blindness in the natural man, of discerning the operations of grace. For let a man be otherwise never so eminently qualified ; yet without the experience of the power of godliness upon his own soul, he cannot see, he will not be persuaded of the actings of grace in another man ; and therefore interprets them to be nothing but hypocrisy, to gain an opinion of more than ordinary piety.

Thirdly, the formal hypocrite doth settle himself with more resoluteness in his opinion of being in a state of grace, when he sees the world account the children of God but a company of fellows, who, out of a proud singularity, divide themselves from the common fashions and customs of the world ; not considering, that if ever he means to save his soul, he must be singular too in holiness. This note of singularity, hath in all ages been imputed to those, that with a good conscience have laboured to keep themselves blameless and pure in the midst of a crooked generation. “ Behold, (saith Isaiah, chap. viii. ver. 18,) I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are as signs and wonders in Israel.” It had been no wonder, had they been only as signs and wonders amongst the enemies of God, and nations of uncircumcision ; but that they should be signs and wonders in Israel ! God had chosen him but one little vineyard amongst all the spacious forests of the earth ; out of the glory of all the kingdoms of the world he had chose him but one handful of people ; and yet in that vineyard, his faithful ones are but as the berries after the shaking of an olive-tree, two or three in the top of the utmost boughs, and four or five in the high branches. In that little people, his children are but as the first fruits. So that even in Israel, they are become as monsters and

spectacles of amazement. So it is indeed, that a man drawn out of the darkness of this world, is like a star new-created in the sky, that draws all the world to gaze upon it. Nay, and he draws not only the eyes of men upon him, but is an eye-sore unto them. For thus speak the wicked of the righteous man, Wisd. ii. 15, 16, "It grieveth us also to look upon him, for his life is not like other men's: his ways are of another fashion. He counteth us as bastards, and he withdraweth himself from our ways as from filthiness."

Fourthly, the formal hypocrite is well pleased with his present state, and very unwilling to go farther; because it is commonly thought, that the state of a true Christian is a life full of uncomfortableness, austerity, and sadness. The heart of man is naturally greedy of joy, and is either weakly or strongly refreshed, according to the vanity or soundness of the comfort in which it reposes, but it must either enjoy it in some kind, or it will consume itself. Hence it is, that those who want spiritual joy, arising from the testimony of a good conscience, from an assurance of remission of sins and the favour of God, hunt after worldly contentments. At home in their own hearts they find little comfort, and therefore they seek to refresh themselves amid their treasures, honours, and sports, at plays, in taverns, with merry company, and many other miserable comforters; nay, they had rather be necessarily employed than solitary, not so much to avoid idleness, as bitings of conscience. Yea, some had rather cease to be men, than that their consciences should awake upon them; and therefore they labour to keep them asleep, and to drown sorrow for sin, with pouring in of strong drink. But let them look to it, though it go down pleasantly, yet secretly it sharpens the sting of the worm that never dies. "In the end, (saith Solomon,) it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a cockatrice."

Because the children of God do not pursue this worldly joy, they are all esteemed melancholy men. But I marvel

when, or with what eyes the worldlings look upon the faithful Christian! It may be, while he is yet in the travel of his new-birth, and humbled under the mighty hand of God. If so, then they should know, that these men must mourn for their sins, as one that mourneth for his only son; and be sorry for them, as one is sorry for the death of his first-born. There must be in him a great mourning, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Megiddo. And this sorrow is a blessed sorrow, for it brings forth immortality. And either themselves must have a part in it, or they shall never be made partakers of the fulness of joy at God's right hand. But it may be the worldlings take notice even of the best state of the child of God, and yet can see nothing therein but uncomfortable strictness. But then I must tell them, they look only upon him with carnal eyes, and deceive themselves. If they were able, with enlightened eyes, to pierce into the inward parts of God's child, they would see within, hope already feasting upon the joys of eternity; they would see faith holding fast the writings, by which the kingdom of heaven is conveyed unto his soul, sealed with the precious blood of the Son of God. They would see the white stone, mentioned in the Revelation, wherein there is a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it. Whence springeth such a strong comfort, in the affairs of heaven, that no sword of the tyrant, no flame of cruelty, nor the combination of heaven and earth shall ever be able to amaze, abate, or extinguish.

I come now to the third reason, whereby the formal hypocrite doth falsely persuade himself to be in the state of true happiness; and that is, outward success in worldly matters, much plenty and prosperity. But let him, that thus infers the happiness of his soul from his worldly prosperity, know and consider, that as the end and reward of the godly and wicked is different in place and nature; (the one being the highest heavens, and the highest advancement of the soul, to the fulness of glory

and bliss; the other the lowest hell, and the very extremity of the greatest miseries and vexations :) so experience of all times teacheth us, that there is usually a contrary manner of passage to these ends. The wicked easily run up all the golden steps of honours and preferments; but upon the highest stair they find the most slippery standing, and the top of their earthly felicity is the most immediate downfall. They are royally mounted here on earth, and gallop swiftly over the fair plains of plenty and pleasures; but at the end of their race, they are overturned horse and man, and tumbled headlong into the pit of destruction. They fairly glide over the sea of this world with full sail, with much calmness and serenity; but in the brightest sunshine, and when they least suspect it, they suddenly, and without recovery, sink into the gulf of darkness and desolation. But it is otherwise with the children of God, for they, many times, in this their pilgrimage, stick fast in the miry clay of poverty and contempt; they have persecutors which are swifter than the eagles of heaven, who pursue and hunt them upon the mountains, and lurk for them in the wilderness, as those that lie in wait for blood. And besides the vexations from the world, the immediate malice of hell raiseth many tempests of temptation against them, and sometimes all the waves and floods of God himself go over their heads. This is the way of God's children in this world; but joy comes in the morning: their end is peace, their reward is as a bright morning-star, their haven is endless happiness, and life eternal.

The fourth reason, whereby the formal hypoerite doth persuade himself that he is in the state of salvation, is, a misconceit of God's justice, and extending of his mercy beyond his truth and promise; so making the way to heaven broader than the Scripture hath made it, and himself more blessed than he is indeed. Man's heart is naturally poisoned with pride and hypocrisy, and therefore is hardly drawn heartily to acknowledge the horrible

ugliness of sin ; or that God, proceeding against it with such weight of vengeance, is equal. Hence comes much indulgence to, and partial censuring of our own sins, transferring them upon allurements, occasions, circumstances, necessity, and the like ; much lessening and impairing God's justice, but amplifying his mercies, even to the securing of unwarrantable courses. Adam, immediately after the fall, shifteth off his sin upon his wife ; nay, he is so blind in his spiritual judgment of Divine purity, that rather than he will cry guilty, he will fasten the fault by consequence upon God himself : "The woman, (saith he,) which thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." So gladly would sensual men persuade themselves, that either their sins deserve not such punishment, or that God doth exercise too much rigour in inflicting it. But I would have these men know, that though the sea of God's merey be bottomless, though the promises of grace be many and precious ; yet not one drop of all that great sea, not one jot of all those gracious promises belongs to any, save only unto him, that groans and sighs under the heavy weight and burden of his sins ; that is of a broken and contrite heart, that trembles at his word, that undissembledly sorrows and repents of all his sins, forsakes them, and resigns up himself in holy obedience to all his commandments. I would have them know, that he is infinitely just, as he is infinitely merciful ; and will as certainly pour all the plagues and curses in his book upon the impenitent sinner, as he will perform all his promises to the faithful Christian.

The fifth reason whereby the formal hypocrite is kept short of the state of grace, may be this. When by some good motion of God's Spirit, stirred up in him by the preaching of the word, he begins to set himself to a faithful course of true holiness, he presently meets with strong opposition by his own inward corruptions, by temptations of satan, and vexations from the world ; which he perceiving, persuades himself, that the passage

to grace cannot be so rough and boisterous ; and therefore retires and reposes himself upon his formal Christianity, as the best state he sees any possibility of attaining unto. But if he will save his soul, he must acknowledge and feel, by his own experience, the truth of that saying of Isaiah lix. 15, "He that refraineth from evil, maketh himself a prey." For what child of God is there truly converted, who at the very first step out of the world, met not with many crosses and discouragements ? He knows, and may remember full well, whosoever he be, how his own flesh fretted when it felt itself curbed by the law of the Spirit ; how by making conscience of sin, he laid himself open to the advantages, wrongs, and insults of his enemies ; how the companions of his former lewdness and iniquity railed and raged against him. And Satan, that he may give vigour to all these vexations, busily bestirs himself to hinder our conversion. While a prisoner lies in a dungeon fast in fetters, the jailor is quiet and secure ; but if he once knock off his bolts, break the prison, and escape, there is presently a tumultuous clamour in the house, and the country is raised. Even so, while we lie quietly in sin, under the chains of eternal death, Satan neither disquiets himself nor us : but if, by the mercies of God, we be once enlarged, and set foot into the liberty and light of grace ; then all the powers of hell are presently in arms, and with much fury the instruments of darkness are set on foot to regain us into his kingdom.

Thus I have laid open unto you the state of formal hypoerisy : in which may concur immunity from notorious sins, all natural and moral perfections, admirable variety of learning, policy, and all other acquired ornaments of the mind : an outward performance of all duties of religion, some measure of inward illumination, resemblance, and shadow of the whole body of true regeneration, and a persuasion of being in a state of grace. Even thus far a man may go in the profession of the Christian religion, and yet be a stranger to the power of

faith, and the life of godliness. I now come, by reasons and arguments, to prove that it cannot challenge any interest in the true happiness of man; and to shew that a performance of the outward duties of religion, without the power of grace upon the soul, and an universal sanctification in all the faculties thereof, cannot produce any sound comfort in the heart, or acceptance with God, there needs only that principle received with all divines. One evil circumstance maketh an action evil: but the goodness of all circumstances is required to make a work acceptable to God. The end must be good; the action itself just and warrantable; the means lawful, the heart sincere and sanctified. If this last especially be wanting, though otherwise it be never so glorious, of never so goodly a shew to the eyes of the world; yet it is not only marred, but odious and abominable in the sight of God. For besides the outward performances, God requires sincerity of heart, and truth in the inward parts, to make them gracious and acceptable. And howsoever otherwise we may purchase a name amongst men, prosperity in the world, some less torments in hell, and procure good unto others; yet except they proceed from a faith unfeigned, and a pure conscience, to the Christians themselves, in respect of heavenly happiness, they are fruitless and unprofitable.

Let this then be the conclusion of this point: though a man were a moral saint, absolute in all other perfections; yet without the inward power of grace to give them life, he is but a spectacle of commiseration to angels, and to men. As a cunning organist, skilful in the outward touch of his instrument, yet without wind inspired cannot possibly strike the car, or please the heart with any melodious noise; so though a man's actions be flourished over with a fair tincture of outward religiousness, and he be exact in moral honesty; yet without the breath of life and grace infused, there can be no true spiritual harmony in his affections, words, or conversation, that either will beget any spiritual delight

in the soul, or be pleasing to the ears of God. You see then, beloved in Christ Jesus, that the performanee of outward duties of religion, even the best, such as are prayers, hearing the Word of God, receiving the sacraments, alms-deeds, and the like, though they be good in themselves, commanded of God, necessary to be done of every Christian; yet if they be divided from inward sanctification, are so far from putting us into possession of true happiness, that they are odious and abominable in the sight of God.

I come now to those marks of differenee betwixt the state of formal hypoerisy and saving grace, which are more outward, familiar, and easily discernible. Of which one may be this.

1. The power of grace doth beget in a regenerate man, a watchfulness, care, and conseiencce of smaller offences, of secret sins, of sinful thoughts, of appearanees of evil, of all occasions of sin, of profane company, of giving just offence in different aetions. Whereas the formal hypocrite taketh not such things as these to heart, but either makes no conscience of them at all, holding it a point of preciseness; or else proportions it to serve his own turn, or to give satisfaction to others.

A second mark of differenee may be this: the power of saving grace doth subdue and sanctify our affections, so that they become serviceable to the glory of God, and a zealous discharge of all Christian dutics. But the bridling of passions in formal hypocrites, is not so much of conscience, as artificial, politic, for advantage, and by the guidance of moral discretion: so that if they be tempted by strong occasions, and violent objects, they many times break out, to the dishonour of God, the disgrace of the Christian profession, and the discovery of their hypocrisy. Let every man then examine himself by this mark, and, with a single eye and upright heart, take a view of his affections; whether his joy be inward and spiritual, that is, in the assurance of God's favour, in his word, in his children, in prayer, and a continual practice

of godliness ; or outward and carnal, that is, in the attainment of greatness and worldly pleasures, in the increase of his corn, and wine, and oil. Whether he love peace of conscience far more dearly than the favour of men, or his own life : whether he be more zealous for the honour of God, than his own : whether he be more afraid of secret sins, than open shame : of offending God than outward afflictions : and so throughout the rest of his affections.

A third note of difference may be this. Every child of God, by the power of saving grace, doth hunger and thirst after all those means God hath ordained, for his furtherance in the way to heaven ; and doth make a holy use of whatsoever is publickly or privately laid upon him for his amendment. And therefore he continually profits and proceeds in sanctification by God's word, his judgments and his mercies : by the exercise, observation, and sense of which, he grows sensibly in knowledge, faith, humiliation, repentance, thankfulness, and all other spiritual graces. But the formal hypocrite doth so far take notice of them, as they further his temporal happiness ; and as his neglect of them, by consequence, threateneth danger to his outward worldly state. For the present, perhaps he is moved with the hearing of the word of God, with the terror of his judgments, while they lie with some extraordinary weight upon himself, or the whole land ; and with the sweetness of his mercies, because they secure him in his prosperity. But these things sink not into his soul, with the power of mortification, to the destroying of his sinful affections, and the shaking off of every known sin.

Beloved in our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, let us, every one of us, (I beseech you,) try himself faithfully by this note of difference. And the rather, because our gracious God hath most plentifully and incomparably vouchsafed us in this land all means to bring us unto heaven. He hath visited us with his word, his judgments, and mercies, to the astonishment of the world. Now let

us consider, whether as they have bred admiration in men and angels; so they have brought salvation to our own souls.

First, for his word. For these fifty years, you know he hath spread out his hands all the day long; he hath sent all his servants, the preachers of his word, rising up early, and sending them, saying, "Return now every man from his evil ways, and amend your works." Let us then examine ourselves in this point. Hath this glorious gospel, which hath so long shined bright in our eyes, and sounded loud in our ears, been mighty in operation upon our souls, in planting in them the power of true godliness? Do we daily grow more sound by it, in the knowledge of the truth; and see more particularly into the whole course of Christianity? Doth it continually build us up more strongly in faith, repentance, and an holy obedience to all his commandments? Why then blessed is our case: for this powerful experience in our souls, of daily growth in godliness by the word, is a notable mark unto us, that we are in the state of grace; and so all the blessings in the book of God belong unto us, and pleasures more than the stars of the firmament in number. But if otherwise, (which is rather to be feared,) if we have either been no hearers, or but now and then, as our worldly commodities would give us leave; or hearers only of form and fashion, not of zeal and conscience to profit by it, and yield obedience unto it; or only hearers and no doers, we may assure ourselves we are yet short of the state of grace; and mark what will be the end both of us and the whole land. It must needs be the same with that of Judah and Jerusalem, (for they were as well beloved of God as ever England can be,) "Go, (saith God unto Jeremy,) and tell the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, I have sent you all my servants the prophets, rising up early, and sending them; but you would not incline your ear, you would not obey me; therefore, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: behold, I will

bring upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem all the evil that I have pronounced against them ; I will do unto this house, whereupon my name is called, wherein also ye trust, as I have done unto Shiloh ; I will cast them out of my sight : and will make this city a curse unto all the nations of the earth.”

The judgments upon this land have been many and fearful. I doubt not, but we have seen with our eyes, even those which are very near forerunners of that great and terrible day of the Lord. Let us then examine ourselves in this point. Have we laid all these judgments to our heart ? Have we been truly humbled by them ? Have we by a diligent search taken notice of our sins, and grieved for them, and abandoned them ? Have we mourned and cried for all the abominations that are done amongst us ? Why then blessed is our ease ; our state is the state of grace ; we shall be sure to be marked and sealed in the foreheads, by the angel of God, for his servants, before the vials of final desolation be poured upon this kingdom. But if otherwise, (which is rather to be feared,) if he hath smitten us, and we have not sorrowed ; if he hath corrected us for amendment, and we are not bettered, but rather worse and worse ; we may assure ourselves we yet want a gracious mark of the power of godliness. And mark what will be the end both of us, and our whole land. It can be no other, than that of his own people. And thus he dealt with them by his judgments, even as a physician with his patient. A physician, while there is any hope of recovery in his patient, useth the benefit of all the rules of art, all variety of means, prescribing diet, letting blood, ministering potions ; but when he once perceives that his physic will work no more good upon him, he leaves him to the pangs of death. Even so God deals with his people. While there is any hope of repentance, he visits them by all manner of punishments. But when all sense of religion, all heat of zeal, and life of grace, have utterly forsaken the hearts of men, he gives them over to their own confusion. He

leaves them finally, (never more to be entreated,) to lamentations, mournings, and woe.

As the judgments upon this land have been great and fearful ; so many and wonderful have been his mercies upon us ; and such, I am persuaded, as greater the sun never saw, nor sons of men enjoyed. Let us examine ourselves in this point. Have these blessings melted our hearts into tears of repentance and thankfulness ? Have these cords of love drawn us nearer unto God in all knowledge, love, and obedience ? Why then we may assure ourselves of a good testimony, that our souls are seasoned with grace. But if it be quite otherwise ; if these great and undeserved mercies have bred in us more coldness in the service of God, a more presumptuous security, and a sounder sleep in sin ; if, since our deliverance from the impending storm, there hath been amongst us no less profaning of God's name and sabbaths than before, no less pride and drunkenness, no less oppression and usury, no less uncleanness and unconscionableness in our callings, no less ignorance in the Word of God, and backwardness in the ways of holiness, no less contempt of godliness and godly men : nay, if all these gather head, more ripeness and readiness to receive the flame of God's fierce and last wrath ; if there be rather a sensible decay of the fear of God, of zeal, of true sincerity amongst us ; if profaneness, atheism, popery, and a lukewarmness in religion, like a mighty torrent, rush in violently upon us daily more and more : why then, (you are a people of understanding,) I leave it to your own consciences, to consider what must needs shortly befall us, except we "gather ourselves before the decree come forth ;" unless by speedy humiliation and unfeigned repentance, we prevent so great and fearful judgments.

I cannot follow distinctly at this time, any more differences betwixt the state of saving grace and formal hypocrisy. For conclusion therefore, I will acquaint you more fully with the effects of saving grace, and follow in a few words the steps of the Spirit of God in the great work of

regeneration ; that thereby every man may examine his conscience, judge himself, and try what his state is.

Saving grace vouchsafed to God's children, which doth translate them from darkness to light, from the corruption of nature to a state of supernatural blessedness, is like leaven ; it is of a spreading nature. First, it seats itself in the heart ; after, it is dispersed over all the powers both of the soul and body ; over all the actions and duties of a man whatsoever. It softeneth and changeth the heart : it purgeth the inmost thoughts : it awakens the conscience, and makes it tender and sensible of the least sin : it sanctifies the affections : it confirms the will unto the will of God : it enlightens the understanding with saving knowledge : it stores the memory with many good lessons for comfort, instruction, and direction in a godly life : it seasons the speech with grace : it so guides all a man's actions, that they proceed from faith, they are warrantable out of God's Word, they are accomplished by good means, and wholly directed to the glory of God. Nay, it spreads further, and kindles a desire and zeal for the salvation of the souls of others, especially of those that any way depend upon us. So that the child of God doth ever embrace all means and opportunities for the communicating of his graces and comforts, and the bringing of others to the same state of happiness with himself.

Let then, I beseech you, every man's conscience go along with me, and faithfully answer to these few interrogatories, which I shall propose very briefly and plainly, that every man may easily understand. Hast thou felt by thine own experience this great work of regeneration wrought upon thy soul ? Hath the powerful Word of God, by the effectual working of his Spirit, broken thy stony heart ? Hath it pierced and purged the very closest and most unsearchable corners thereof ? Hath it humbled it with the sight of thy sins, and sense of God's judgments ? Hath it filled it with terrors, compunctions, remorse, and true sorrow for thy life past ? Hath it after

quieted and refreshed it with a sure faith in Christ Jesus, and a delight in heavenly things? Hath it mortified thy inward corruptions, and broke the heart of thy sweet sin? Hath it planted a holy moderation in all thy affections; so that, whereas heretofore they have been enraged with lust, with anger, with ambition, with insatiable desire for the enlargement of thy wealth, and with hatred of God's servants and their holiness; are they now inflamed with zeal for God's honour, truth, and service; with a fervent love unto the Lord and his saints; with Christian courage, to oppose the sins of the time, to defend goodness, to contemn the lying slanders and profane scoffs of worthless men? Hath it begot in thy will an hunger and thirst after the spiritual food of thy soul, the Word and sacraments; so that thou hadst rather part with any worldly good, than not to enjoy the incomparable benefit of a lively and constant ministry? Are thy thoughts, (of which heretofore thou hast made no great conscience, but let them wander up and down at random,) now bounded within a sacred compass, and employed on holy things, and the necessary affairs of thy lawful calling? Is thy understanding informed, and acquainted with the mystery of salvation, which the world, and the wise men thereof, account madness and folly? Is thy memory, heretofore stuffed with vanities and follies, now capable and greedy of Divine knowledge? Are thy words, which heretofore have been full of profaneness and worldliness, now directed to glorify God, and to give grace to the hearers?

And besides this inward renovation of the faculties of thy soul; hath the power of grace sanctified all thy outward actions? Dost thou now order, in every particular, all the businesses of thy vocation by direction out of the Word of God? Art thou inwardly affected and faithful in the performance of religious duties? as in hearing the Word of God, in sanctifying the sabbath, in prayer, and the rest? Dost thou now hear the Word of God, not only of course and custom, but of zeal and conscience to

reform thyself by it, and to live after it? Do the week-day's duties and worldly cares not drown thy mind on the sabbath; but that thou dost the whole day entirely, freely, and cheerfully attend the worship of God? Dost thou daily exercise prayer, that precious comfort of the faithful Christian with fruit and feeling? Being converted to the faith of Christ, dost thou labour for the conversion of others, especially of those who are committed any way to thy charge, and for whom thou must give a more strict account? As, if thou be a master of a family, dost thou pray with them, and instruct them in the doctrine of salvation, and ways of godliness? Dost thou not only forbear great and gross sins, but hate all appearance of evil? Doth the tenderness of thy conscience check thee for the least sins, and make thee fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandering thought? After every fall into infirmities, art thou careful to renew thy repentance, and learn wisdom and watchfulness to avoid them afterwards? Dost thou feel thyself profit, grow, and increase in these fruits of grace? And hast thou such a gracious taste of the glory of God, and eternal life, that thou art desirous to meet thy Saviour in the clouds; not so much to be rid of the miseries of life, as to enjoy his presence for ever?

In a word, as thy soul gives life, spirit, and motion to thy whole body, and every part thereof; doth the Spirit of God so inspire thy soul and body, and all thy actions with the life of grace? Why then, thou hast passed the perfections of the formal hypocrite, and art possessed of the state of true blessedness; thou art then happy that thou ever wast born; thy way is certainly the way of life: and I dare pronounce, that thou art out of the reach of all the powers of hell. Thou shalt find no sting in death; no darkness in the grave; no amazement at that great and fearful day. For all the merits and sufferings of Christ are thine; all the comforts of God's children are thine; all the blessings in the book of God are thine; all the joys of heaven are thine. Even all things are thine, and thou art Christ's,

and Christ is God's. Only stand fast in the faith; quit thyself like a man, be strong. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh. Buckle fast unto thee the whole armour of God. Ride on, because of the Word of Truth; and the Lord thy God be with thee. Break through for a while with undaunted courage, the bitterness of the world's malice, the keen razors of impoisoned tongues, the tears and tediousness of a few days; for thou art nearer the prize of thy high calling, than when thou first believedst. Shine more and more in faith, in patience, in love, in knowledge, obedience, and all other Christian graces, until the perfect day, until thou reach the height of heaven, and the full glory of the saints of God.

I now proceed more distinctly to other marks of difference betwixt the state of grace and formal hypocrisy. Some notes of distinction may be raised out of those places of Scripture which I proposed, in order to acquaint you with the degrees of goodness, whereof a man as yet unregenerate is capable.

In the 8th of Luke, the hearer resembled unto the stony ground, receives the Word of God with joy, as doth the faithful Christian, though not in the same measure. But here is the point that differenceth the one from the other. The word and faith in the stony ground hearer have no roots. They are not deeply and soundly rooted in his understanding, conscience, thoughts, affections, and actions.

First, they are not rooted and fastened in his understanding, by those two sacred and gracious habits, which are called by the apostle, Col. i. 9, *Σοφία* and *Σύνεσις πνευμαλική*: heavenly knowledge, or speculative wisdom in the mysteries of salvation, and spiritual prudence, or a sanctified understanding in the practical affairs of the soul. But heavenly wisdom and spiritual prudence, shed into the sanctified understanding by the fountain of grace, are exercised about supernatural truths, and matters of eternal life. By the first, the child of God, having the eyes of his mind opened and enlightened, doth see the

great mystery of salvation, the secrets of the kingdom, the whole counsel, and the wonders of the law of God. He doth know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints. He comprehends what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height. By the second he is enabled with a judicious sincerity to deliberate and determine in cases of conscience; in the perplexities of temptations; in all straits, ambiguities, and difficulties incident to the carriage of a Christian, and with spiritual discretion to conduct all the actions of grace and every particular, both in his general and special calling. This explication being premised, I come to tell you, that the Word of God doth not take sure and lasting root; doth not dwell plentifully in the understanding of the formal hypocrite, by these two divine habits.

First, there is a right noble branch of Divine knowledge and heavenly wisdom, springing out of the mystery of regeneration; in which, the formal hypocrite is, for the most part, utterly ignorant. He knows not that dark and fearful passage, which leads from the corruptions of nature, and out of the dominions of darkness and death, through strange terrors and torments of soul, into the glorious happiness of the kingdom of Christ. He knows not the variety and power of temptations; the causes, degrees, the consequents and recoveries of spiritual deserts, relapses, and decays of grace. He hath no skill in the nature, symptoms, and remedies of afflicted consciences; in the secret workings and right uses of afflictions, infirmities, scandals, and disgraces. He is not acquainted with satan's transformations into the glory of an angel; with his depths, his profound plots and contrivances, moulded by malice and subtlety in his own large understanding; furnished with the experience of our corruptions, and the success of his many temptations for some thousands of years, managed with all the crafts and policies of the most dark and hidden corners of hell. He is not acquainted with his exquisite methods, in the

wily conveyance of his stratagems, in ordering his assaults, and discharging his fiery darts.

Concerning other parts of Divine knowledge, and other points of religion ; he may be furnished with store of rare and excellent learning, in fathers, schoolmen, commentaries, controversies ; he may be endued with subtlety in disputing and defending the truth of God ; yea, and in resolving cases of conscience too. Nay, beside this, the formal hypocrite may be made partaker of some degrees of the spirit of illumination, in understanding and interpreting the Book of God, for the good of his children. For I doubt not, but many have much light of judgment, that have little integrity of conscience ; and are inspired with the spirit of illumination for the good of others, that have no part in the spirit of sanctification.

I come now to the other habit, which the apostle calleth spiritual prudence, by which the word and faith take no root in the understanding of the formal hypocrite. This habit is a sanctified understanding in the practical affairs of the soul ; by which a regenerate man is enabled with a judicious sincerity, to deliberate and determine in cases of conscience, in the perplexities of temptations, in all straits, ambiguities, and difficulties incident to the carriage of a Christian ; and with spiritual discretion to conduct all the actions of grace, and every particular, both in his general and special calling. This wisdom is an attendant upon justifying faith, and inseparably annexed unto saving grace ; and therefore the formal hypocrite is utterly incapable of it. Hence it is that many a poor soul, illiterate and neglected, proudly passed by, and many times trampled upon with disgrace, by worldly-wise men, yet living under a constant and prudent ministry, is infinitely more wise than the greatest clerks and most learned doctors ; both in giving counsel and advice in spiritual affairs, and in conducting their own souls through the strait way to heaven.

Hence then you may see a clear difference. The formal hypocrite, so far as natural wit, education, civil honesty,

moral discretion, and politic wisdom can enlighten and lead him, may manage his actions with exactness and reputation, and without exception in the sight of the world. Nay, besides, sometimes by an addition of some graces of God's Spirit, he may set upon them such an outward glistening, that they may dazzle the eyes of the best discerning mind, and deceive his own heart, with a false persuasion that they are the true actions of piety. But over and above all these, there is in the understanding of the child of God, a more excellent and superior vigour, that inspires his actions with a more heavenly nature; that breathes into them the life of grace; that guides them with truth and singleness of heart, and sincerity in all circumstances, to the glory of God, the comfort of his own conscience, and good of his brethren. There is a far clearer and brighter eye shining in the soul of every regenerate man, in respect whereof the fairest lights of all other knowledge and wisdom are Egyptian darkness; which doth ever faithfully descry and discover unto him the strait, though unbeaten path to immortality, through all the passages and particulars of his life. It reveals unto him the wisest resolution in all spiritual debates; the best and fittest seasons of reproofing sins and winning souls unto God; many obliquities of actions, iniquity of many circumstances; the right uses of his own afflictions, disgraces, and infirmities, which the formal hypocrite cannot possibly discern, because he is stark blind in this eye.

To conclude the whole point. The knowledge and practical wisdom about heavenly matters in the formal hypocrite, are dull, cold, plodding, formal, servicable and subordinate to his worldly happiness. His knowledge is *a form of knowledge*; his practice is *a form of godliness*. All is form and outwardness: they are not deeply and soundly rooted in him by sanctifying grace, nor inwardly inspired with supernatural and spiritual life. But Divine knowledge in the child of God is called, *the spirit of revelation*. His practical wisdom is spiritual;

that is, quick, active, fervent, zealous, stirring, not into irregularities and exorbitancies, as worldly wisdom many times misconstrues, but against the corruptions of the times; and working out of all actions, occasions, and occurrences, (even out of miseries, slanders, and infirmities,) some glory unto God, some good unto his children, some comfort unto his own soul.

I now proceed to tell you, in the second place, that the Word of God is not rooted in the conscience of the formal hypocrite.

The immediate office of conscience is to testify, in respect of things simply done, or not done: in respect of things to be done, either to excite and encourage, or to restrain and bridle: in respect of things done well, or wickedly, to excuse and comfort, or accuse and terrify.

Now the formal hypocrite indeed, besides the direction of natural light in his conscience, doth acquaint himself with practical principles out of the Word of God; but he puts them in practice with reservation, with his own exceptions and limitations. He is only so far guided by them, as they are compatible with his worldly happiness. And therefore, in the time of persecution, as it is in the parable, he falleth away. But by persecution you must understand, not only striving unto blood, but also inferior afflictions and temptations. When the honour of God is put in one scale, and his own contentment in the other, he suffers some worldly profit or pleasure, the gratification or satisfaction of some great man, the desire and pursuit of some office or honour, the pleasure of some sweet sin, to weigh down the exceeding weight of heavenly bliss, the invaluable treasure of a good conscience, and the infinite glory of God. On the other hand, the child of God stores his conscience with sacred and saving rules out of God's holy Word; but so, that in his practice of them, he stands not upon terms of pleasures, profit, or preferment; but doth entirely resign up himself in obedience and humility, to be guided and governed by them, without

restriction or evasion, in his thoughts, affections, and actions, through the whole course of his life.

You may now clearly conceive, how the Word of God is not rooted in the conscience of the formal hypocrite. The ordinary intelligencers to his conscience are examples, custom, opinion, worldly wisdom, common prejudice against a strict course of sanctification, practice of greater men; but the sacred light of God's truth is incorporated into the conscience of God's child; and is the only and constant rule and square, by which, with all humility, uprightness of heart, a free, entire submission and obedience unto it, he frames all his thoughts, affections, and actions. And in this light, he walks with a settled constancy and grounded resolution, through poverty and oppression, contumelies and contempt, slanders and indignities, good report and ill report. For he hath his eye still fastened upon eternity; he hath the crown of glory already in sight; the inestimable preciousness and everlasting beauty whereof ravisheth and possesseth his truly free and great heart, with such a longing and fervency, that he is at a point with all that is under the sun; that he doth not only contemn, patiently endure, and vanquish all difficulties; but even with rejoicing embrace, (if the tyranny of the times so require,) the utmost that malice and cruelty can inflict upon him. There is no other consideration, or creature, either in heaven or earth, can separate him from the love of God in Christ Jesus, or from his glorious service in all good conscience.

And as the Word of God is rooted in the conscience of God's child, for his direction and constancy in the ways of godliness: so is it also there fastened for his forbearance of sins, by these three properties; which are not to be found in the formal hypocrite: 1. Remorse for sins past, by which he is saved from relapses and backslidings. 2. A present sensibility of all manner of sins, whereby his present integrity is preserved. 3. An habitual tenderness, by which he is armed against the corruptions of the time, and commission of sins to come.

1. In remorse for sins past, I comprise a more full knowledge, an universal revelation of his sins, by the light of God's Word, and power of his Spirit; and that both in number and grievousness: a sense and feeling of them in their true weight, as they are able to sink him down into the bottom of hell. Much sorrow and anguish, for the stain and guiltiness they have left behind them; and for that they provoke to just wrath, so gracious a God. And lastly, a loathing of them, so that he never casts his eye back upon them, but with an addition of a new and particular detestation. 2. By sensibility I understand a quick and present apprehension and feeling of every sin; whether it be open or secret, in ourselves or others, as well in our thoughts and affections, as in our words and actions, more gross and infamous, or slips and stumblings, scandals, and appearances of evil. 3. Habitual tenderness is a gracious disposition of the conscience, whereby it is apt to be galled and smart, at the first interview, with the iniquities of the time, and at every occurrence of corruptions. These properties of tenderness, aptness to smart, easiness to bleed, at the apprehension and approach to sin, are peculiar to a conscience enlightened, sanctified, and purged by the blood of Christ.

In the third place, the Word of God is not rooted in the thoughts of the formal hypocrite; and thence ariseth a very notable difference betwixt him and the child of God.

And I beseech you, mark me in this point. For the thoughts of a man do far more clearly distinguish the power of sanctification from the state of formality, than words, actions, and all outward carriage. Thoughts are the free, immediate and invisible productions of the heart, never taken within the walk of human justice; by their natural secrecy exempted from man's most privy search. Their aberrations are only censurable by the Searcher of all hearts: no eye pries into these secrets, but that which is ten thousand times brighter than the sun.

And therefore millions of thoughts spring continually out of the hearts of men, which without fear or mask, do undissemblingly represent the true state and disposition of the heart. So that from them we may be ever sure to take infallible notice, whether the heart as yet only works naturally, in framing them in its own sinful mould, and feeding them with consent and delight ; or else be taught and guided by a supernatural power, to compose them according to the light of God's Word, and holy motions of his sanctifying Spirit.

Let us then consider what deep root the Word of God doth take in the thoughts of a sanctified man ; whereby he is clearly differenced from all states of unregeneration ; even that of formal hypocrisy, which I place in a degree above civil honesty, and in the highest perfection attainable by an unregenerate man. We will then, for our present purpose, conceive the differences betwixt the child of God and the formal hypocrite, in this point of thoughts.

First, in respect of their nature, forms, and manner of working. The thoughts of the formalist are more fair, sober, and moderate, than those of the notorious sinner, and gross hypocrite. His heart will rise, and be affrighted with suggestions of atheism, cruelty, drunkenness, adultery ; but notwithstanding, because it is not softened and sanctified, without much scruple, it will let the imaginations loose to much idleness and vanity, to many fruitless conceits, impertinencies, and profane wanderings ; but especially into the endless maze of worldly cares and earthly-mindedness. For he doth, in some sort, approve that wicked and pestilent proverb, *Thoughts are free*. They are free indeed, in respect of human justice, in respect of discovery and danger from any creature, but the eye and vengeance of heaven takes special notice of them, and holds them punishable, as the chief plotters of all transgressions. Words and actions are, as it were, sins at second-hand, the very first life of all ill is inspired into the thoughts. Hence it is, that Peter advised Simon

Magus “ to pray God, if it were possible, that the thought of his heart might be forgiven him :” as though there lay the great guilt and deepest stain before God.

But the thoughts of a true Christian are of a far more heavenly temper, than the heart of the best unregenerate man can comprehend. The formal hypocrite may have his mind busied in points of deep learning, in the mysteries of state, and affairs of kingdoms; nay, he may sometimes entertain in his thoughts with joy the promises of grace, the happiness of the saints, the joys of heaven; but that the word of grace should so implant itself into the inner man, that the thoughts should never be so welcome to the heart as when they are wading in the great mystery of godliness, and, with an holy wisdom, plotting for the enlargement of Christ’s glorious kingdom in himself and others; that it should make all other discourses of the mind subordinate to such heavenly meditations,—and to this end, set bounds to the millions of imaginations that daily arise,—this is the special prerogative of a sanctified man. For he alone, because of his truth in the inner parts, makes conscience of idle, vain, and wandering thoughts, (of which the formal hypocrite either takes no notice at all, or not much.) He is as much east down, and grieved with their disorder, as with the errors and infirmities of his words and actions; and therefore establisheth, as it were, a gracious government amongst them, to keep out confusion, idleness, and rebellion. He confines them to a reverent and feeling meditation upon God’s Word and works, to a care of conscientious managing the affairs of his calling. Whatsoever thought is wandering without this compass is sinful. So that, if he take any straggling without these limits, any enticers to vanities and impertinencies, any obtruders and disturbers of so happy inward peace; he presently apprehends them by the watchful eye of his spiritual wisdom, examines them by the law of God, arraigns them in the consistory of an enlightened conscience, and so

cuts them off in time by the power of grace, and sword of the Spirit ; that is, by opposing against them, at the first rising in the heart, prayer, and after watchfulness, he rid's himself of the miseries and distraction of profane and troublesome thoughts. The thoughts of the children of God are ordinarily working for the furthering of God's glory, and promoting good causes ; for procuring true good to their brethren, especially in spiritual things ; for increasing grace in themselves, and against the day of trial. And if so be that they are sometimes crost by sinful motions in themselves, or suggestions of Satan, yet by their suppressing them at the very first rising and assault, and by repentance, they are undoubtedly ever pardoned unto them in Christ Jesus.

And as unregenerate and sanctified thoughts differ much in their workings, even about the same objects ; so there are some with which the state of unregeneration is utterly unacquainted. They are such as these : First, Thoughts full of fear and astonishment, which rise out of the heart when it is first stricken with God's wrath at the sight of his sins. These are scorched, in very many, even with the flames of hell, in their conversion. They burn, sometimes the very marrow out of their bones, and turn the best moisture in them into the drought of summer. No print or scar of these thoughts appears in the heart of the formal hypocrite. This hell upon earth is only passed through by the heirs of heaven.

Secondly, Thoughts composed all of pure comfort, joy, heaven, immortality, the sweet and lovely issues of the Spirit of adoption. These flow only from the fountain of grace, and spring up in that soul alone, which having newly passed the strange agonies, and sore pangs of the new-birth, is presently bathed in the blood of Christ, lulled in the bosom of God's dearest mercies, and secured with the secret impression of his love and sacred Spirit. Oh ! the heart of the unregenerate man is far too narrow, base, and earthly, to comprehend the unmixed pleasures,

the glorious sun-shine of those joyful thoughts which immediately follow upon the storms of fear and terror ordinarily incident to a sound conversion !

Thirdly, Thoughts of spiritual ravishment, and unutterable rapture, flashes of eternal light, raised sometimes in the hearts of the saints, and occasionally inspired by the Spirit of all comfort, which, with inconceivable admiration, feed upon, and fill themselves with the joys of the second life. In this point, I appeal to the conscience of the true Christian, (for I know full well that my discourse is a paradox to the profane,) whether he hath not sometimes, as it were, a sea of comfort rained upon his heart, in a sweet shower from heaven ; and such a sensible taste of the everlasting pleasures, by the glorious presence of inward joy and peace, as if he had one foot in heaven already, and with one hand had laid hold upon the crown of life ; especially after a feeling fervency in prayer ; after an entire sanctification of the Sabbath ; at the time of some great and extraordinary humiliation, when he hath freshly, with deepest groans and sighs, and new strugglings of spirit, renewed his repentance, upon occasion of a relapse into some old, or fall into some new sin ; when the empoisoned arrows of cruel tongues pointed with malice, policy, and profaneness, come thickest upon him,—such-like joyful springings, and heavenly elevations of heart as these, are the true Christian's *peculiar* ; no stranger can meddle with them, no heart can conceive them, but that which is the temple of God's pure and blessed Spirit.

Thus far of the difference of their thoughts in respect of the nature and manner of working. But farther, God's child is differenced from the formal hypocrite by the seasonableness of his thoughts. In a heart of true spiritual temper, seasoned and softened with the dew of grace, the thoughts are active, ready, and addressed with zeal, to apply themselves to the condition of the times, and variety of occasions offered for some holy use, to the bettering of the soul, and the enlarging of God's glory.

In the time of fasts and sackcloth, if God's judgments be threatened out of the pulpit, or executed from heaven; when the church wears her mourning weed, and the godly hang down their heads; in such dismal days they are impatient of temporal comfort, they willingly put on sadness. But they are clothed with joy, when mercy and salvation are proclaimed out of the book of life; when religion spreads, and Divine truth hath free passage; in such joyful and happy times. Thus the thoughts of God's children have their changes, their several seasons and successions, as it pleaseth the Lord to offer or execute mercy or judgment. But the thoughts of the formal hypocrites (though they suffer many alterations and distractions about earthly objects,) ebb and flow with discontent or comfort, as their outward state is favoured or frowned upon; yet spiritual occurrences have no great power to work upon them. Sacred times, or days of affliction, are not wont to make any such impression, or to breed extraordinary motions in them. Let judgments blast, or mercies bless a kingdom; let God's Word find smooth and even way, or rubs and opposition; let profaneness be countenanced, or sincerity cherished, he takes no thought, so he may sleep in a whole skin, and keep entire his worldly comforts. He may conform to the times in his outward gestures, words, and actions; but ordinarily his thoughts admit no change; save only so far as his private temporal felicity is endangered by publick judgments, or enlarged by showers of mercies and blessings from heaven. I cannot enlarge this point at this time; only I will give one instance in their difference of thoughts upon the Sabbath-day.

The Sabbath-day is, as it were, the *fair-day* of the soul, wherein it should not only furnish itself with new spiritual strength, with greater knowledge, grace, and comfort, but also feast with its heavenly friends, the blessed saints and angels, upon those glorious joys and happy rest which shall never have an end. Every child of God, therefore, who hath a real interest in that eternal rest,

makes not only conscience of “not doing his own ways, seeking his own will, speaking a vain word” on that day, but also, in some good measure, makes it the very *delight* of his heart; so that he may *consecrate it as glorious to the Lord*. He doth not only give quiet to his body from worldly business, but also disburdens his thoughts of cares, that so they may wholly attend the holy motions of God’s Spirit, and spend themselves in meditations fitting the feast-day of the soul. This is the desire, longing, and endeavour of his heart thus to sanctify the Sabbath; and if at any time he be turned from this by company, or his own corruptions, he is afterwards much grieved; repents, and prays for more zeal, conscience, and care for the time to come.

But the formal hypocrite, howsoever he may on that day abstain from his ordinary sins, labours, sports, and idleness; however he may outwardly exercise all duties and services of religion; nay, he may have other thoughts of that day, but only so far as the bare solemnity of the time can alter them; yet I dare boldly say, he cannot make the Sabbath his *delight*, which is pre-supposed to make us capable of the blessings following in the same place. “Then shalt thou delight in the Lord, and I will make thee to mount upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.” He cannot sequester his thoughts at all, not even on that day, from worldliness and earthly pleasures to sacred meditations. Do what he can, he cannot keep them off from worldly objects; they will not leave their former haunts, or be restrained from plotting or pleasing themselves with week-day businesses.

Lord, it is strange that the soul of a man, so nobly furnished with powers of highest contemplation; being so strongly possess’d with consciousness of its own immortality; and having the restless and unsatisfied desires of its wide capacity, never filled but with the majesty of God himself, and the glory of an immortal crown, should

be such a stranger to heaven, the place of its birth and everlasting abode, that upon that day, whereon (as upon the golden spot and pearl of the week,) the Lord hath stamped his own sacred seal of institution, and solemn consecration for his own particular service and special honour; yet, I say, upon that day it cannot settle its own thoughts and motions upon those unmixed and blessed joys, and the way unto them; without which it shall be everlastingly miserable, and burn hereafter in the fiery lake, whose flames are fed with infinite rivers of brimstone, and the endless wrath of God, for ever and ever!

The child of God is yet further differenced from the formal hypocrite by his skill in ruling, by his holy wisdom, and godly jealousy in watching over his thoughts. The heart, in which God's Spirit is not resident, (howsoever the words may be watched over, and the outward actions reformed,) lies commonly still naked and open, without special guard or settled government.—A natural man may have skill to suppress thoughts of heaviness and melancholy; although in this point he many times fearfully deceives himself, taking the holy motions of God's Spirit, inclining him to godly sorrow for his sins, to be melancholy thoughts; so grieving the good Spirit, and stopping against himself the very first passage to salvation. He may have sometimes, and in part, a slight, misguided, and general care and oversight of his thoughts; but because the depth of his deceitful heart, and the many corruptions that are daily and hourly hatched in it, were never ript up and revealed unto him by the power and light of saving grace, he cannot hold that hand over his heart as he ought; he doth not keep a solemn, particular, and continual watch and ward over his thoughts, which is little enough to keep a Christian in sound comfort and inward peace; he doth not so often and seriously think upon his thoughts; holding it the last and least of a thousand cares. But every child of God makes it his chief care to guard his heart, and guide his thoughts. A true Christian, by his own experimental knowledge, is

acquainted with the many breaches and desolations made in the soul, both by open enemies and secret rebels ; and therefore furnisheth himself daily with wisdom and watchfulness ; with experience and dexterity, in this great spiritual affair of guarding and guiding his heart. We may take a view of this his wisdom in governing his thoughts in these points :

1. In a timely discovery and wise defeatment of Satan's stratagems ; whether he deal by suggestions raised from the occasions and advantages of the person's temper and natural constitution ; of his temporal state ; of his infancy or growth, weakness or strength, in Christianity ; of the condition of his calling, company, place where he lives, or the like ; or whether he come with his own more fearful immediate injections, which he sometimes presents in his own likeness. As when he casts into the Christian's mind doubts about the truth of heaven, and of Divine and heavenly things ; concerning the certainty and being of all the majesty and glory above. Mark here the carriage of God's child,—he doth not wrestle with these hell-bred thoughts, he sets not his natural reason upon them ; but, at the very first approach, abandons them to the pit of hell, whence they came ; he prays, repents, and is humbled by them, and thence clearly sees they are none of his ; and so, in despite of such devilish malice, walks on comfortably in the way to heaven. If Satan speed not in this black shape, he at other times puts on the glory of an angel ; and perhaps may bring into his remembrance even good things, but out of time, that he may hinder him of some greater good. As at the preaching of the Word, he may cast into his mind godly meditations, that so he may deprive him of the blessings of a profitable hearer. At the time of prayer, he may fill his head with holy instructions, that so he may cool his fervency. With these, and a thousand more such vexations in his thoughts, the child of God is exercised.

2. Another special care the child of God hath in guard-

ing his heart, is to keep out idleness, vanity of mind, worldly sorrow, inward fretting, evil desires, wishes without deliberation. He holds a waking and jealous eye over those many baits which spring from the fountain of original corruption. He knows full well, if these young cockatrices be not crushed, if wandering thoughts be not stifled when they begin to stir, they will first envenom the understanding, the understanding the will, the will the affections; the affections once enraged, and having the reins, (like wild horses,) will carry a man headlong into a world of wickedness. Above all, he makes sure ever to have at hand counter-poisons against those three grand empoisoners, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." If he once let his thoughts clasp about any of these, he is gone. Deeply then doth it concern every true Christian with jealousy and trembling, narrowly to watch the first motions of the heart, lest he should unawares be caught, and ensnared in the black and accursed chain: the first link of which grows out of natural corruption, and the last reacheth the height of sin, and depth of hell.

About the breeding of sin, we may see four links, James i. 14, 15. First, an idle thought begins to draw the heart aside from the presence of God, to a survey of the pleasures of sin. Secondly, it puts on a bait, allures and entices, holding a conference with the will about the sweetness of pleasures, riches, and honours. Thirdly, the will accepts of the motions, consents, and fore-casts for the accomplishment; the affections add heat and strength, the heart travails with iniquity; and so at length, fourthly, by the help of opportunity, sin is brought forth. Again, about the growth and perfection of sin, we may see other four links, Heb. iii. 12. First, by often iteration of the act of sinning, the heart is hardened; so that no terror of judgment, nor promise of mercy, will enter. Secondly, it becomes an evil heart, and is wholly turned into sin; it drinks up iniquity like water. Thirdly, it grows an unbelieving heart, and then a man begins to

say within himself, "There is no God;" at least in respect of providence and care over the world. He bids him "depart from him;" and says to him, "I desire not the knowledge of thy ways: who is the Almighty, that I should serve him? or what profit should I have, if I should pray unto him?" Fourthly follows an utter falling away from God, and all goodness, without all sense, check, or remorse; and so immediately from this height of sin, into the fiercest flames and lowest pit of hell. You see in what danger he is that gives way unto his first sinful motions.

Lastly, a principal employment of holy wisdom in guarding the thoughts, is in giving entertainment unto the good motions of God's Spirit, and in furnishing and supplying the mind with store of profitable meditations. For as unregenerate men give easy passage to worldly thoughts, but suppress stirrings and inclinations to godly sorrow, repentance and sincerity, (as though they were temptations to preciseness;) so, contrarily, God's child labours by all means to stop the way to the first sinful thoughts, and embraces all the motions of God's Spirit, warranted and grounded in his Word. He highly esteems them, cherishes them with spiritual joy and thankfulness of heart, with prayer, meditation, and practice. And besides this care of entertaining and nourishing good motions, he is provident to treasure up store of good matter for the continual exercise of his mind, lest his soul should be taken up with trifles and vanity. He is much grieved, if he find at any time his heart carried away with transitory delights, and unprofitable thoughts, or musing impertinently, and gazing upon the painted and vanishing glory of the world. Especially since there is such plentiful and precious choice of meditations, obvious to every Christian, able to fill, with endless contentment, all the understandings of men and angels for ever. Thus far of the care of the true Christian, in watching over and guiding his thoughts; which is a special mark of difference from all states of unregeneration: for

the regenerate only keep the tenth commandment, which rectifies the inward motions of the heart.

Lastly, God's child is distinguished from the formal hypoerite, in respect of the issue of his thoughts. Not the hypoerite only is discontented and uneasy, but the most comfortable soul is never in such perpetual serenity but that it is sometimes over-clouded, heavy, and inwardly disquieted with its own motions, or the suggestions of Satan. But mark the difference: Discontent in the mind of the formal hypoerite is either appeased by some worldly comfort, by outward mirth, diverted by company and pleasures, or composed by worldly wisdom. But heavy thoughts in God's child, at length being mingled with faith, and managed with spiritual wisdom, by the grace of God, break out into fairer lightnings of comfort, greater heat of zeal, more lively exercises of faith, gracious speeches, and many blessed resolutions.

In the fourth place, the Word of God is not seated with a saving power in the affections of the formal hypocrite. Some good affections, even in relation to spiritual things, may be found in the state of formal hypoerisy; but they are not deeply implanted in the heart; neither seasoned with that vigour of saving grace which should guide their purposes with cheerfulness and true-heartedness, to the advancement of God's glory. Such as a respectful observation of God's messengers; of which there are two sorts. 1. Some are like those false prophets, Ezek. xii. there you shall have their character; who cry, Peace, peace, unto the consciences of unholy men, when there is no peace: who, instead of striking home unto the heart of profaneness, with a particular application of that two-edged sword, sow pillows under men's elbows, with the unpiereing smoothness of their general heartless discourses; who enlarge the strait gate, and strew the way to life with violets and roses, delicacies and pleasures; feed many hollow hearts with false hopes, fill the ears of fools with spiritual flatteries; and many times fearfully besmear over, with their un-

tempered mortar of *all* mercy, the crying sins of the time; make sad the hearts of the righteous and sincere, whom the Lord hath not made sad; and many times proclaim those to be hypoerites, precise, or the like, whom God and his Word acquit and justify. They bereave the sword of the Spirit of its edge, sin of its sting, and God of his justice: by blessing where he curses, and promising a crown of life to carnal livers. They “strengthen (saith the prophet,) the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his way, by promising him life.” For want of experimental skill in the mysteries of godliness, they many times speak peace to those hearts which are so far from being enkindled with the fire of God, that they lie drowned in bitterness against grace and godly men. For the common conceit of these men is, that civil honest men are in the state of grace, and without exception; but true Christians they either conceit to be hypocrites, and so the only objects for their ministerial severity; or else (though the Lord may pardon perhaps their singularities, and excesses of zeal; yet in the mean time) they take away the comforts of life, with much unnecessary strictness.

Now of all others, such prophets as these are the only men with the formal hypocrite. For howsoever they may sometimes declaim boisterously against gross abominations, (and that is well,) yet they are no searchers into, or censurers of formality; and therefore encourage him to sit faster upon that sandy foundation. So he blesses himself in his heart, and hopes to be saved as well as the precisest. Hence it is that he heartily loves the ministry of these men, because it heals the wounds of his conscience, and suffers him to walk on merrily towards the plagues of hell, and be damned without any contradiction. Especially if it be set out with gallantness of action, pomp of words, and variety of reading. A proper use of which helps, (so far as they may seasonably contribute to that greatest business under the sun, the work of the ministry, with the best exactness which can possibly

be had,) I require, and reverence in the messengers of God. For I would have the work of the Lord honoured with all sufficiencies attainable by the wit and art of man, or grace of God; so that they be sacrificed and subordinate to his glory; sanetified to the soul of the owner, and salvation of those that hear him; and not in a base manner made serviceable to the now reigning, soul-murdering sin of self-preaching.

But ask the sense of the Christian in the present point, and though we be bound to reverence the graces of God's Spirit, and to honour commendable parts in whomsoever they are found, yet assuredly he feels himself more comforted by one sermon wrought out of a feeling soul by the strength of meditation, spiritually schooled in the ways of God, the secrets of sanetification, and methods of satan,—supported and sinewed by the true, natural sense of the Word of life, and enforced with the evidence and power of the Spirit,—than with a world of declamatory discourses; though they be stuffed with the flower of all arts and philosophies, and conveyed unto the ear with the tongue of the highest angel in heaven. So dearly doth he prefer one soul-searching sermon before the glorious pomp of all human eloquence.

2. Some other messengers God hath, of a more noble temper, who with faithfulness and conscience seek the glory of him that sent them; who heartily consecrate all the powers of their souls, with their several acquisitions and endowments, to the saving of men's souls, and setting them forward in the way of life; who, not without a continual godly jealousy over their own infirmities and deceitful hearts,—nay, many times, with much fear and trembling, under the dreadful importance of their ministerial charge, labour to preserve themselves pure, so far as it is possible, from the blood of all men. Those, by the grace of God, (if need be,) tell even kings to their faces, and all their courtiers, with four hundred false prophets, that they are all fearfully and foully deluded with a lying spirit. In a word, being sensible of the

preciousness of God's truth, and of the horrible guilt of spiritual bloodshed, if they should be negligent or non-resident ; they gird their swords upon their thighs ; ride on, and quit themselves like the men of God ; and, having their hearts taught experimentally in the great mystery of grace, they deliver their embassies with authority and power.

For, besides more general ministerial sufficiencies, there is a kind of heavenly wisdom of winding a man's self, with a practical insinuation, into the consciences of men ; of working remorse upon misled and sensual souls, by a seasonable application of the law ; of winning disaffected passions unto the love of God's ways ; of drawing bruised hearts with a compassionate hand unto the well of life ; of training up babes in Christ, in the paths of Christianity ; unto which, if the man of God do not address his heart with uprightness, prayer, and resolution, he shall never be able to purchase that comfort unto his own soul or happiness to his auditory, and that measure of glory unto his great Master, which one employed in his most immediate service should desire.

Give me a minister, admirable for profoundness and variety of knowledge, for all kinds of learning, both ancient and modern ; yet, except he be sanctified with an experimental insight into the great mystery of godliness, and into the particularities of that heavenly science of saving souls ; (which gives life and soul unto our ministerial function) except he zealously endeavour to apply himself to the various exigencies of men's spiritual states ; well may he carry away the credit of a great scholar, but I do not see how he shall ever be able to purchase in the hearts and consciences of discerning Christians, the honour and reverence of a good pastor.

The opinion which unregenerate men generally entertain of this second sort of God's messengers, is the very same which was in the heart of Ahab against Elias and Michaiiah : that they are troublers of Israel, unfit to prophesy at the court, or in the king's-chapel ; pccitent

fellows, born only to disquiet the world, and vex men's consciences. Here, however, by the way, let me support the weak resolutions of faithful ministers, by assuring them of the truth of this principle, in the school of Christ, confirmed by infinite experiences, that, in what man soever the power of grace, undaunted zeal, resolute sincerity, are more eminent; the more implacable, outrageous, and inflamed opposers shall that man find, wheresoever he lives. But, let him depend upon it, were there charged upon him volumes of invectives, devised by the exquisitest malice; yet he is bound to bind them all as a crown unto his head, and joyfully to seal them with prayer and patience upon his heart, as so many glorious testimonies, not only of his courage in God's cause, and zeal against the corruptions of the time upon earth, but also of a richer reward in heaven, a brighter crown of immortality.

And yet, the formal hypocrite may sometimes, in some sort, reverence the Jeremiahs, Michaiahs, and John Baptists of the time. I mean those men of God, who deliver his message with power and demonstration of the Spirit; who, lifting up their voice like a trumpet, tell the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. And that, for such causes as these: 1. All truth is amiable to ingenuous apprehensions, and if it be mingled with visible marks of majesty, (as God's truth is) no marvel if it draw some reverence from generous minds, though not yet spiritual. So that, the man who doth soundly unfold the truth, may even in that regard grow sometimes into a reverent estimation with unsanctified men; who, though as yet they want all real interest in those blessed tidings which he brings from heaven, yet reverence him for the majesty of that message which he delivers with integrity and power.

2. Again, as choleric dispositions many times, in a barbarous manner, discharge the utmost of their gall against all sincere professors of grace, especially, the powerful planters thereof: so others there are, who out of a common humanity, commiserate the oppressions of

innocency, wheresoever they see it, groaning under the insolencies of cruelty and malice. And therefore, since the true minister is an eminent object, whereon hell and the world execute the extremity of their rage, these milder-tempered men, though they do not favour his forwardness, yet cannot but look upon him with pitying eyes. Nay, when they further consider, that he is so despitefully laden with wrongs and indignities, for no other cause, but that he labours to pull souls out of the devil's snare, they are forced to reverence those resolutions of his as venerable impressions of divinity; though they cannot away with the strictness of his ways, or heartily love his singularity.

3. If a man be greedy of applause, he may shew respect to these faithful messengers of God, out of ambition to wind himself into the affections of that kind of people, who are nick-named Puritans; especially, if he live where godly men, (if any place be so blest) bear the greatest sway. There, because otherwise he cannot hold correspondence with the good opinions of the best, he concurs with them (for his credit sake) in outward estimation, and countenancing of the ministry. Yea, and besides there may be, (which may be a further means to draw on this reverence,) even a true secret desire in unsanctified hearts, to purchase the good opinion of a gracious man, although they will by no means join with him in sincerity, either in judgment or practice.

4. This reverence towards the best ministers, that may for a season possess the heart of the formal hypocrite, may also spring from that command which the word of God, imprest with power, doth exercise over men's consciences. From the piercing light of Divine truth, which sometimes rushes like a flash of lightning from the mouth of a minister into the very inmost closets of his heart: or from a superficial sense of those refreshments, which by their ministry are shed into troubled souls; and are conveyed, (through Christ's bloody wounds,) into the gasping agonies of bleeding hearts: though that precious

blood never melted his marble heart ; yet he hath a kind of glimmering hope (but from false grounds,) that a passion of such invaluable price, will not be restrained, before he have his part in the purchase.

But, whencesoever it springs, this reverence to God's faithful messengers, in the formal hypocrite, is ordinarily turned into heart-rising against them, in these three cases : First, when, by the guidance of an holy wisdom, they first begin to lay about them with the hammer of the law, amongst a number of stony hearts, and to lay it on with full weight upon the hairy scalp of every one that hates to be reformed ; when he feels they wield that two-edged sword with power, and send it home with a fearless and faithful hand, even into the very centre of a seared conscience and to the heart of profaneness and rebellion ; when he finds, by experience, that men can have no ease nor rest under their ministry, but that they are still grating upon their guilty consciences, and tormenting them before their time ; then he begins to cool the heat, and rebate the edge of his estimation. A distaste for such poisonous proceeding, as he calls it, begins to jostle out that former reverence. And hereupon you shall hear him sometimes break out against them in this manner, (especially when himself hath been lately galled upon this sore) : " Though I take such and such to be well-meaning and honest men, and can be content to hear them now and then ; yet, methinks, they marr all with too much threatening, and pressing the law with that peremptoriness and rigour. I do not like that they should assume and exercise such severity and imperiousness over men's consciences. This doctrine how far a man may go, and yet be damned, is calculated to drive men to despair. They so straiten the way to heaven, as though none should be saved but the brethren, (as now they call one another.) By such affrighting sentences, they make such wounds in weak consciences, as they will never after bind up and close."

I would not, for a world, give any shadow of justification to the unseasonably terrifying of any trembling

conscience : God forbid. It were prodigious cruelty to pour the wine of wrath into the mournful groanings of a bruised spirit. And that hand was hewn out of the hardest rock, which can apply a corrosive to a bleeding soul. As I dare not, upon penalty of answerableness for the blood of their souls, cry *peace, peace*, to unholy men : so, I infinitely desire to convey the warmest blood that ever heated the heart of Christ ; the sweetest balm that ever dropt from the pen of the blessed Spirit upon the sacred leaves of the book of life ; the dearest mercies that ever rolled together the bowels of God's tenderest compassions, into every broken and wounded heart. For as promises of salvation to a worldling, are like honour to a fool ; so terrors of the law to a truly humbled penitent, are as snow in summer, and rain in harvest. And, I hope, all the wise ambassadors of God, make conscience of a seasonable revealing unto the sons of men, that highest and transcendent excellency of their Master's mercy. Many glorious expressions whereof, stamped by his own hand, shine most visibly to every understanding eye, both in this and the other world, infinitely beyond all created comprehensions ; in all the passages of his Book ; in those joyful palaces of heaven ; in the many capital characters of his goodness, which we may run and read in every leaf, and page, and line of this great volume of nature ; in his hourly compassions to his creatures ; in those angelical guards about his chosen ; but, principally, in the passion of his Son. And these three occasions especially exact from them a discovery of this bottomless depth.

1. When they open unto their people his Divine attributes, mercy then is to march foremost, and to take up her seat in the highest throne ; as the fairest flower in his garland of majesty, the brightest ray that issues out of that unapproachable light, the loveliest gem that crowns all his boundless glory.

2. In their ordinary discoveries of the damnableness of men's states, they must wisely mingle some lightnings

of the Gospel with the thunderings of the law. When they are driving obstinate sinners towards the brink of despair, they must shed into their sinking souls some glimpses of mercy upon condition of amendment, and hopes of pardon in case of penitency. Hopeless hearts afflict themselves with much horror ; which, if satan once see, he plies the advantage. He strongly suggests, that though the gates of grace stand wide open till the sun of the natural life be set ; yet with the person in question the case is altered. For his gracious day is expired, and already past, that though the blood of the unspotted Lamb, upon repentance, saved even the souls of those that spilt it, yet it belongs not to him : though the promises of life be without limitation, yet he hath no part in them ; his name is not written in the Book of Life ; he is a reprobate.

Ministers, then, must oppose satan, and labour, by all means, to preserve the hope of pardon in heavy hearts. If there be no hope of being received to grace, there will be no desire of grace. They must be taught, that there are two ways out of the dreadful visitations of conscience. They may either follow Judas, and so hasten out of the hell of a despairing conscience, to the hell of fire and brimstone ; (which God forbid ) or else they may track Christ Jesus, blessed for ever, by his bloody drops unto the cross, which is the right path, and as God would have it. If they take the first way, it would have been better a thousand times if they had never had any being. But if they take the second, they are happy that ever they were born. Never did a tender-hearted mother so sweetly lull her dearest infant in her bosom, as the Son of God doth in such a case bend his bruised body, even to the expression of bloody drops, with loveliest embracements and compassions, to heal and bind up such broken hearts. Nay, (but this is only a pearl for true penitents, let no swine trample upon it, or stranger take it up) his precious blood is made (as it were) more precious, by covering crimson sins ; if a ground be first soundly laid with tears

of true repentance. And God himself then longs the most to shew mercy, when it is nearest to be utterly despaired of. Oh! he holds himself honoured, when a poor soul miserably mangled by satan's malice and wounds of sin, comes bleeding and weeping to the throne of grace for pardon and comfort. He cannot possibly be better pleased. He thinks nothing too dear for such an one; were it a draught of the heart's blood of his own Son; be it the delicious manna of his dearest mercies, or the most ravishing comforts of that blessed Spirit.

3. The most proper object of God's commiseration, is a broken and contrite spirit. And, therefore, the season for the ministers of God to rain down refreshing showers of mercy from the throne of grace, is, when men's hearts are scorch'd with that devouring wrath which is a consuming fire, and eagerly gasp for grace, as the thirsty land for rain. Let the power of the law first break and bruise, which is a necessary preparative for the plantation of grace; and then pour in (and spare not) the precious oil of evangelical comfort. But many marr all, with missing this method, either for want of sanctification in themselves, or skill to manage their Master's business. They bless, where God himself doth curse. Our dear Redeemer, that great minister of the Gospel, teacheth another lesson, and told us, when he was upon earth, that the Lord had anointed him to preach good tidings. But to whom? Unto the poor; to bind up the broken hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives; to comfort all that mourned; to set at liberty them that were bruised; to put a fairer flame into the smoking flax, and more strength into the bruised reed; to take off with his own hand, the burden from those that groaned under the weight of their sins, and to cool their fainting souls with his saving and sacred blood.

Bruised spirits and mournful souls only are capable of the comforts of Divine compassion. The wise ambassadors of God, then, may be bold in this point. They have their warrant under the broad seal of heaven. If

they find the ministry of the word hath wrought true remorse, and that the hammer of the law hath stricken through the iron sinews of pride ; if they meet with hearts touched to the quick, let them lull such weary souls in the softest arms of tenderness. Let such mourners in Sion know, that if they wait but a little with patience, and unutterable groans, they shall have ease, and drink their fills out of the river of the pleasures of God. " Yet a very little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry ;" and when he comes, he will bring with him a pardon written by God's own hand with the blood of Christ.

These things are so. God's messengers are ministers of mercy, in such points as I have mentioned. But not to formalists. Who, therefore, exclaim against them, as though they were doctors of despair, and unmerciful dispensers of damnation. Nay, ordinarily these men exclaim more against the preaching of judgments for sin, than notorious sinners. For these many times, (out of a sense of their guiltiness) confess them to be just ; but put them off with a flattering conceit, that God is merciful ; or that they will repent hereafter. But the other justify themselves, and would gladly persuade their hearts, that apprehensions of terror in such cases, arise rather from the terrifying zeal of the preacher, and unseasonable pressing of judgment, than from the sting of their guilty consciences, and the invisible finger of an angry God.

A second case, wherein this reverence, which may sometimes be found in the formal hypocrite to God's faithful messengers, changeth into heart-rising against them, is ; when, by the searching power of the word, they have singled out his bosom sin, and have it in pursuit with all those fearful armies of devouring plagues. He can approve and applaud general discourses ; yea, his heart may sometimes even dance within him, to hear the infiniteness of God's mercy ; the preciousness of the promises of life ; and such other points of comfort, with a passionate and powerful eloquence expressed something

to the life; nay, he may tolerate the discovery of any other corruption, so that only his darling pleasure be let alone. Let us suppose the sin of his bosom to be the brutish pleasures of uncleanness; and that he delights in speculative wantonness and adulteries of the heart. Now in this case, if the ministers of God only take heed that they touch not this sore, they may be bold, at their pleasure, to pursue other sins, with as great zeal and detestation as they will. They may tell the drunkard, that he is the common shame of nature, the great reproach and disgrace of mankind: that if he go on, his day is coming, when he shall be drunk, but not with wine; he shall stagger, but not by strong drink; he shall be drunk even with the wrath and vengeance of God. They may tell the swearer, that he already speaks the language of hell, and therefore his natural place is that infernal pit. That the oath is no sooner out of his mouth but sentence of endless death is past upon him, by that highest Judge, which will hold no man guiltless that taketh his name in vain. They may terrify the covetous rich ones of the world with those flaming words of the apostle, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupt, and your garments are moth-eaten: your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire: ye have heaped up treasure for the last days. And with that other dreadful doom, 1 Cor. vi. 10, "No covetous man shall ever come into the kingdom of God." They may tell the persecutors of the ways of God, that though in the mean time they domineer, with unappeasable insolencies, over the sincerity of the saints, and prosper for awhile in the passages of blood; yet their damnation sleeps not; the Lord will shortly pay them home with the blood of wrath and of jealousy. But come once to that which we suppose to be his beloved and bosom sin, and he begins to start: then he is quite lost for any longer love that way; all is utterly marred for any more respect to ministers of that strain.

The cold comfort he conceives by such plain dealing, doth quickly quench the heat of his former affection. The zeal of the godly minister, labouring to cleave his beloved sin from his bosom by the sword of the Spirit, doth easily dissolve his reverence into hatred, malice, and contempt.

Thirdly, that reverence to godly ministers which may sometimes be found in the formal hypocrite, doth grow into distaste when they press him by the piercing application of some quickening Scriptures, to a fervency in spirit, purity of heart, singularity above ordinary and moral perfections, and a sacred violence in pursuit of the crown of life ; to an holy strictness, extraordinary striving to enter in at the strait gate, and transcendent eminency over the formal righteousness of the scribes and pharisees ; to a nearer familiarity with God, by prayer, daily examinations of the conscience, private humiliations ; to a narrow watch over the stirrings and imaginations of the heart, and expression of holiness in all the passages of both his callings, zealousness, as a counter-poison to the loathsome portion of lukewarmness, and to other set and solemn exercises of mortification. Points of this nature, are ordinarily unto him so many secret seeds of indignation and discontent ; and many times breed in his heart exasperation and estrangement ; if not meditations of persecution and revenge. Sanctification, preciscness, purity, strictness, power of godliness, spiritual men, holy brethren, saints in Christ, fasting, mortifying humiliations, and such like, are commonly to men of this temper, terms of secret terror, and open taunting. Hereupon it is, that if they take the child of God tripping in the least infirmity (against which too he strives and prays with many tears) slipping only in some unadvised passage, and that, (perhaps) not for want of conscience, but acquaintance with the world ; I say, if they take him tardy but in some such lesser point ; they then cry out, " Oh ! these are your men of the Spirit ! These are the

holy brethren ! You see now what they are, when matters come out, and their dealings are discovered !”

I am persuaded there was never poor persecuted word, since malice against God first seized upon the condemned angels, that passed through the mouths of all sorts of unregenerate men, with more distaste than the name of Puritan doth at this day ; which notwithstanding, as it is commonly meant, is an honourable nick-name of Christianity. And yet for all this, I dare say there is none of them all, but, when they shall come unto their beds of death, (except the Lord suffers them to fall into the fiery lake with senseless hearts, and seared consciences) would give ten thousand worlds to change their former courses of vanity, into the holy preciseness of a Puritan. Oh ! when the heavens shall shrivel together like a scroll, and the whole frame of nature flame about their ears ; when the mighty hills shall start out of their places, and the wicked call upon this mountain, and that rock, to fall upon them ; when no dromedary of Egypt, nor wings of the morning shall be able to carry them out of the reach of God’s avenging hand ; no top of Carmel, no depth of sea, or bottom of hell, to hide them from the presence of him who sits upon the throne ; no arms of flesh, or armies of angels to protect them from these infinite rivers of brimstone, which shall be kept in everlasting flame by the anger of God : when their poor souls shall infinitely desire rather to hide for ever in the most abhorred state of annihilation, than to become the ever-living objects of that unquenchable wrath, which they shall never be able either to avoid or abide ; I say, at that dreadful day, (and that day will come !) what would they give for that purity, which they now persecute. Nay, I verily think, there are no desperate despisers of godliness, who now hold holiness to be hypocrisy, but, when the pit of destruction hath once shut her mouth upon them, and they are sunk down into that dungeon of fire, would be content with all their hearts to live a million of years, as precisely as ever saint did upon earth to redeem but one moment of

that intolerable hellish torture ; the extremity of which they must endure without remedy, ease, or end.

Thus far I have discovered some grounds whereupon the formal hypocrite may reverence God's faithful messengers ; and some cases wherein he ordinarily grows by little and little into disaffection, if not persecution. Now take notice of some reasons, more peculiar to the Christian, of that hearty reverence towards godly ministers, which is deeply rooted in his heart. Only for fear of mistaking, let me propose this premonition by the way. In this reverence to the sincerest pastors, I consider God's child in his ordinary course of sanctified carriage, and kindly temper of his spiritual constitution ; the current of Christianity running clear between them. For sometimes the purer streams of their Christian love may for a time be troubled with some overflowing passions, or the mutual respects one unto another, dammed up by the devil's malice.

It is clear by too many experiences, that differences may arise betwixt God's dearest children, especially about things indifferent ; which breed many times, (except there be a great deal of humble charity on both sides,) some aversion and coldness in the affections. Sometimes also alienation is wrought upon their affections, without dissension in opinion. Satan gains very much by the disunion of Christian's hearts, and therefore he leaves no way unattempted, to set such at variance. And all sorts of profane men cannot be better pleased, or the blessed spirit of good men more grieved, than to see and hear God's children, who so plead for love and peace, to be at variance, and to censure one another. It infinitely therefore concerns all those, which have given their names to Christ, to labour every way to keep the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." I never read, without amazement, the falling out of that glorious pair of workmen in the Lord's harvest, Paul and Barnabas, Acts xv. 39. The matter of dispute between them was not great ; and yet it grew to that head, that it parted

them. If two strong and tall cedars were shaken so shrewdly,\* how much need have lower shrubs, weaker Christians, to stand upon their guard against the inbred stubbornness of their nature, and malicious incursions of satan in this kind?

This premised, I proceed to the discovery of some motives of reverence to godly ministers, more peculiar to God's children. I. Every faithful minister is to every Christian under his charge, and within the exercise and enjoyment of his ministry, either *a spiritual father*, or *a spiritual tutor*; a blessed instrument, either of plantation, or preservation of grace; either of the first happy inspiration, or the comfortable continuance of spiritual life; either he hath begot him unto God, by the *immortal Seed*, or brings him up in godliness, by the sincere milk of the word if he be a babe in Christ; or stronger meat



\* It is justly observed by Mr. Wesley, in a note on this passage, (Acts xv. 39,) "That nothing in the text implies that the sharpness, (*παραξύσμος*), was on both sides. It is far more probable that it was not; that St. Paul, who had the right on his side, maintained it with love. That he was in the right seems plain, it being manifestly improper to trust John Mark, and take him with them as their attendant in their travels, the second time, who had deserted them before, having shrunk from the labour and danger to which they exposed themselves in converting those whom they were now going to confirm. Barnabas's desire of taking him with them arose from Mark's being his kinsman. Hence the brethren at Antioch seem evidently to have approved of Paul's conduct in this affair, but not of Barnabas's. For when the former, having chosen Silas for a fellow-traveller, was about to depart, and set out on his journey, he was *commended by them, in their prayers, to the grace of God*; and thus blessed and encouraged, 'he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.' Whereas Barnabas, forsaking the work in which he was engaged, and taking Mark with him, sailed away to Cyprus. It appears, however, not only that Paul and Barnabas were afterwards thoroughly reconciled, (see 1 Cor. ix. 6, Gal. ii. 9,) but also that John Mark was again admitted by St. Paul, as a companion in his labours, Col. iv. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 11."

if he be a confirmed Christian. Now what reverence and inflamed affection, the consideration of such invaluable benefits enkindle in the tender heart of a Christian, none can conceive, but that man, who knows by happy experience, what a blessed change it is to be rescued out of the devil's bondage; from the curse of sin and horror of conscience, into the liberty of the saints; and what a happy thing it is afterward to have his longing soul continually fed, and filled with the good food of immortality. A joyful sense then of these precious privileges, in which no unregenerate man hath either part or fellowship, is a most powerful motive to the Christian, to observe with an hearty reverence those men of God, whom he acknowledgeth to be the instruments, divinely qualified for the conveyance and continuance of them to his soul.

2. Christians feelingly receive into their hearts, and grasp in the hand of faith, all those comforts, which the man of God, by his ministerial commission, reaches unto them out of the book of life. Those glorious promises of immortality, which spring out of the bottomless and boundless fountain of God's infinite compassions, and stream through the bloody wounds of our blessed Redeemer, are directly conveyed by the hands of such an holy man, Christ's angel, into their sanctified hearts; vessels purged and prepared by the power of grace, for such infusions of heavenly glory. Whereby, under many sermons, they bathe their drooping and thirsty souls in the well of life, and sweetly drink out of the rivers of the pleasures of God. Hence the feet of God's faithful messengers are so beautiful in the eyes of discerning Christians, that they entertain them in their affections as angels of God; nay, in an holy sense, even as Christ Jesus himself. Whereas to worldlings they appear to be the very "filth of the world, and offscouring of all things;" because they have no messages unto them from Almighty God, but of "lamentations, mournings, and woe."

But now in this point of particular application and fruition; while the minister of God is dealing unto humbled hearts, out of the rich treasury of God's mercies, the sacred streams of Christ's precious blood, forgiveness of sins, comforts of godliness, earnest of immortality, not the best of unregenerate men have any part, or acquaintance. Only some confused glimmerings of light may sometimes suddenly glance upon their souls; but it doth not rest in their hearts, like the Sun of Righteousness in sanctified souls, to the heating of them with that strong and victorious love, which neither the whole sea of the world's bitterness, nor all the floods of persecution, can quench; with that lasting comfort, which shines brightest amidst the greatest darkness of outward miseries; and that inflamed zeal, which gathers resolution and vigour from disgraces and oppositions. And therefore their reverence, and thankful respect unto God's spiritual almoners, cannot possibly be so kindly: for they are but by-standers. Whereas God's children sweetly fill their souls with that immortal food, and from every such feast carry away as much as they can possibly grasp in the hand of faith. A second special motive then, to draw a thankful reverence from Christians towards godly ministers is, their special interest in all those "glad tidings of good things," which are at any time revealed unto them, by the powerful discoveries of the gospel of peace, and in those glorious graces, that shine unto us in the face of Christ Jesus.

3. Every commandment from God's blessed Spirit is right dear and precious to all sanctified souls; to which they yield an hearty and unreserved obedience and love, though not in fulness of perfection; and that, though it directly cross their carnal affections, and many times interrupt their worldly comforts. But all sorts of unregenerate men submit their affections to the laws of God, with their own sensual reservations, and ever with a secret subordination to their bosom sin. Now we have a precept from the Holy Spirit, to honour faithful

ministers, with a singular reverence and love, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, "And we beseech you, brethren; to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake." If there were no other motive to a regenerate heart, this one consideration, that it is an injunction of heaven, would be able to produce in it a truly loving acknowledgment, and awful observation of them. Which, because it springs from the love of God, and affection to his word, must needs be sincere, rooted, and lasting. But the best unregenerate hearts cannot possibly conceive any such flame of dear affection to godly ministers, from a mere commandment of Almighty God. And had they no other ground, but a bare charge from God's Spirit, they would be, in their best temper, but heartless and cold this way.

Before I pass on, take notice of the qualifications of those ministers, to whom this loving reverence is due. They are such as are described by Paul, in the forecited places, where he enjoins such special love, "Hold such in reputation," (saith he,) Phil. ii. 29, he means such as Epaphroditus was: and he honours him, in that chapter, with many worthy epithets, and a testimony of much worth. 1. That he was a brother in the Lord, that is, a true Christian. 2. His companion in labour, a laborious workman in the Lord's harvest. 3. His fellow soldier; courageous and resolute, against the adversaries of God's truth, and all opposition, ver. 25. 4. That he longed after, and loved his flock, with a compassionate tender-heartedness, ver. 26. 5. That the work of Christ was more dear unto him than his life. In 1 Thess. v. 13, the ministerial work is the load-stone, mentioned by the apostle, which should draw such honourable regard from our hearers. "Esteem them very highly in love, (saith he,) for their work's sake." And chap. v. 12, he beseeches the Thessalonians to take special acknowledgment of those that laboured amongst them, and admonished them. Working ministers then, in some

measure thus qualified, are the proper objects of rever love.

Blessed Paul includes not within the compass of holy injunction, 1. Any ignorant unlearned ministers. For the Lord himself will refuse that priest, which refuseth knowledge, Hos. iv. 6. 2. No idle and unteaching ministers, who feed themselves with the milk, and clothe themselves with the fleece; but suffer their flock to starve, and wallow in their own blood. 3. No unskilful ministers, who would needs teach and cannot; but are so far from “dividing the Word of God aright,” that they hack and mangle it in a fearful manner. 4. No corrupt teachers, who mingle with the sincere milk of the word, popish poison, or positions of carnal liberty. 5. No daubers with untempered mortar, or pillow-sewers under men’s elbows, who walk politickly, fearfully, and reservedly in the ministry. 6. No sons of Belial, good fellows, as they call them, a kind of vile contemptible creatures; the hatefulest objects to an honest eye, of any that walk upon the earth. A dissolute preacher is a thousand times more hurtful than an hundred private men.

4. To conclude this point: God’s charge is another peculiar motive to a good man, to reverence heartily an holy minister of God. The very presenee of an holy man is wont to produce in sanctified hearts impressions of affection, honour, and love; because he is one that stands on the Lord’s side, and for the cause of Christ. If then to the particular graces of an humble and honest heart, there be an addition of ministerial endowments for the salvation of many; what reverence and love is it able to draw from those, who know the ways of God, and love his majesty? Hence it was, that the hearts of the Galatians, having tasted the mystery of grace, were carried towards Paul with that inexpressible love, “that if it had been possible, they would have plucked out their own eyes, and have given them unto him.” Nay, “they received him as an angel of God, yea, as Christ

Jesus." Thus, though carnal men see no extraordinary matter in holy ministers; yet Christians look upon and reverence their persons, as men upon whom the Lord hath impressed some remarkable characters of divinity, and as it were some sparkles and degrees of majesty: that so with greater authority they may publish to the sons of men the secrets of heaven, and with more glory execute that highest office of the Lord's ambassadors.

5. Many more are the peculiar motives, which add strength to that reverence which a good man bears to godly ministers; such as these, 1. By their own experimental skill, they are able to speak seasonably and comfortably to his heart, perplexed with crosses and hinderances in his way to heaven, as with spiritual deserts, uncouth, importunate temptations, horror for some relapse, want of present feeling of God's favour; with doubts about the soundness of his spiritual state, blasphemous injections of satan, uncheerfulness at godly exercises, dullness in prayer, fearfulness of a trembling and tender conscience, and other such distressful agonies, ordinarily incident to sanctified souls, with which unregenerate men are unexercised, and unholy ministers unacquainted. Help and comfort in which cases, doth infinitely endear the panting and perplexed soul to that *one of a thousand*, who happily hath refreshing balm for such spiritual bruises, and can seasonably "declare unto man his righteousness."

2. By the powerful execution of their charge, they mightily contradict the profaneness, ignorance, and popishness of that people and place where they are employed; beat down the devil's kingdom about his ears, and put scoffing Ishmael's and satan's revellers out of his heart and humour. Which doth please that humble soul, who is truly vexed with the domineering impieties of those sinful wretches amongst whom he lives.

3. By the blessing of God upon their painful labours, they many times increase the number, inflame the zeal, and inspire with fresh life the communion of godly

Christians about them: whereby, for the glory of God, good causes and godly exercises, are kept on foot and flourish. Which glorious visible effects of their faithfulness, create in a true-hearted Nathanael, incomparably more love, and sound content, than the dearest carthly delight; especially, since, where such unpreaching and unfaithful ministers are, he sees all holy services run to ruin and disgrace; and instead thereof an accursed dominion of ignorance and profaneness, and a persecution of sincerity and grace set up.

4. Nay, I am persuaded, were there no other motive at all, this very one consideration, that the withdrawing of his prayers and respect, might be a means of lessening the power and profitableness of his ministry, would be sufficient to make a good man reverence and love a godly minister with all his heart. Where, (by the way,) take notice, that a man's prayerful reverence, or profane neglect of God's messengers, may justly towards him, either enlarge or straiten their gifts, utterance, and other ministerial blessings.

In the last place: consider the confirmation of reverence in a Christian heart to God's faithful messengers in those cases; wherein the respect of the formal hypocrite is ordinarily turned into heart-rising.

First, for the point of pressing the law, and preaching judgment: 1. God's child feeling himself freed, and protected by the blood and mediation of the Lamb of God, from the terror of God's tribunal, and from the curse of all the judgments in his book; can hear and digest from a son of thunder, the most terrible denunciations of damnation against impiety and impenitency, with an humble and holy triumph. His thoughts of dissolution, lying in the grave, God's judgment-seat, that last and dreadful day, of hell, damnation, and those endless flames, are not mingled with such slavish horror, as is wont to keep the sons of pleasure in a perpetual slavery, and to plunge them into many fits of impatency, for being so tormented before their time.

2. The denunciation of God's just indignation against sin, is wont to beget, in sanctified hearts, an increase of humbleness, bruisedness, brokenness, springing from a consideration of the misery of their natural state, and days of vanity: and also of thankfulness arising out of a sense of their glorious deliverance. The former whereof makes way for more familiarity with God, further revelation of heavenly secrets, and a comfortable growth of all graces. For the lowest mind is ever highest in God's book. The humblest heart takes the most sweetness in the comforts of godliness. The other doth powerfully draw on the continuance and addition of God's blessings in great abundance. For a reverend acknowledgment and hearty thankfulness for grace received, (as with nobly minded men, so infinitely more with the most merciful God,) is a strong motive to keep him gracious still; and both to enlarge and sweeten his compassions and bounty towards us. A consciousness of which effects makes the sharpest edge of the sword of the Spirit, seasonably applied, welcome to a spiritually tempered soul.

3. It is the property of true Christians, not to live in any known sin, but to carry in their hearts an habitual, settled, and cheerful resolution to please God in all things. Therefore, if any searching sermon disclose unto them some new depth or snare of satan, unacknowledged corruption, or crooked by-path; the omission of some duty, or some intermission of the exercise of grace, whereof they did not formerly take notice, they are so far from returning malice, for so holy a message, that they depart home more joyfully and contentedly, blessing that happy hand, which came so home to their hearts; and heartily praising God for that man of God, by whose ministry he hath enlarged their knowledge of some new needful duty; or some lurking close infirmity; that by performing the one, or mortifying the other, they may procure more comfort to their hearts, more boldness in

their ways, more cheerfulness in religion, more familiarity with God.

4. Christians desire to preserve their souls in purity and peace; and therefore are well pleased to have the clear chrystal of the moral law presented to the eye of their understandings, by a powerful teacher; that they may labour to have their spots, pollutions, and spiritual deformities washed away by the blood of Christ; and so be both more amiable to the eye of God, and more comfortable in their own consciences.

5. Seasonable and serious meditations upon the purity and exactness of God's commandments, put into them by preaching the law, and the application of the straight line of God's righteous judgments, to the irregularities of their crooked lives, are powerful means to cast Christians with lowliest prostration of heart, into an holy detestation of themselves, which is their highest happiness upon earth; for it draws the glorious Majesty of heaven with a nearer residence into their humbled souls, and makes them partakers of that thrice precious promise, Isaiah lvii. 15, "Thus, saith He, that is high and excellent, He that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is the Holy One: I dwell in the high and holy place: with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to give life to them that are of a contrite heart."

6. God's children come unto the ministry of the Word with Cornelius's resolution, ready to listen with reverence; and to submit with sincerity unto all things commanded them from God by his messengers. They are willing to have the whole counsel of God revealed, whether in the revelation of his just wrath against sin; whereby they may be kept in awe and tenderness of conscience, in an holy fear and obedience unto him; or in the comfortable dispensation of grace and pardon; whereby they possess their souls in peace and patience. They are as well content to have their hearts ripped up

by the "sword of the Spirit," as to have their consciences refreshed with the blood of the Lamb.

But it is not so with the wicked: there is ever one commandment or other, which they would not willingly have expounded. There is some sin or other, against which they would gladly find no curse in the book of God. They are pleased with discourses of mercies, pardons, and compassions; and still cry out for the cordials of the gospel; but they will not endure the corrosives of the law to consume and mortify their corrupt flesh; or suffer the severity of the judgments and Divine vengeance for sin, to be charged upon their guilty consciences. Had Paul addressed himself to Felix and Drusilla, and (as they expected,) pleased their ears with a general discourse of the rich purchase of Christ, by his late invaluable bloodshed; they had heard him (no doubt,) with delight, and been ravished with the sweetness of his sacred eloquence. But when he went so precisely to work, and with such resolution struck home into the very heart of their darling pleasures, by a piercing, terrifying sermon, "of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come," he was presently sent away.

For such causes, preaching the law, and pressing God's judgments against sin, is ever welcome to sanctified men, and increaseth in them, reverence and love towards godly ministers for their faithfulness. Whereas ordinarily it begets in unregenerate hearts much unhallowed heat, and passionate distempers; which too often break out into thunder and lightnings, storms and tempests against the preacher.

In the other case, ordinarily, the formal hypocrite's reverence to ministers is turned into heart-rising, upon the particular discovery of his bosom-sin. The case is quite different with a Christian. The sin of his bosom, before he was converted, made the deepest gash in his conscience; in the travail of his new-birth it cost him the most tears, sorest pangs, and heaviest groans; since

it hath come upon him, to the great grief of his heart, with the most powerful assaults; and he well knows, that upon a relapse into some old, or surprize with some new sin, it would return into his remembrance with horror; therefore he embraceth greedily that ministry of the word, which may any way help to mortify such an accursed enemy. And besides, he having, by the power of Christ's blood, escaped the vengeance, and broke the heart of it, can hear it pursued with denunciations of those just plagues, which are proper thereunto, even with humble, thankful exultations.

Secondly, concerning points that press most to an holy preciseness, excellency of zeal, and best improvement of their graces, God's children are sweetly covetous in such cases. The best men carry in their hearts the highest measure of an holy indignation against themselves, and deepest detestation of their own corruptions, imperfections, and aberrations, from the will of God. And their affections are most inflamed with unweari'd desires, and restless aspirations after fresh additions of grace; after a stronger faith, more zeal, greater comfort, sincerer services, nearer familiarity with God. Hence it is, that Christians complain most of their unworthiness and spiritual insufficiencies, of their dulness in prayer, naughtiness of heart, scantiness of godly sorrow, want of cheerfulness in religious exercises, unprofitableness by the ministry, unheavenliness of their thoughts, and failing in their obedience, which are ever soonest discovered, and most bewailed by the most tender consciences: and that they seldom meet God in private, but their hearts burn within them with unutterable longings and pantings for supplies and abilities, to do unto their dear Redeemer the best and utmost service they can; that they may look him in the face with more comfort, when they shall come to his tribunal.

The performances of God's children, by the grace of God, are many, their endeavours more; but their desires

endless. It follows, that upon the opening of any fresh fountain, by a searching ministry, of diviner doctrines, and more holy exactness in Christianity, their hearts are wont to be comfortably enlarged. They are many times, in their retired contemplations, much grieved, that their merciful God should be so endlessly and immeasurably kind and compassionate unto them, worms and no men; and yet that they should be so cold and heartless, in thankful retributions of services and obediences to so glorious a majesty, and therefore they are well pleased with the pressing of quickening Scriptures; that thereby they may get more spiritual life into their hearts, more heat into their zeal, comfort into their consciences, and by the mercies of God, more glory unto their crowns of immortality.

# GENERAL DIRECTIONS

FOR A

*.COMFORTABLE WALKING WITH GOD.*

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GENESIS VI. 8, 9.

*But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.*

*These are the generations of Noah : Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.*

IN this dreadful story of the old world's degeneration and destruction, here stands an illustrious star, shining fair in the darkest midnight of Satan's universal reign ; I mean Noah, a preacher of righteousness, to whose family alone the true worship of God was confined, when all the world besides lay drowned in idolatry and paganism, ready to be swallowed up in an universal grave of waters.

Now in this story of Noah, so highly honoured with freedom from the sinful contagion of those desperate times, and happily exempted from the judgment upon the earth, I consider,

First. The cause of such a singular, blessed preservation ; which was the free grace and favour of God : "but Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," ver. 8.

Secondly. The renown of Noah's name: in that he stands here as the father of the new world: "These are the generations of Noah," ver. 9.

Thirdly. The description, 1. Of Noah's personal goodness: 2. Of his preservation: 3. Of his posterity.

The description of his personal goodness stands in the end of verse 9, "Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations; and Noah walked with God." Where we find him honoured with three noble attributes, which make up the character of a complete Christian. 1. Honesty. 2. Uprightness. 3. Piety. And they receive much lustre from a circumstance of time: "in his generations:" which were many and mainly corrupt.

Without any further unfolding of my text, I collect from the first point, (wherein I find God's free grace to be the cause of Noah's preservation,) that the free grace and favour of God is the first mover and fountain of all our good. All praise then is due unto Jehovah, the author of all our good, the fountain of all our bliss, the well-spring of life, whereby we live, and move, and have our being; our natural being, the being of our outward state; our gracious being, the everlastingness of our glorious state. Were the holiest heart upon earth enlarged to the vast comprehension of this great world's wideness; nay, made capable of all the glorious hallelujahs offered to Jehovah, both by all the militant and triumphant church; yet would it come infinitely short of sufficiently magnifying, admiring, and adoring the inexplicable mystery, and bottomless depth of this free mercy of God, the fountain and first mover of all our good! We may, and are bound to bless God, for all the means, instruments, and second causes, whereby it pleaseth him to convey good things unto us: but we must rest principally at the well-head of all our welfare, Jehovah, blessed for ever. We receive a great deal of comfort and refreshment from the moon and stars; but we must chiefly thank the sun: from the great rivers also; but the main sea is the fountain. Angels, ministers, and men may pleasure us; but Je-

hovah is the principal. Let us then imitate those lights of heaven, and rivers of the earth; do all the good we can with those good things God hath given us by his instruments; and then return all the praise unto the Sun of Righteousness, and Sea of our salvation.

From the second point in these words, "These are the generations of Noah; (whereas the memorial of all the families upon earth besides, lay buried in the gulf of everlasting oblivion, as their bodies in the universal grave of waters; the family of Noah is not only preserved; but his generations registered in the book of God, and conveyed along towards the Lord Jesus, as his progenitors, and precedent royal line.) I observe, that personal goodness is a good means to bring safety, honour, and many comfortable blessings upon posterity. Because,

1. Parents, professing religion in truth, make conscience of praying for their children before they have them, as did Isaac and Hannah: when they are quick in the womb, as did Rebeckah: when they are born, as did Zachariah: in the whole course of their life, as did Job: at their death, as did Isaac. And prayers, we know, are for the procuring of all favours at the hands of God, either for ourselves, or others, the most sovereign means we can possibly use.

2. Godly parents do infinitely more desire to see the true fear of God planted in their children's hearts, than the diadem of the whole earth set upon their heads. And therefore their principal care is, by a good example, religious education, daily instruction, loving admonitions, seasonable reproofs, restraint from wicked company, and by all the best means, and utmost endeavours, to leave them gracious, when they go out of this world. And "Godliness, (saith Paul,) hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." It gives right and full value to all the true honour, blessings, and comforts, which are to be had in heaven or in earth.

We have, Thirdly, a description of Noah's spiritual

state, consisting of, 1. His justness. 2. Sincerity. 3. Piety.

I collect from the first branch of his character, that every truly religious man, is also a just and true-dealing man. From the second, that sincerity is the sinew and touchstone of true Christianity. But these two I have so often pressed in the course of my ministry, that I will pass by them at this time; only making the following observation. Look! what kind of honesty to men that is, which is not accompanied with religion towards God; the same is that religion towards God, which is not attended with honesty to men. *Dishonest religion, irreligious honesty, insincere religion and honesty*, are all out of the right path. If thou have respect only to the commandments of the first table, and outward performance of religious services; but neglect the duties of the second, thou art but a pharisee and formal professor. If thou deal justly with thy neighbour, and yet be a stranger to the mystery of godliness, thou art but a mere civil man. If thou put on an outward face only of conformity to both, and yet be true-hearted to neither, thou art but a gross hypocrite. Bear thyself holily towards God, honestly towards man, and true-heartedly towards both, or thou art no body in Christ's kingdom; but still in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity. Put on righteousness and true holiness, in this life, or thou shalt never put on a crown of glory in the life to come.

Again, that which adds lustre to Noah's character is the circumstance of time, that is, "in his generations," which were many, and mainly corrupt. Noah stood out, and cleaved unto God through so many ages, and against so wicked a world: so likewise the true Christian must stand at staves' end with the corruptions of the time. Let every one, who hath given his name to Christ, ever count it his crown and comfort, to hold a strong and unconquerable counter-motion to the courses of the world. Let him still discover the true nobleness of his Christian spirit, and of a mind spiritually generous, by

gathering vigour, growing invincible, from the very oppositions of the wicked, and villanies of the time. It was the saying of a moral heathen, "That to do well, where was no danger, was a common thing; but to do well where was both peril and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of virtue:" much more, say I, of a man of God.

"And Noah walked with God." Walking with God is the flower of all Noah's excellencies. It is the crown of the Christian's character, and the duty and property of every true Christian.

By walking with God, I mean, a sincere endeavour to dispose all our thoughts, words, and deeds; our whole conversation, in reverence and fear, with humility and singleness of heart, as in the sight of an invisible God, under the perpetual presence of his all-seeing, glorious eye; and by consequence, to enjoy by faith, an unutterable sweet communion and humble familiarity with his holy Majesty; in a word, to live in heaven upon earth. God's covenant with Abraham, and in him, with all the faithful unto the world's end, requires this. The practice and protestations of the servants of God set a seal unto it. Enoch's walking with God was an happy preparative to his translation to glory. "The Lord before whom I walk," (saith Abraham,) will do thus and thus. "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living," saith David. "O Lord God of Israel," saith Solomon, "there is no God like thee in the heaven, or in the earth; which keepest covenant, and shewest mercy unto thy servants, that walk before thee with all their hearts." "I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart," saith Hezekiah. "And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men," saith Paul: which sounds the same way. "Let their money perish with them, who esteem all the gold in the world worth one day's society with Jesus Christ and his Holy Spirit," said that noble Marquis of Vieo, well experienced in an heavenly conversing with God.

And it must needs be so: for 1. Howsoever natural

men do not dare to draw near to that God, who to them is “a consuming fire;” yet all those, who have truly tasted how gracious and glorious he is, find their hearts, out of a secret sense of God’s love unto them first, inflamed with infinite desire to live under the influence of his pleased countenance, to enjoy his holy majesty with constant peace, and an humble spiritual access to and acquaintance with him continually. The true Christian’s spirit of prayer, exercise of repentance, temptations, and troubles from satan; pressures from the world, faintness of faith, want of spiritual strength, assault of some special sin, sweetness of meditation, daily favours showered down upon him without number, and above measure; fore-thought of the great and last account, motions of the blessed Spirit; but above all, the inexplicable blessedness, goodness, and excellency of that highest majesty, drives him to his God many times a day.

2. All God’s love unto us; his loving-kindnesses, protections, preservations, bounty, patience, Divine illuminations, spiritual blessings: in a word, every link of that golden chain of mercy, grace, and glory, far thicker set with blessings in all kinds, than the heaven with stars, should be so many strong chains, to draw our hearts to delight in him, and with an humble familiarity to converse with his Holy Majesty. Oh! then, let us infinitely love, and learn exactly the heavenly art of “walking with God!” For a more comfortable guiding us wherein, give me leave to premise these quickening preparatives.

I. Look that thou livest not in any known sin, in thine heart, life, or calling. For if so, thou art so far from any possibility of walking with God, that thou wearest the devil’s brand, and art most certainly one of his. If satan keep possession, but by one reigning sin, it will be thine everlasting ruin. Thou shalt then be so far from ever enjoying any holy acquaintance with God, that thou shalt be destroyed body and soul for ever. One breach in the walls of a city, exposeth it to the surprise of an enemy. One leak in a ship neglected will sink it at

length into the bottom of the sea. The stab of a pen-knife to the heart will as well slay a man, as all the daggers that killed Cæsar in the senate-house.

And because the bosom-sin is satan's strongest hold, his tower of greatest confidence and security, and most powerful to keep a man's heart from all holy acquaintance with God; I will, in a few words, labour to enlighten and disentangle any one, who unfeignedly desires an utter divorce from this bosom-devil, by telling him first, what it is: secondly, what is his: thirdly, how he may be deceived about it.

First. As in every man there is one humour predominant; so also one work of darkness. And it is that which his corrupt and original crookedness singles out to feed upon with greatest sweetness. Afterward, by custom, it grows so powerful, that it draws unto it the heat of his desires, and strongest workings of his heart; and at the height, by an irresistible tyranny, it makes all occasions and occurrences, religion, conscience, credit with the world, body, soul, and outward state, serviceable and contributory unto it, as to the devil's viceroy, domineering in the wasted conscience.

Secondly. Thou mayest discover what thine is by such marks as these: 1. It is that which thy truest friends, thine own conscience and the finger of God in the ministry, many times meets with, and checks thee for. 2. It is that, which if it break into act, thine enemies most eagerly observe, and object, as matter of thy greatest disgrace. 3. It is that, which thou art most loath to leave, art oftenest tempted unto, hast least power to resist, and which most hinders the resignation of thy soul and body, heartily and unreservedly to God. 4. It is that, which God most frequently corrects in thee, even in the acknowledgment of thy self-accusing heart. It may be, at several times thou hast been afflicted with some heavy cross, loss of a child, bodily pain, trouble of mind: now in all these, upon the first smarting apprehension, thy conscience, if any whit awakened, of its

own accord, seizes upon that sin we now seek for, as the principal Achan and author of all thy misery. 5. It is that which thou loatest to acknowledge. And therefore thou beatest thy brains to devise evasions, excuses, extenuations, whole cart-loads of fig-leaves with which to colour and cloak this foul fiend. 6. Thoughts, plots, and projects about it, ordinarily seize upon thine heart, at thy very first waking ; if they have not broken off thy sleep, and troubled thee in thy dreams. 7. In the darkness of the night, if thou art suddenly awakened with some dreadful thunder, lightening, or terrible tempest, (if thine heart be not altogether hardened,) the guilt and accusations of thy beloved sin is wont to come into thy mind in the first place, and with greatest terror.

Thirdly. A man may be deceived in conceiving that he is quite delivered from his bosom-sin, and yet it may be but a mere exchange, or some other mistake. This gross, affected self-impotence, may be seen in such cases as these: 1. He may change the outward form of it. For instance ; whereas the same sin of covetousness doth express itself by usury, bribery, crushing the poor of the same trade, over-reaching, all manner of doing wrong, all kinds of oppression ; he may insensibly glide out of one gulf into another. He may fall from one of these, being more notorious to some other of them less observed, and not so odious in the world, and yet still abide in the "chambers of death." The foul sin of uncleanness shews itself by fornication, adultery, self-pollution, brutish and immoderate abuse of marriage. Now, he may pass from one of these pollutions to some other of them, not affrighting the conscience with such horror, and yet still lie in the damnable snarcs of lust. 2. He may refrain from the outward acts of such hateful villanies ; and yet his inward parts be still hankering after them. He may forbear the external acts of uncleanness ; and yet lie in speculative wantonness. 3. Nay, he may change the kind of his bosom sin, and yet it is but the exchange of one foul fiend for another. For instance : wantonness may be his

sweet sin in youth ; worldliness in old age : revelling in his younger years ; downright drunkenness in his declining time : prodigality may sway in some part of his life ; pinching in some other : furious zeal for one while ; profane irreligiousness for another. 4. When the feebleness of old age has wasted the vigour of his mind, and the boisterous heat of his affections, his darling sin may bid him adieu, without any penitent discharge ; and he may say unto it, I have no more pleasure in thee. Whereupon he may conclude a final conquest over it ; a secure deliverance from the guilt and curse of it. 5. He may please himself with forced cessation from it, when there is no want of good-will, as they say ; but only of matter, means, or opportunity. 6. He may, for a time, pull his neck out of this strongest yoke of satan, out of a slavish fear of hell ; but the unclean spirit returns, and rules in him again far more imperiously, after his extraordinary and impatient forbearance.

Thus I have briefly intimated what a beloved sin is ; what thine may be ; and how thou mayest be deceived about it. For if thou wouldst truly taste how gracious the Lord is, in a sweet communion with his blessed majesty ; if thou wouldst be intimately acquainted with the mystery of Christ, wherein are hid infinite heavenly treasures, and such pleasures, “ as neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive ; if thou wouldst ever be fitly qualified *to walk humbly with thy God, in the way which is called holy* ; as thou must fall out for ever with all sin, so must thou principally improve all thy spiritual forces, utterly to demolish the devil’s castle ; to dethrone that grand empoysoner of thy soul, (and strongest bar to keep out acquaintance, and intercourse with God,) thy bosom sin.

II. Build all thy resolutions for heaven and God’s service, upon that strong and purest pillar, that main and most precious principle of Christianity, self-denial. There can be no walking with God, no sweet communion, and sound peace at his mercy-seat, except for his sake

thou be content to deny thyself, thy worldly wisdom, excellency of learning, applause with the most ; thy passions, profits, pleasures, preferments, nearest friends, ease, liberty, life, any thing, every thing : and fear no loss ; for all things else are nothing, to the least comfortable glimpse of God's face.

III. Exercise thyself continually, in that only heaven upon earth, and sweetest sanctuary to an hunted soul, the *life of faith* : which to live in some good measure, is the duty and property of every living member of Jesus Christ. Love therefore, and labour to live by the power of faith, the life of salvation, sanctification, preservation.

1. Of salvation, thus : let thy humbled soul, groaning under the burden of sin, throw itself into the merciful arms of Jesus Christ, wounded, broken, and bleeding upon the cross ; and there let it hold, and hide itself for ever in full assurance of eternal life, by virtue of that promise, John iii. 36, " He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life." For having thus laid hold upon him, he by his Spirit doth communicate first himself unto thee ; then both the merit of his death for remission of thy sins ; and of his active obedience for thy right to salvation ;\* and withal, the power of his Spirit, to quicken thee to the life of grace in this world, and to raise up thy body to the life of glory.

2. Of sanctification : if thou always keep thy faith, the root from which all thine other graces spring, in life and vigour, thou shalt pray more comfortably, be more courageously patient, hear the Word more fruitfully, receive the sacraments more joyfully, pass the sabbaths more delightfully, confer more cheerfully, meditate more hea-



\* The distinction here made has no foundation in the Scriptures. Our Lord's death could have had no merit, had not his perfect active obedience unto the Divine law preceded it. Therefore the apostle speaks of *his obedience unto death*, Phil. ii. 8. This procures for true believers both remission of sins, and a right to full salvation, present and eternal.

venly, walk in all the ways of new obedience with more strength, and conquest over corruptions. For ordinarily, every Christian shall find the exercise of other graces to be comfortable, or cold, according to the liveliness, or languishing of his faith.

3. Of preservation, both temporal and spiritual: in crosses, afflictions, and all God's outward angry visitations, by the power of such promises as those, Psal. lxxxix. 33, and l. 15; Heb. xii. 7, 8, 11; 1 Thess. iii. 3; Acts xiv. 22; Luke ix. 23. And in the course of thy particular calling: the duties and works whereof, if thou discharge with conscientiousness, diligence, and prayer, thou mayest go on with comfort, and freedom from torturing thoughtfulness; and leave the success of all thy labours unto the Lord, whatsoever it may be; resting sweetly, and ever relying upon that gracious promise, Heb. xiii. 5, "I will never fail thee, nor forsake thee." Nay, in the loss of all earthly things in every kind: see Hab. iii. 17, 18, "Although 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 field, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord: I will joy in the God of my salvation." In oppositions against the raising or restoring of spiritual buildings by the ministry of the Word: or in temptations against a man's personal progress, and holding out unto the end; by renouncing our own strength, disclaiming the arm of flesh, and crying in every encounter, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." In the valley of the shadow of death; by an assurance of God's merciful, omnipotent presence, Psal. xxiii. 4. Amidst variety of temptations, relying on those words, 1 Cor. x. 12, James i. 2, Isa. xxx. 18. Thus in any trouble of soul, body, good name, outward state, present, or to come, thou mayest by the sovereign power of faith working upon the Word, not only draw out the sting and expel the poison of it; but also create comfort to thy soul, and

maintain it, in despite of all opposition, in a constant spiritual gladness. For all those promises, whereupon thy heavy heart in such cases may repose, are sealed with the bloody sufferings of Christ. And if thou be in Christ, all are as certainly thine, as the heart in thy body, or blood in thy veins.

IV. Settle in thine heart a true estimate of the substance, power, and marrow of Christianity : which doth not consist, as too many suppose, in outward shews, profession, talking ; in holding strict opinions, contesting against the corruptions of the times ; in the work wrought, external religious exercises, hearing, reading, conference, and the like : but in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ; in meekness, tender-heartedness, love ; in patience, humility, contentedness ; in mortification of sin, moderation of passion, and holy guidance of the tongue ; in works of mercy, justice, and truth ; in fidelity, and painfulness in our callings ; in reverence unto superiors, love of our enemies, an open-hearted, real, fruitful affection and bounty to God's people ; in heavenly-mindedness, self-denial, the life of faith ; in disesteem of earthly things, and a resolute hatred of sin ; in approving our hearts in God's presenee ; a sweet communion with him, and a comfortable longing for the coming of the Lord Jcsus.

Yet mistake me not ; thou must have a show, must profess and talk, if thou wouldst have Christ to own thee at that dreadful day, Mark viii. 38. It is therefore an idle cavil of some, to say, Cannot a man be religious to himself, except he let all the world know it ? For where the power of religion is, there will be the show also. Painted fire shines not, ascends not, heats not ; but true fire is ever inseparably attended with these properties. If true grace be in the heart, it will shine in our words, actions, and whole conversation. He that will take shews from the substance of religion, let him take brightness from the sun. Shew and profession of Christ before men is commanded, as well as the substance and soundness of

heart, Rom. x. 9, 10. Outward exercises of religion are, as it were, the body, without which the soul of Christianity hath no existence.

V Prize the fruition of God, a nearer communion with his blessed majesty, the love and light of his countenance ; and thereupon a free and frequent access, with humble boldness, unto the throne of grace, at a far higher rate, than heaven and earth ; as a real foretaste of eternal joys. For to say no more at this time, if thou hold an holy familiarity with God, and he look pleasedly upon thee, thou shalt grasp Jesus Christ more sweetly in the arms of faith ; partake more plentifully of the joyful freedom, presence, and communication of his comforting Spirit ; be guarded more strongly and narrowly by his glorious angels, suck more heavenly manna out of the ministry, and other ordinances ; walk in safety amongst the creatures, like an unconquerable lion. And if at any time thou art seized upon by any cross or calamity from any of the creatures ; any trouble or temptation from man or devil ; yet the refreshing beams of God's face, shining through the darkness of such discomforts, will infinitely make amends for all. The poison and curse of them shall never come near thy soul. The Lord, in the mean time, like an eagle fluttering about her nest, will most tenderly defend and protect thee, Isa. xxxi. 5 ; and at length most certainly come, like a young lion roaring on his prey, for thy rescue and enlargement, Isa. xxxi. 4.

VI. Labour by a constant watch to keep thy heart in a spiritual temper, still sweetly content, and fruitfully conversant in the mystery of Christ, and secrets of his kingdom ; which thou shalt more easily do, if thou rejoice in God, his Word, and graces, as thy chief joy. 2. By all earthly things be drawn to the love of heavenly. For though God hath appointed but one sabbath in seven days, yet to a Christian every day is sanctified to be a rest from all the deeds of the flesh, wherein he is to walk with his God, and show forth the religious keeping of his heart, in every action of his life ; so making every passage of

his particular calling, a part of Christian obedience.

3. As soon as thou discoverest any spiritual weakness or decay, any extraordinary assault, temptation, deadness, complain betimes ; cry mightily to God, give him no rest, neither give over seeking, until he return unto thy soul. If ordinary means will not prevail, press upon him with extraordinary. If then he do not revive thee, wait with a patient, wakeful longing of all the powers of thy soul ; and then all this while thy soul will be still in its true spiritual temper.

4. Decline watchfully all occasions of falling from thy first love, fervency, and heavenly-mindedness ; as spiritual pride, desire to be rich, discontinuance of thine intimateness with the godly, neglect of thy particular calling, or daily watch over thy heart ; ungodly company, formality in religious duties, coldness and customariness in the use of the means.

5. Suffer not thine affections to be set upon praise, profit, the favour of great ones, mirth, pleasure, ease, earthly contentment, and comforts, preferment, wealth, long life, or any worldly thing ; but disesteem all other delights in respect of doing God's will ; which should ever be unto thee meat and drink, thy only paradise upon earth.

VII. Let thy soul often soar upon the wings of faith, unto the glory of the empyrean heaven, where God dwelleth, and bathe itself before-hand in that everlasting bliss above. Oh ! think with thyself, (though it far pass the reach of any mortal thought,) what an infinite sweetness it will be, to look for ever upon the glorious body of Jesus Christ ; and to consider that every vein of that blessed body bled to bring thee to heaven ! To say nothing of the beauty of that ever-blessed place, of that joyful communion with Christian friends, and all the crowned saints, and innumerable felicities more, which surpass the comprehension of the largest heart ; contemplate principally the fountain of all thy bliss : how the mighty Jehovah, God blessed for ever, will pour out of himself, perpetual rivers of unutterable joys and pleasures, upon thy glorified body and soul, through all eter-

nity ; even as the sun pours out his beams, and shining every day afresh upon the world, without emptiness or end. And with such variety, (for he is infinite,) that they shall be unto thee as fresh, as new, as sweet, as ravishing, millions of years after thou hast dwelt in those mansions of rest, as they were, the very first moment thou enteredst that blissful place. If a man do but once a day seriously and solemnly thus cast up the eye of his faith, upon that never-fading crown of life, he may, with more affectionate freedom, and contempt of earth, have his conversation above, and turn the current of all his delights, love, and longings, with more constancy towards his heavenly home.

These preparatives premised, I proceed to some general directions for a more comfortable walking in the *way that is called holy*.

I. First, have a special eye to a sincere, constant, and fruitful performance of holy duties, God's services. And, to say nothing at this time of private reading the Scriptures, publick hearing the Word, personal prayer, and with thy yoke-fellow, (if thou live in that estate,) singing of psalms, meditation, days of humiliation, (of which thou must proportionably make conscience in their due place, observing also in them the ensuing cautions : for a customary neglect of any holy duty, religious exercise, Divine ordinance, may bring a damp upon the rest, and a consumption upon the whole body of Christianity ;—I say, to leave these,) I only at this time purposely advise, for the better sanctifying thyself and all about thee, to a more successful managing of affairs, either spiritual or civil ; that thou being master of a family, (for I single out such an one for instance,) be ever sure to glorify God, amidst thy people, by morning and evening sacrifice of prayers and praises. In the discharge of which main duty of Christianity, utterly neglected by the most, and empoisoned to many, by their resting only in the work wrought, take heed of declining into a form or customariness, which will most certainly draw the very life-blood and breath out of those holy busi-

nesses. Labour, therefore, by a reverent collecting of all the powers of thy soul, and fresh renewing thy watch at every several time, to preserve heart and spirit in those daily devotions. Which thou shalt the better do, if thou look to, **1.** A right disposition before the doing : **2.** A spiritual behaviour in it : **3.** An holy carriage afterward.

For the first, **1.** Come not before God with any sin lying upon thy conscience unrepented of, or delighted in. **2.** Neither with passion, wrath, or heart-burning against any. **3.** Stir up thy faith, about the things desired and depreacted. Briefly, in the apostle's words, "Lift up holy hands without wrath and doubting." Bring, **1.** Resolution against all sin, in respect of God : **2.** Peace and appeased passions, in respect of men : **3.** Assurance to be heard, in respect of thyself. Or thus : Before thou fall upon thy knees, shake off three empoisoning hinderances, which will elog the wings of thy prayers, that they will never be able to ascend unto heaven : outward sin, inward anger, distrust : and possess thy heart of three excellent helps : **1.** A right apprehension of God's dreadfulnes, purity, power. **2.** A true sense of thy own vileness. **3.** A hearty survey of the infiniteness of God's bounty, blessings, and compassionate forbearances towards thee.

For the second : **1.** Repel with an undaunted spirit, Satan's blasphemous injections, (if he be busy that way,) and he is ordinarily most spiteful against the best businesses, and the rather, because if they be heartily abominated, they are put upon the devil's score, and are only thy crosses, not thy sins. **2.** Watch over the world with all care, that if it be possible, not an earthly thought may creep into thy heart. **3.** Strive to hold thy heart in heat, as well in confession as deprecation ; in deprecation as petition ; in intercession as for personal blessings ; as well for purity of heart, as pardon of sin ; though there may be difference of heat, and crying unto God, according to the necessity of the blessing asked in the prayer. Prayer is the creature of the Holy Ghost, every part whereof, we

should heartily desire, that he would animate thoroughly, even as the soul doth the body.

For the third, with all watchfulness, pursue and press after the things prayed for, by a timely apprehension, fruitful exercise, and utmost improvement of all occasions, ordinances, helps, and heavenly offers, which may any ways concur to the obtaining of them. For instance: thou prayest for knowledge: walk then, when thou hast done, with a constant endeavour, in the strength of this prayer, through all the means, reading, hearing, conferring, practising, (for even that also is a means to increase knowledge, especially experimental,) for the storing of thy understanding with all sacred illuminations and holy senses of God's saving Word. Let no opportunity pass; be violent in catching all occasions for the hoarding up in thine heart such hidden treasures. "If thou criest after knowledge," saith Solomon, "and liftest up thy voice for understanding," chap. ii. 3, (there is the prayer): "if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for us, as for hidden treasures, ver. 4, (there is the endeavour): "Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God," ver. 5, (there is the blessing.) Again, thou prayest to be preserved out of ill company, thou dost well: but when thou hast done, dost thou make conscience of that counsel of Solomon, Prov. iv. 14, 15, and by the power thereof, oppose the cunning enticements, and cursed importunities of thine old companions and brethren in iniquity? "Enter not," saith Solomon, "into the path of the wicked; and go not in the way of wicked men. Avoid it, pass not by it; turn from it, and pass away." He that makes prayer the end of prayer, thinking when that holy duty is done, that there is no more to be done, prays to no purpose. There must be good doings, as well as good ordinances. He that doth not earnestly afterwards set himself against sins deprecated, and pursue with zeal the good things petitioned, his prayer is not worth a rush.

II. Decline idleness, the very canker of the soul, the

devil's cushion ; his tide-time of temptation, wherein he carries with much ease, the current of our corrupt affections, to any cursed sin. And be diligent in some lawful, honest, particular calling ; not so much to engross wealth, as for necessary provision for thy family and posterity. And in obedience to that common charge, laid upon the sons of Adam, to the world's end ; "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground."

1. But ever go about the affairs of thy calling with a heavenly mind, seasoned and sanctified with habitual prayer, ejaculatory elevations, willingness, if God so please, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ ; pregnant with heavenly matter and meditations, picked out of the passages of thy present business. For instance ; let the husbandman in seed-time think, If I now take not the season, I shall have no harvest, but starve in the winter : so if I gather not grace in this sunshine of the gospel, I shall find nothing but horror upon my bed of death. 2. In all the business of thy personal calling, let thy eye be upon God's glory, as the end of all thy actions, and in them seek and serve that glorious end of God's honour, not so much in procuring thine own, as the good of the church, of thy neighbours, and family. 3. By earthly employments, do not become an earth-worm. In using the world, grow not a worldling, and such an one as finds more sweetness in worldly dealings and profits, than in thy heavenly traffic and treasures.

III. In thy solitary seasons : 1. Single out some special matter to meditate on ; both to prevent vain and foolish thoughts, impertinent wanderings, and the trifling away thy precious time ; and also to keep the powers of thy soul alive. When canst thou be alone, and not have just cause, either to busy thy mind about some lawful affairs of thy calling ; or to strive against some corruption, which troubles the peace of thy conscience, or to break out in the praises of God, or to employ thy mind on some subject of heavenly meditation, whereof there is so great variety? 2. Watch and withstand, with all godly jealousy

and care, two dangerous evils : 1st. Thoughts of pleasures from thy youthful sins, which at such times are ready to make re-entry And in this point take heed, lest the devil delude thee in the glory of an angel. For in thy solitary musing, thou mayest possibly resume the abominations of thy former life, especially of that sin, which was thy darling pleasure, on purpose to bewail and detest them ; and yet, without a vigilant eye, that which was intended for an exercise of repentance, may cursedly end in the ideal re-enjoyment of old filthy pleasures. 2dly, Take heed also at such times of acting any new sins, upon sensual suppositions, and imaginary plots : as of worldliness, speculative wantonness, or dishonouring God's providence by an unnecessary forecasting of fearful accidents. 3. Let not pass such a golden opportunity without some conference with God in secret. Cry out towards heaven for some special graces, by which thou mayest be most enabled to glorify God most, and to keep in thy breast a cheerful and heavenly spirit, as for precious jewels to be purchased with the loss of ten thousand worlds ; but not to be parted with for as many worlds as thou hast hairs upon thy head. Beg with earnestness mortifying grace, and spiritual strength, for the conquering of those unruly passions that most haunt thee. Let a sorsowful survey of all thy sins draw from thee some hearty groan, and fervent ejaculations for mercy and pardon ; or a summary view of God's blessings fill thy heart with lowly and thankful thoughts. Thus let some part of thy solitary time be sure to be seasoned with holy musings, and talk with God.

IV Concerning company, I advise, 1. That thou never cast thyself into wicked company, upon choice ; and abide no longer with them at any time, than thou hast sound warrant to do. It is not for the honour or comfort of God's children familiarly to converse with graceless men. There is a strange power in ill company, to cmpoison and pervert even the best dispositions. But the hurt which

the Christian doth take in this regard, is most from civil men, *-whited tombs*, who being unseasoned with the power of inward sanctification, secretly infuse, if not a notorious infection with some scandalous sin; yet many times a fearful defection from zeal in the ways of God. Throw a blazing firebrand into the snow, and its brightness and heat will be quickly put out. Let a Christian but for a while abandon his communion with God's children, and stay in the company of those who are cold and careless; and he shall, in a very short time, find his zeal to be much cooled, the tenderness of his conscience much qualified with worldly wisdom; much dulness of heart, deadness of spirit, drowsiness, and heartlessness in his affections to holy things; and an universal decay of his graces insensibly to grow upon him. In this respect many Christians do themselves much injury. For they sometimes unadvisedly, by reason of kindred, or for old acquaintance, hold too near correspondence with such as are at best only civil men; and they, wanting both heart and skill to uphold any holy conversation, or to afford mutual help, in the feeling parts of sanctification, are occasions to put God's children out of use with the language of Canaan, and to bereave them of much zeal, comfort, feelings of God's favour, boldness in his ways, and cheerfulness in the exercises of religion.

2. In the second place: if thou desire to converse with some of thine unconverted kindred, neighbours, and old acquaintance, for their spiritual good, observe these three rules: 1. Let there be good probability of there being more spiritual wisdom and Christian resolution in thee to convert them, than poison of worldly wisdom in them, to pervert thee. 2. See that thy heart be sincere, and thou seek truly their conversion, and not thine own secret satisfaction: for in this point thine own heart will be ready to deceive thee. 3. As physicians of the body arm themselves with strong preservatives, when they visit contagious patients; so be thou sure to furnish thyself before-hand with prayer,

meditation, the sword of the Spirit, store of persuasive matter, strength of reasons, and unshaken resolutions, to repel all spiritual infection.

3. In the company of true Christians, which thou shouldst prize as heaven upon earth, bring, 1. A cheerful heart. Methinks, though thou shouldst come amongst the saints with a sad heart, overcast with clouds of heaviness; yet the faces of those, whom hereafter thou shalt meet in heaven, and there with incomparable joy behold for ever, clothed with glory, should dispel them all. I know them, who, being cast sometimes against their wills among profane company, are quite out of their element all the while; struck dead in the place, as they say; as solitary as in the silentest desert. But let them come amongst Christians, and they are quite other men, as full of lightsomeness and life, as full of heat and heaven, as if they had the one foot in the porch of paradise already. Sadness is not seasonable, where such precepts as these have place: "Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous, and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart."

2. A fruitful heart, full as the moon with gracious matter to uphold edifying conference. Being forward and free without any hurtful bashfulness, or vain-glorious aim, both to communicate to others the hidden treasures of heavenly knowledge, and also by moving of questions, and ministering occasion mutually to draw from them the waters of life, for the refreshing and quickening of the deadness and unheavenliness of thine own heart. And here it will be a profitable wisdom, to observe each others several endowments, and with wise insinuations, to provoke them to pour out themselves in those things, wherein they have best experience and most excellency. Some are more skilful in discussing controverted points: others in resolving cases of conscience: some in discovering the devil's depths, and treading the maze of his manifold temptations: others in comforting afflicted spirits, and speaking to the hearts of mourners in Zion. I am per-

sueded many times, many worthy discourses lie buried in the breasts of understanding men, by reason of the sinful silence, and barrenness of those about them. And therefore Christians ought to be more forth-putting, active, and fruitful this way.

3. An humble heart, rejoicing to exchange and enjoy heavenly consultations with the poorest and most neglected Christian. If thou be haunted with the white devil of spiritual pride, it is likely thou wilt be either too profuse, and so engross all the talk; or else too curious, and so say no more than may serve to breed an admiration of thy worth; which is a very sinful and fearful fault. There is no depth of knowledge, no height of zeal, but may be enlarged and inflamed by conference with the poorest Christian.

V. But above all, be most busy with thy heart: for it is the root that either poisons or sweetens all the rest. Attend, therefore, amongst others, to these three points of special consequence with all seriousness and zeal.

1. To captivate and conform the thoughts and imaginations of thy heart, to the sovereignty and rules of grace. If thy change in words, actions, and all outward carriage were angelical; yet if thy thoughts were the same as ever, thou wouldst still be a limb of satan. Purity in the inward parts is the most sound evidence of our interest in Christ's saving passion: see Jer. iv. 14, Isa. lv. 7. Now, that thou mayest the better keep the thoughts of thy heart in obedience unto Christ, acknowledge, First, the pestilence of that wicked proverb, *Thoughts are free*. It is true, the invisible projects of the heart lie not within the walk of human justice. But there is an all-seeing eye in heaven, to which the blackest midnight is as the brightest noontide. Whereas then the natural man is wont to let his heart run into idle imaginations, without remorse or restraint; do thou make thy sanctification sure, by this infallible sign, that thou sufferest the consideration of God's all-seeing eye, and check of a tender conscience,

to range thy thoughts into order, and to confine and keep them within a holy compass.

Secondly, acknowledge that thou must be accountable for every wandering thought, as well as for idle words and wicked actions. Therefore, if thou be not exactly vigilant over thy heart, thou mayest justly fear, that, upon the opening of the book of thy conscience, at those two dreadful days, of death, and the last judgment, innumerable armies of exorbitant thoughts, which have lain in ambush as it were, in the secret corners of thy deceitful heart, will charge thee with a far heavier account, than thou hast seriously thought upon heretofore.

Thirdly, acknowledge that God's glory must as well shine in thy thoughts, in the invisible workings, intentions, and desires of the heart, as in thine outward conversation. As God expects service from his children in words and works; so there is also a thought-service, a thought-worship, as I may call it, which is very precious in his eyes, as springing more immediately from the heart, wherein he principally delights; and because the secrecy of it is attended with more sincerity. Remember therefore to render with all reverence and zeal unto the Father of spirits, and Lord of thy soul, the daily tribute of thy thought-service, as well as the tongue-service and hand-service. And the rather, because opportunities, abilities, and means may fail for outward performances, but the heart is ever at leisure and liberty to think nobly. No times, no tyrants, no wants or restraint, can hinder it from an invisible fruition of God, with thoughts of sweetest rapture and reverence, of love and lowliest adoration; from bathing itself in the meritorious blood of the immaculate Lamb, with thoughts of inexplicable peace, joy, and triumph; and from cleaving to the promises of life, and diving into the mystery of grace with purest delight, and victorious faith; from being as a mountain of myrrh and incense, sending up a spiritual sacrifice of praise-full thoughts, infinitely admiring and magnifying the glory and

goodness of that merciful hand, which wrote thy name in the book of life, suffered the dearest blood in his Son's heart to be spilt as water upon the ground, for the washing of thy body and soul from sin; and after a span of time, will set a crown of eternity upon thy head. And, besides God's more special acceptance of this invisible service, it is ordinarily full of more spirituality and life, by reason that it is nearest to the object of adoration. The best man, though he may labour to do his best every way, yet he shall find a difference in his duties and services towards God. His works do not answer with that exactness to his words: his words cannot express the thoughts of his heart: the thoughts of his heart come infinitely short of the excellency of God. Those streams which are next to the well-head, are purest. The thoughts of a sanctified heart, laying hold upon him, with immediate apprehension, that most amiable, holy, and glorious object, God blessed for ever, give him his due and reverend attributions, with more heartiness, life, and heavenliness, than words or actions are wont; though all a man's best, in thought, word, and deed, falls fearfully short of what we owe and ought to do.

2. Keep a continual and watchful guard over thy heart. It is like a city, liable every moment both to inward commotion and outward assault. The fountain of original impurity, though its main stream be stayed by the sanctifying power of Christ's grace; yet it doth still less or more bubble up. The world doth labour continually with her three great battering engines of pleasure, riches, and honours, to lay it waste. The devil watches every opportunity to hurl in his fiery darts, and cast all into combustion. Precious, therefore, is that precept, "Keep thy heart with all diligence," Prov. iv. 23. That thou mayest do this with more success, First, watch over the windows of thy soul, the senses. It is incredible what pollution the devil conveys insensibly through these inlets of sin, into their bosoms who are careless this way. To instance in the ear and eye: a tale-bearer tells thee, that such a

one said of thee so and so, when in truth, it was neither so nor so. Thou presently conceivest thoughts of displeasure against that man, that never thought thee ill. Here thou spillest innocent blood; for thy heart may kill, as well as thy tongue and hand. It is fit therefore for every honest face to fill itself with frowns of distaste and indignation at the approach of any tale-teller. "As the north wind driveth away rain, so doth an angry countenance a backbiting tongue." Concerning the eye, David's example may warn the holiest men to the world's end, to be very watchful with a restless jealousy, over that wandering sense. Secondly, resist and crush every exorbitant thought, which draws to sin, at the very first rising. Say unto thyself, "If I commit this sin, it will cost me more smart, before I can obtain assurance of pardon, than the sensual pleasure is worth: if I never repent, it will be the damnation of my soul." Thirdly, entertain always with all holy desire, and make much of, all good motions put into thy heart by the blessed Spirit. Feed, enlarge, and improve them to the utmost, with meditation, prayer, and practice. So thou shalt preserve thy heart in a soft, holy, comfortable temper, which is a singular happiness.

3. Often lift thou up thy heart towards heaven. What Christian heart can endure to discontinue its sweet familiarity and humble intercourse with God for one day? Let thy broken heart therefore every day, besides ordinary ejaculations, evening and morning, and upon other special occasions, be sure, 1st, To bathe itself in the depth of God's mercies in Christ, that it may be kept thankful, and inclined to all holy duties. 2dly, To kiss sweetly the glorified body of our crucified Lord with the lips of affectionate love, (though the distance be great, yet the hand of faith will bring them easily together,) that it may be preserved in peace, purity, and opposition unto sin. 3dly, To cast the eye of hope unto the unutterable excellencies of that immortal crown above, which after this life shall be set upon thy head by the

hand of God ; a very glimpse whereof is able both to sweeten the basest wrongs from the world and wicked men, and to dispel those mists of fading vanities, which this great dunghill of the world, heated by the fire of inordinate lusts, is wont to interpose betwixt the sight of men's souls and the bliss of heaven.

VI. Be very watchful over thy predominant passion ; whether it be fear, sorrow, love, or anger. All of them are raging enough ; but commonly one rules over all the rest, in the unregenerate man ; nay, too often offers to rise in rebellion even against the sanctified soul. Whatsoever it be, 1. In thy private morning sacrifice, be sure to pour forth the deepest groans and strongest cries for mortifying grace against it, and comfortable conquest over it. 2. Cut off all occasions, whatsoever it cost thee, which may any ways kindle it. Withdraw the fuel that ministers food unto that flame, though it shall be as painful unto thee, as the plucking out of the right eye.

VII. Prize, as a most comfortable perfection in Christianity, a right ordering of thy tongue. It is of special importance for preservation both of outward and inward peace. Original corruption hath put upon every man's tongue a fiery edge, whereby like a sword, it kills and slays on all sides ; wounds the souls of the present ; mangles the good names of the absent, and so bathes itself in continual bloodshed, (for there is heart-murder, and tongue-murder, as well as hand-murder,) until the attainment of this grace. That it may therefore neither be unseasonably idle, nor sinfully exercised, take notice of, and practice,

I. That much and generally neglected duty of Christian reproof. Thou shalt meet now and then, upon unavoidable necessity, with men that swear, blaspheme God's name, talk filthily, or rail against good men ; besides many other base and profane speeches. In this case wicked men meddle not. They hold it a point of unnecessary preciseness to mar the mirth, by calling sin into question. They are commonly excellent in railing

upon a good man in his absence; but they are stark naught in reproving a notorious wretch unto his face. If they open their mouth in this way, it is commonly in form, for some one's sake in the company; who, they know, cannot endure it. But in such cases, the Christian is truly solicitous and zealous, and careful how to frame and hold a serious, wise, and seasonable contradiction to the language of hell. He dares not hold his peace, lest he be guilty, of the parties going on in sin; of betraying God's glory by a cowardly silence; and of wounding his own conscience. For this kind of reproving then, the Christian is not to be censured. Conscience, charity, and God's commandment call upon him for the performance of this needful duty, whensoever necessity, or a warrantable calling shall have cast him among profane wretches; except they be dogs, or swine. Christ himself hath commanded, that pearls and holy things shall not be cast away upon such.

The ground of this commandment of Christ I take to be twofold: 1. A compassionate care of God, even over the lives of his children. Besides the continual guard of the blessed angels, his own all-seeing and all-pitying eye doth ever graciously watch over them; and therefore he forbids them to cast themselves into the mouth of a barking dog, or upon the paw of a revengeful lion: that is, he would not have his child to vouchsafe so much as a reproof to any blasphemous wretch, or desperate swaggerer, that would furiously fly in his face for offering him a pearl. 2. An holy jealousy over the glory and majesty of his own blessed word. It is that holy wisdom which issued immediately out of his own infinite understanding. It is far more pure and unspotted than silver tried in a furnace of earth, fined seven-fold. It is a sacred pearl, fashioned by his own almighty hand in the palaces of heaven; and therefore most unworthy to be trodden under foot, or trampled in the mire by any sensual swine. These two reasons of the commandment lie in the text, "Give ye not that which is holy unto

dogs, &c. lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rent you." Whence we have also some light to discern who are dogs, and who are swine.

1. By dogs, we see, are meant obstinate enemies, that maliciously revile the ministry of the word, and the messengers thereof; who not only tread the words of instruction under foot, but turn again, and rend the teachers, and furiously fly in the face of those who fairly tell them of their faults. Consider this and tremble, all ye that are become scornful and furious opposers to the power and purity of the word, and to its faithful ministers. Alas! poor wretches! you cast yourselves desperately into that accursed and horrible condition, that every man is bound in conscience not to afford you so much as an admonition, or reproof, or a caveat to prevent those curses, which are coming upon you. And you wilfully draw upon your own heads that most fearful doom from God's Spirit, "He that is filthy, let him be filthy still." He that rails against the power of grace, let him continue still a mad dog. He that sets himself maliciously against the ministry of the word; let that man receive no comfort or benefit by the word of life. If he will needs do it, let him roar still, swagger, be drunk, despair, die, and be damned.

2. By swine are meant those scurrilous wretches, who scornfully trample under foot all holy instructions and reproofs. Some of these are swine, as it were, only in practice. They do not say much, or keep any great grunting against good men; but they feed insatiably, though silently, upon the dross of sensual pleasures. And if at any time a pearl be cast in their way, (I mean, a seasonable reproof,) they trample it in the mire, and, with a brutish baseness, tread it under foot; because indeed they hate to be reformed, and are resolved not to exchange these worldly pleasures for an hundred heavens. Other swine there are, both in practice and profession; who, besides their hating to be reformed, and resolution not to forego their present pleasures, are also possessed

with a spirit of scoffing. These are rather wild boars : for with a furious insolence, they provoke and challenge the mighty Lord of heaven, about the truth of his judgments and promises. Let all swinish wretches consider this, and tremble ; who, with sinful greediness feed upon earthliness ; who wilfully wallow in the mud of vanishing pleasures, and will not be washed ; who come to, and depart from the house of God, with a resolution not to change their old fashions, (say the preacher what he will,) but to live, and end their days in their former courses of profaneness. Cursed also is the condition of all you that are scoffers at godliness and good men. You have wearied yourselves so long in walking and standing in wicked ways, that you are now set down at rest in the chair of scorners. And therefore, all those that stand on the Lord's side are commanded by Christ, there to leave you in your damned case, and to disquiet you no further. And what an horrible depth of spiritual misery is this, that you run furiously towards the pit of hell, and must have no body to stay you ; not a man to call and cry unto you, that the fiery lake is a little before you ?

Though we have thus much light from the natural properties of dogs and swine to desery them ; yet Christians are sore troubled many times, when to speak, and when to hold their peace ; when to repute persons, dogs, and swine, when not. And I do not see how any constant rule can be given in this case ; it is clothed with such a variety of circumstances. The advice which I would give is this : when a man is perplexed what to do amongst profane company, let him consult with those bosom counsellors, look unto his spiritual wisdom, to his heart, and to his conscience. These must be his guides in these cases : and they are counsellors ever at hand.

1. His spiritual wisdom is to guide him in a right apprehension of circumstances, and to define when he is to interpose, and in what manner. It must tell him secretly, when the cause of God, or the innocency of a good man calls specially upon him for an apology. It must

inform him how he must reprove; whether directly and in plain terms, or by intimation, and indirectly; whether personally, or in the general; whether in a fair or milder manner, or with a more bold and resolute spirit; whether in hot blood, as it were, or afterward to take occasion to censure the same sin; whether only by discountenance, or discourse; by a silent disapprobation, (which, I think, may be sufficient for some men, at some times, in some companies,) or with solemn protestation, and a professed opposition and dislike.

2. Let him also look to his heart, that his reproof spring not from any imperious humour of censuring and meddling with his brethren; from a proud vein of contradicting; out of a stoical sourness, and commanding surliness; from any purpose to disgrace and grieve the party; from pharisaical severity; from a secret desire of purchasing reputation; or from any other by-respect: but from an heart truly humbled with its own infirmities, zealously thankful unto God for preserving him from the like outrage; graciously melted into commiseration of the offender; lifted up in a secret supplication for the pardon of its own sin, success of the reproof, and salvation of the party.

3. His conscience must guide him in the right path, between two extremes, which, in these cases men are apt to incur: I mean, faint-hearted silence, and furious zeal. Men, many times, by reason of unchristian cowardliness, would gladly make all such offenders dogs and swine; that thereby they might challenge the privilege of exemption from the discharge of that Christian duty. Though their ears be filled with the oaths and blasphemies of those that are about them, and railings against good men, and the ways of God; yet they never open their mouth. Oh! these are vile cowards in good causes, and a kind of traitors to Christianity. By such sinful silence, they labour to purchase a name of no-meddlers in other men's matters; of wiser and more moderate Christians. But let them know, that such no-meddling is a kind of soul-

murdering. Such wisdom is not that of the Scripture, but the wiliness of that red dragon, suggested by hell. Some others, it may be, but not near so many, run into the other extreme, and out of a furious zeal, with boisterousness fly in the face of some desperate swaggerer, with an indigested and unseasonable reproof; whereby they both incur the guilt of giving a holy thing unto a dog, and unnecessary danger from the fury of the party. Or else for want of spiritual wisdom, they tender an admonition to some such contemptuous swinish wretch, as will put by the word of truth with a scurrilous jest; or with a dull, and scornful sottishness trample it under foot.

These cautions premised, every Christian ought to address himself with resolution to discharge this duty of reproving, when a just occasion requires it at his hands. For these reasons :

First. In respect to the party offending, a seasonable reproof may, by the blessing of God, be an occasion of conversion to the offender. And let him know, that he who "converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." With what eagerness and zeal ought we to stop the course of a reasonable creature towards the pit of hell? Speak then boldly in the cause of God, when thou hearest thy brother blaspheme his name, jest with his word, talk filthily, rail against holiness, slander good men, plead for profane pastimes, for they are so many mortal stabs to his own poor soul; besides the natural infectiousness of such speeches, which may do much mischief to the standers by. Though thy reproof prevail not at the present; yet thou knowest not what impression it may have afterward upon his hard heart, whereby perhaps he may think upon a new course, and so thou be a blessed instrument of saving a soul.

But if it have not so happy a success upon his soul, yet perhaps thou mayest thereby tame his insolence, and so cool and confound his swaggering humour, that he

will not glory in his villany. If a profane wretch will needs swear, and rail against the servants of God, yet let him know, that all the while he fights against God, damns his own soul, and pleases none but devils, drunkards, and devilish men. If he will needs labour against the ways of God, let him know that his name shall rot after him as vilely as his his carcass in the grave ; and himself burn in hell everlastingly, if he hold on in that humour without timely repentance and reformation.

Secondly. In such cases the Christian must speak in respect of himself. As when the air is empoisoned, men use some perfume, that so they may avoid the noisomeness of the smell, and repel the contagion : so when any profane wretch hath let fall any rotten speech, the Christian, with a present counter-poison, as it were, of a seasonable reproof, should stop his own apprehension, lest any baser infection insinuate, and stain the soul. Besides silence at such a time would seem to bewray thy cowardliness in the cause of God. For it would seem strange, that thou, who makest a shew of standing on the Lord's side, shouldst hear the name of God profaned, or the innocency of a good man trampled upon, and yet never open thy mouth. As thou therefore desirest to hold it thy crown and honour to be champion unto the mighty Lord of heaven, and the protector of the good names of good men, be ever ready to open thy mouth, when a just apology in any of these respects is needful. Add to this, if thy conscience be enlightened, awake, tender, and rightly informed, it will smite thee after the omission of such a duty ; when afterwards thou considerest that by thy cowardly silence thy soul is accountable for that sin. As thou then wouldst keep all in quiet in thine own bosom, suffer not blasphemies, obscenities, railing, and other such talk to pass uncensured. It was the voice of cruel Cain, " Am I my brother's keeper ?" But every true and tender-hearted Christian doth grieve to see so many of his brethren stick fast in the teeth of that

red dragon, and therefore labours by all means he can to rescue them ; to see so many about him run as furiously as they can, to drown themselves in the pit of endless perdition ; and therefore, as occasion serves, he calls and cries unto them to stay their course, before the hellish gulf hath shut her mouth upon them.

Thirdly. In respect of those which are present, 1. By thy speaking in such a case, thou mayest lay, as it were, the spirit of profaneness for that time ; so that it will not rage in the rest, as otherwise it would. For we may sometimes observe, that a seasonable reproof from a man of understanding, upon a fellow that behaves as though swearing were his portion, and traducing the saints his trade, doth so confound the rest of the same crew, that they are quite put out of their humour. 2. Thou mayest hereby uphold the weak, that they be not scandalized. 3. Thou mayest encourage the hearts of stronger Christians, that they be not cast down with the domineering of profaneness.

Fourthly. In respect of God himself, reprove, 1. That though the days wherein we live, be strangely profane, yet that it may appear, God hath some to speak for him : that here and there God hath a champion, who, fearless of the face of a man, dares defend his ways, and stand on his side. 2. But above all, let that strict charge from God's own mouth, (Levit. xix. 17, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart : thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him,") fright every one of us out of our sinful silence and cowardliness this way.

Upon the whole, as to this point, take notice of a threefold duty, which lies upon every Christian in his carriage towards men before their faces : 1. Christian admonition : as, if a brother be overtaken with a fault, or some less offence, we are to admonish him in the spirit of meekness, Gal. vi. 1. 2. Christian reproof : as, if he offend more grievously, we are freely to reprove him ; and not to suffer sin to rest upon him, Levit. xix. 17

3. Christian silence : as, if he be a son of Belial, a dog, or a swine, we are commanded by Christ to say nothing, Matt. vii. 6. Neither private admonition, nor brotherly reproof is to be vouchsafed to profane ruffians, who would entertain it with cruelty or scurrility.

II. Observe a sanctified silence, from, 1. Rash censuring, which is severely censured by Christ himself, and set as a visible brand upon the face of the hypocrite. Leave pharisees and false hearts, to pass rash censures against those who are far better than themselves. A sincere heart is ever most censorious and severe against itself; most searching into, and sensible of its own sins. It knows right well, by experience, what bitterness of spirit springs from the survey of scandalous transgressions in cold blood. It feels deadness of heart, lessening of graces, loss of comforts to ensue upon every relapse. It finds too often, that if it foster in itself any corruption or secret lust, the Lord will not hear its prayers. It is well acquainted with the preciousness of a peaceful conscience, and God's favourable countenance, which it cannot possibly enjoy, if it lie in any one sin. This being the experience of an upright heart, it is most eagle-eyed and watchful over, most strict and severe against its own sins. Which home-employment hinders a man from too much meddling abroad. This world of work within, about his own soul, ties his tongue from being so busy in censuring other men's faults. As therefore thou wouldst have a true testimony of taking thine own sins to heart, keep a constant and narrow watch over thy tongue: be very sparing in speaking the evil which thou knowest of others: judge no man rashly.

Yea, but some will say, "Howsoever you put it upon profane men, yet it is well known your sort are the only shrewd censurers, very severe about other men's faults, and still ready, by their peremptory judging, to send all others to hell, save themselves, and those of their own sect." This I grant is many times the profane man's censure of the true Christian, and therein he discovers

himself to be a true hypoerite. For he censures sincere-hearted men to be censorious, when himself is the only unconscionable censurer. He reproveth God's faithful ones for reproveth, when himself full often, amongst his companions, condemns for counterfeit, without all ground or truth, those whom the Lord himself justifies for true-hearted Nathanaels.

To rectify thy judgment in this point of private judging, observe, first, That all judging and censuring is not here condemned. We may judge the tree by its fruit. If we see a fellow incorrigible in his lewd rebellious courses; as swearing, whoredom, scoffing at religion, and the like, we may (leaving his final doom to the Searcher of all hearts,) judge him, for the present, to be in a most wretched state. But in such cases, besides just cause, be sure of a warrantable calling, conscionable end, and no beam in thine own eye.

Secondly, Let us take notice of some differences between the true professor's and profane men's censuring. It differs in respect, 1, Of the object. The principal object of carnal men's censures is the zealous professor. Dogged they are many times among themselves, but to the people of God they are not only dogs, but enraged devils. The most resolute for God's glory, and in good causes, is ordinarily most railed against and reviled. The foul spirit of *good fellowship*, as they call it, is still foaming out against them the foulest censures: That they are hypocrites, humourists, pestilent fellows, and all that is nought. David was so charged by Saul and his courtiers, Jeremiah by the profane nobles, Christ himself by the Scribes and Pharisees, the primitive Christians by the heathens; and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must look for the same persecution amongst the men of this world. And in this itching humour of censuring the servants of God, the wicked are so eager, that rather than they will want matter, they will snatch it from the envenomed tongue of a tale-bearer; from the slanderous folly of some scurrilous jester, the frothy raving of a

greasy, drunken alehouse-haunter; nay, rather than fail, forge it out of their own profane fancies, and suck it, as they say, out of their own fingers. On the other side, the ordinary object of the Christian's censure is according to Christ's rule; those trees which discover themselves by the fruits which hang upon them in the sight of the sun. And yet that also must be seasoned with charity, discretion, seasonableness, freedom from spleen, humour, and passion. As the hand fastneth a salve upon any sore part of the body, and then covers it, so they apply a gentle and mild reproof, that it may secretly heal, and the world be never the wiser.

2. In respect of the order. The true Christian ever casts the first stone at himself, begins with himself, searcheth his own heart, censures his own ways, and abandons all his known sins; and then he may with more success censure others. But those who hate to be reformed, begin with others, are most prying into other men's carriages, perusing other men's lives, but have never any leisure to look into their own hearts.

3. In respect of the manner. Pharisees are wont pre-emptorily to pass their censures upon the more righteous than themselves, with pride, scornfulness, and insultation; but the censures of Christians are mingled with much mercifulness, pity, and love.

4. In respect of truth. Profane men's censures of God's servants are many times, not only groundless and false, but also absurd, without any shadow of likelihood. The enemies to Christ's ministry censured him as having a devil. Elijah was accounted a troubler of Israel; who was in truth, the very chariots and horsemen thereof. The princes suggested to the king, that Jeremiah was a traitor to the state; from which he was so far, that he desired his head to be waters, and his eyes springs of tears, that he might weep day and night for the desolations of it. Proportionable for monstrousness of falsehood, are many censures passed upon professors at this day. On the other side, God's people are very careful and tender

what censures they pass upon others. They conceive and speak the best of every one, until his open fruits clearly convince the contrary. They are so far from violent wresting of men's words, or behaviour to the worst sense, that if matters be but probable, they are ever carried the more charitable way. They are so far from censuring others without truth and proof, (which is the ordinary practice of most men) that they never speak the ill they certainly know by their brethren, but with fearfulness, and some kind of enforcement.

2. Secondly, be silent from slandering, and backbiting. Here I will say nothing of the grosser sorts of slander, because of them, God's children are more easily sensible. But let me a little advise and awaken thee to further inspection of the present point; lest sometimes even in telling the truth, thou be intangled in the briars of this base sin, and justly incur the fault of a false accuser; which thou mayest many ways. 1. By discovering secret infirmities, which love, that covereth a multitude of sins, would have concealed. 2. By drawing out of other men's words, actions, and behaviours, aims, and intentions, which the author never dreamed of; and by fathering upon them such senses, as an impartial expositor could never possibly extract. It is the easiest thing of a thousand, to spoil the glory of the most beautiful actions with surmises of by-ends. For a man's own pride and that of the devil himself, are ready midwives at such monstrous conceptions. 3. By adding unto the truth, or detracting from it, or intermixing false, adulterate glosses. 4. By relating all the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: but either with a spiteful heart; or in a scornful, and insulting manner; without any warrantable calling thereunto.

Here therefore it will be seasonable, for help against this more plausible, but pestilent kind of slandering, to tell you, that relating the evil that is true of another, in his absence, doth brand you with the guilt of back-biters, save in such cases as these :

1. Of good to the party absent. For instance : thou informest thy friend of a third man ; telling him, that he begins to break out into bad courses, and so proceedest to a more particular discovery of his carriage : but all this purposely for the benefit of the party. And therefore thou intrestest thy present friend, that he would improve the utmost of that power which he hath, for his amendment.

2. Of expedience for him that hearth : when he is in danger of injury from the party spoken of. For instance : thou mayest lawfully lay out a counterfeit in his colours, for prevention of the mischief, which might ensue, if his character were concealed.

3. Of necessity for him which speaketh : that he may be preserved from guilt, which by saying nothing, he should bring upon himself. For instance : there comes to thy notice some notorious villain, which concealment might animate to further excess ; but seasonable advertisement given to authority, as to a magistrate, minister, tutor, father, master, or governor of a family, might be a means to stay the torrent. In this case thou hast a calling to reveal, inform, and implore superior assistance. And therefore those of the house of Chloe did well to certify Paul, of the disorders amongst the Corinthians : and Paul's sister's son, to acquaint the chief captain, with that devilish plot against Paul. Otherwise, both thou and they, by cowardly silence might incur guilt even for other men's sins so unhappily concealed.

4. Fourthly, when a seasonable, warrantable occasion is given thereby, of performing some Christian duty, as,

1. Of instruction, and forewarning others. Thou hast a friend, whom thou seest, and fearest is entering a licentious course ; whereupon thou tellest him, that such and such a man, from contempt of the word, profanation of the sabbath, disobedience to parents, fell into a knot of lewd companions, then to gaming, at last, to the gallows. And therefore thou advisest him to take heed in time.

2. Of praising God for the rooting out of some impla-

cable persecutor. Upon which occasion thou discoverest unto thy friend many passages and plots of his cruelty and hate against the kingdom of Christ. But in such cases look unto thy heart with extraordinary watchfulness, that thou do it simply and sincerely; out of zeal to the glory of God, prosperity of the gospel, and peace of the church: otherwise, instead of a Christian duty, it will prove a cursed cruelty.

3. Of prayer. Thou art acquainted with the secret plots of some tyrant against the people of God; whereupon thou unmaskest his malice amongst thy Christian friends, to the end that they may contribute their prayers for the confusion of all the devices of hell. Tears, patience, and prayers, were ever the defensive weapons of God's people. Or thus: thou observest one to have continued long a professor, but now unhappily he begins to grow negligent, to suffer immoderate employment, and entanglement in the world, to waste his heavenly-mindedness; so that in all likelihood God will shortly give him over unto some scandalous fall, as a punishment of his back-sliding: whereupon thou discoverest unto thy Christian friends his declining state, only that they may join with thee in prayer, that the Lord would be pleased to stay him, and re-establish him in his first love.

4. Of vindicating the power and truth of religion. Thus, thou art in company, where thou hearest a mere civil man, or formal professor at the best, of whom thou thyself canst aver out of thy certain particular knowledge, that he is utterly unacquainted with the mystery of godliness; I say, thou hearest such a man commended for his religion, and fear of God; which commendation, if he carry away without contradiction, the rest of the company may be very eager to follow such a precedent. Now in this case, it may concern thee, but with as much wisdom, discretion, and charity as thou canst possibly use, to disrobe such a person of the reputation of that holiness which he never had; lest both the by-standers be encouraged to

rest short of a title to heaven, and the power of Christianity be disparaged.

III. Pray for, and practise an holy dexterity, to divert from wicked or worldly talk, to more heavenly conversation. Methinks, it is a great pity, that professors should ever meet without some discourse of their meeting in heaven, or of the blessed ways that lead thereunto. Yet many times, worldly matters, speaking of others, or some more remarkable accidents and affairs abroad, speculative curiosities, ceremony, or other impertinencies, take up even from God's children, too much of many golden seasons, which might preciousely serve, by their mutual diving into the great mystery of godliness, and ways of Christianity, to increase amongst them spiritual warmth, and resolution against all oppositions, and to build up one another in their most holy faith, acquaintance with temptations, comfortable walking with God. To confront this common mischief, come unto them prepared, as I advised before. But if the company be contrarily minded, and unaccustomed to the language of Canaan, interpose all thy wisdom, courage, authority, and eloquence, to draw them from their idle talk; and by a wise, plausible diversion, and modestly over-ruling transition, carry the current of their discourse all thou canst towards some good and spiritual end.

I. To which end, observe, and apprehend all opportunities and occurrences which may minister matter of digression into Divine discourse; and acquaint thyself with the art of abstracting sacred instructions from the book of the creatures and businesses in hand. It was the practice of our blessed Saviour. Upon mention of bread, Matth. xvi. he pressed upon his disciples to avoid the leaven of the Pharisees. When he observed (John vi.) a number of people throng about him for miraculous bread, he digressed into a most heavenly discourse of the food of life. Upon occasion of drink being denied him by the Samaritan woman, (John iv.) he laboured to allure her to the well-head of everlasting happiness.

2. Have ever in readiness some common heads of quickening motives to mind heavenly things: as the miserable condition of our natural state, the vanity and vexations of all earthly things, the everlastingness of our state in another world, the sudden execution of God's fierce wrath upon some notorious ones, even in this life; especially those which are freshest in memory; the terrors of death, the dreadfulnes of that last and great day drawing on apace. The mention of these things many times will strike full cold to the hearts of the most swaggering and sensual Belshazzars, and may, by God's blessing, prepare and soften them for remorse, and more heavenly impressions.

3. But, above all, get into thine own heart an habit of heavenly-mindedness, by much exercise, intercourse, and acquaintance with God, in pouring out thy soul before him, in renewing thy peace, and comfortable access unto him upon every check of conscience, in contemplation of the inexplicable sweetness, glory, and eternity of those mansions above; in diving into the secrets of his kingdom, by the help of humbleness and godly fear; by private employment of thy soul in solemn reflections; recounting with what variety of trains it was detained in the state of darkness; what delays and assaults it met with in its way to light; what terrors it passed through in the pangs of its new birth; the temptations incident to its infancy in grace, progress and growth in several graces, and the whole body of Christianity; relapses, desertions, their discoveries, recoveries, with all the means and circumstances: in a word, by a punctual observing how God deals with it every day, he, I say, thus blessedly busied at home in thine own heart, and thou shalt find thyself more plentiful in holy discourse when thou comest abroad.

We are most apt to pour out ourselves in publick according to our private contemplations. The conferences of free and unreserved spirits are ordinarily nothing else but the clothing of their ordinary heart-secrets with fa-

miliar forms of speech. Men, for the most part, speak most, and most willingly of those things they mind most. I advise thus in this point, that thou mayest be habituated and encouraged in the art and exercise of putting forward good talk; or of diverting and drawing towards better, in case of the contrary. Otherwise, thou shalt never be able to hold out with constancy and courage, to cross many times the general mirth of the company, to put worldly wise men out of their element of earthly talk, to draw worldlings to hear of heavenly things.

VIII. Watch narrowly, with the eye of a tender conscience, and conduct with spiritual prudence, every action thou undertakest, whether natural or civil, of mercy or of religion. To which particulars, before I descend, let me premise this principle concerning actions in general. In every one of thine actions, look that every concurrent be justifiable, that every ingredient be gracious. For instance:

1. It must be good in its own nature, and warrantable out of the Word; by which all things must be sanctified unto thee; as a good servant will venture upon nothing but what he knows will please his master. Otherwise, let the person be never so pleasing unto God, his intention never so good, his heart never so zealous, the means, circumstances, and end never so excellent, yet all is nought.

2. The object, about which the action is exercised, must be qualified according to the rules of religion. Alms-deeds are acceptable sacrifices unto God: but, amongst other cautions, the parties that are to be made partakers thereof are to be singled out with discretion.

1. The true wants of a Christian should, in the first place, draw bounty from a truly charitable heart; according to that, Gal. v. 10, "As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith." 2. In the next place, the lame, the blind, the sick, the aged, or any that God hath made poor. 3. Any whosoever, in a case of true necessity,

whatsoever the party hath been before. But now, if thou makest choice of a sturdy beggar, an idle rogue, the shame and plague of this noble kingdom; thou dost not only deprive thyself of the comfort of a charitable deed; but encouragest an execrable irreligious paganism in such lazy drones, unprofitable burdens of the earth, and intolerable caterpillars of the common-wealth.

3. Thou must also look unto the matter. For instance, the matter of thy bounty must be thine own goods, got lawfully; otherwise it will prove, in respect of Divine allowance, but an abominable sacrifice.

4. The person must be acceptable unto God; otherwise his best deeds are but beautiful abominations. Services most sacred in their own nature, as prayer, hearing the Word, receiving the sacrament, are, from the altar of his unsanctified heart, but as the *offering of swine's blood*. If thou be not justified by faith, and accepted through Christ, all thy actions, natural, civil, religious, whatsoever is within thee, or without thee,—the use of the creatures, all thy courses and ways,—are turned into sins and pollutions.

5. The heart must be sincere, else even the noblest duties of religion are nothing. The Israelites' *humiliation, seeking God, returning, and inquiring early after him*, were all but temporary and unsound, because *their heart was not upright*. "When he slew them, then they sought him; and they returned, and inquired early after God. And they remembered that God was their rock; and the high God their Redeemer. Nevertheless, they did but flatter him with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues. For their heart was not right with him," Psal. lxxviii.

6. The means must be good, otherwise, be the end never so excellent,—let there be never so exact concurrence of all other causes,—yet the glory of the action is quite darkened to the man that employs any wicked means for the achievement. Suppose that by a lie thou couldst save a man's life, his soul, the souls of all the

men upon the earth,—nay, win thereby unto God as much glory as accrues unto him by all creatures; yet for all this, on thy part, all were naught. For it is a sacred principle, sealed by truth itself, *We must do no ill that good may come.*

7. The circumstances must be seasonable. For instance: Private prayer is a precious service; but let it be seasonable for the circumstance of place, or else it may lose its sweet-smelling savour in the nostrils of God. The closet, or some retired place, is fit for this exercise; which the more secret, the more sincere. Meditation upon Divine mysteries is an excellent exercise, so it be confined to a fit time; but in the fervour of the preacher's pouring out his soul for us in prayer, it is sinful, because unseasonable. Calling to mind special passages formerly heard, or read, to press them with more life and power upon the conscience, is a right needful duty; but so to do at a sermon, or when we ought to bend our best attention to the present, is but one of Satan's devices in the glory of an angel, to rob us of the comfort of the ordinance in hand.

8. The end also must be answerable in goodness; otherwise, let the whole affair be carried never so fairly in the eyes of men, yet with God it is no better than the *cutting off a dog's neck*. Jehu did noble service, by his resolute rooting out that bloody and idolatrous house of Ahab: and yet, for all this, all his outward glorious actions were to God but as the *killing of a man*; because his eye was not upon the right end, God's glory. He principally aimed at the secure settling of the crown upon his own head, by an utter extinguishment of the king's family. If his aim had been right, his heart would have been as well set against the golden calves in Dan and Bethel, as his hand and sword against the idolatrous house of Baal.

Now I come to some particulars; and

I. First, Concerning visits. Ever before thou go out of thy doors, upon any occasion, weigh well in the

balance of holy wisdom, all circumstances, company, probability of all events and consequents on both sides; of staying at home, or going abroad; visiting this or that friend; undertaking that or the other business; and ever resolve that way which, in all likelihood, will bring most glory unto God, good unto others, and comfort unto thine own conscience. Let worldlings waste their time in those impertinent visits which have no other motive but a desire to be rid of time; no issue but temptation, and greater disability to good. But let every wisely-resolute Christian disdain to step over his threshold without a warrantable calling; aim at some probable good to come; honour to God, good unto our brethren; discharge of some duty of our calling, performance of Christian offices, of charity, humanity, mutual comforting, confirming, refreshing, and building up one another in our *most holy faith*. Otherwise he shall be in great danger of returning home far worse than when he went out; laden both with more personal guilt and accessariness to others' sins; bleeding with some fresh bruise of conscience; failing in some Christian duties; grown into a further estrangement from God; or deeper sunk into some sensual conformities with this world.

Some actions, I confess, in their own nature are indifferent; but when clothed with circumstances, are not so; but necessarily become morally good, or evil, to the doer. And therefore the assertion of Catarinus, in the council of Trent, was consonant to Scripture. "Every particular action (said he,) is good or evil; neither is there to be found any one indifferent." (He meant in the actual existence; in the general there may.) It is so also in the present point of visiting.

Although the apostle, 1 Cor. x. 27, in these words, "And ye be disposed to go," seems to intimate that it is not absolutely unlawful for a Christian, especially if invited, to visit an irreligious man; yet let none, who desires to preserve peace in his own bosom, presume hereupon to plunge himself into any unwarrantable en-

agements with worldly men. If any of God's children, therefore, at any time, be disposed to take any allowance from this place, to invite or visit enemies to the purity of religion, or power of godliness; let him cast his eye also upon those cases and cautions which may make it comfortable. They are such as these: 1. Their salvation. 2. Thy own safety.

1. For the first, be sure to propose their spiritual good as at least thy principal end. But, unless we stand stoutly upon our guard, we are far likelier to be perverted by them, than they to be converted by us. And therefore, at such times, it concerns us much to collect all the powers of our souls, with special address and resolution, to vindicate, all we can, the truth and servants of God from all censure. Let us labour to bring as much wisdom and courage to confront and countermine, as the devil's proctors cunning and malice to undermine the kingdom of Christ. It is laudable for the physicians of the body to visit sometimes such patients as are infected with contagious diseases; if they arm themselves with preservatives, to prevent and repel the noisomeness of the air and noxious vapours. So it may not prove unseasonable for spiritual physicians to be drawn sometimes, out of a desire of doing good, into the company of those who are over-run with the leprosy of sin; if they be fore-armed with prayer, premeditation, and watchfulness, to preserve their own souls from spiritual infection.

2. Secondly, as to thine own safety, see that thy heart be not conscious of slavish distrust, false fears, inattention to God's providence, reliance upon the arm of flesh; but that it approve, upon good ground, the present occasion, whether of invitation or visitation, as a means offered by God to mitigate the malice, and mollify the hearts of those who might do thee a mischief. God's children should not, out of an austere retiredness, enrage unnecessarily the too much already alienated affections of the contrarily-minded; but so far as they may, without

a wound of conscience, or imputation of spiritual cowardliness, observe them with such common offices of humanity as may keep them, if not hearty friends, yet at least moderate enemies. But at such times, and in such company, thou wilt have need to put on a great deal of courage and patience, wisdom and watchfulness; and warily decline two obvious errors and dangerous extremes, furious zeal, and faint-hearted silence.

3. Discover not such extreme weakness and baseness of mind, as to suffer the eye of thine heavenly spirit to be any whit dazzled with the glistening of outward glory, or to hunt, with fawning terror, the transitory favour of worldly greatness.

4. When thou visitest others, or thyself invitest them, take notice before-hand, with as punctual survey as thou canst, of their humours, dispositions, opinions, and behaviours, and thereupon prepare convenient and seasonable matter, whereby thou mayest apply thyself with all meekness of wisdom and patient discretion, to insinuate, argue, answer, reprove, reply, and so demean thyself in thy whole discourse, that neither the glory of God, the reputation of Christianity, or thine own conscience, may receive any wound. Would Christians hold this course, they would at such times not so often depart with spiritual discontent, and so smitten with a consciousness of their silence, omissions, cowardliness, and unprofitableness in company.

II. Concerning natural actions, as eating, drinking, sleeping, I shall not say much. For were it not that, through the depravity of nature, we infatuate our reason with sensuality and wilful blindness, every man might be a rule unto himself this way. Hence that proverb, "Every man is either a fool or a physician." Either he hath learned by experience, what seasons and proportions of such natural helps may be fittest for his constitution, or else he is most unworthy of that understanding soul which he bears in his bosom.

Concerning sleep also I have little to say: no certain

measure can be prescribed. Only let me counsel Christians to take notice, that they may surfeit and sin in sleeping, as well as in eating and drinking. That it ought only, as 'other of God's good creatures, to serve the strengthening and refreshing of our bodies; and therefore they should beware, lest the great devourer of time bereave them of that flower and first fruits of the day; I mean, many golden hours in the morning; fittest for conversing with God, for examining our spiritual state, for offering up an acceptable sacrifice of prayer and praise, buckling fast unto us the Christian armour, and preparing to hold a blessed communion with his holy Majesty all the day after. And let them often remember, when they see the sun up before them, that saying of St. Austin, "It is an uneomely thing for a Christian to have the sun-beams finding him in bed; and if the sun could speak, (saith he,) it might say, I have laboured more than thou, yesterday, and yet I am risen, and thou art still at rest."

For conclusion, let me advise with as great earnestness as I can possibly all God's children, that (as they prefer infinitely a pure heart, and that invaluable jewel, a peaceful conscience, before a world of gold,) they would watch over themselves with singular care in the use and enjoyment of things lawful. "For more (saith a worthy divine,) perish by lawful things, than by unlawful courses." Soft sands swallow up more ships than hard rocks split. Christians are in more danger of being spiritually undone by want of moderation in lawful things, than by the gross assault of foul sins.

III. Now concerning civil affairs, and dealings in the world, that thou mayest keep thine heart and hands untainted,—

I. Ever in all bargains, contracts, dealings, intercourse of any kind with others, follow that royal principle, *Do as thou wouldst be done by*. Put thyself into the place of the party with whom thou art to deal. Weigh well all the circumstances of the whole business; and

then, returning to thyself, deal out to him that measure, in every particular, which thou wouldst be willing, upon good ground, to receive at the hands of another, if thou wert in his ease. This is the sum of the law and the prophets for serving our brethren in love, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

2. Let thy desire and delight never be fixed upon any earthly thing. To instance: Of all the civil affairs subject to human deliberation, there is none more important, or of greater consequence, either for extreme vexation, or ordinary contentment, than marriage. A word or two therefore, first, of convenient entrance into,—and, secondly, comfortable enjoyment of that honourable state.

For the first, 1. Let thy choice be in the Lord, according to St. Paul's rule. Let piety be the first mover of thine affection, and then consider person, portion, and outward things only in a second place. The fear of God, as it is generally the foundation of human felicity, so must it especially be counted the ground of all comfort which man and wife desire to find in each other. There was never any gold or beauty which tied comfortably any marriage-knot. It is only the golden link of Christianity which hath power to make so dear a bond lovely and everlasting; which can season and strengthen that inseparable society with true sweetness and immortality.

2. Warm thine heart with more special repose upon the party, as one with whom thou canst comfortably consort. For the husband, all concurrents considered, ought to settle his affections upon his wife as the fittest that the world could have afforded him: and the wife should rest her heart upon her husband as the meetest for her that could have been found under the sun. By a constant intercourse of which mutual content in each other, the husband will be to the wife as "a covering of her eyes," that she lift them not up upon any man; and the wife to the husband "the pleasure of his eyes," that he may still look upon her with sober and singular delight.

Otherwise they will find but cold comfort in that commandment, Prov. v. 18, 19, "Rejoice with the wife of thy youth: let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe; and be thou ravished always with her love." Without this mutual complacency, each in the other, I doubt whether I should encourage any to proceed.

3. In going about such an important business, apply to the throne of grace with extraordinary importunity and fervency of prayer. Wrestle with God in days of more secret and solemn humiliation for a blessing; and with sincerity heartily desire him, whatsoever thy expectations may be, yet if it be not to his glory, to dash it quite. A good wife is a more immediate gift of God than any other temporal blessing. "House and riches are the inheritance of fathers; but a prudent wife is from the Lord." And therefore such a rare and precious jewel is to be sought for at God's mercy-seat with extraordinary importunity. And methinks, whatever good thing is procured at God's hand by prayer should bring with it, even in our sense and thankful acknowledgment, a thousand times more sweetness than that which is cast upon us by God's ordinary providence.

4. Let the parties deal plainly and faithfully one with the other, in respect of their bodies, souls, and outward state. I mean thus, that they should not deceive one the other by a concealment of any disease, special deformity, natural defect in body, or some secret crack in their outward state, for so they might bring a great deal of after misery. Therefore it were much better to disclose the one unto the other the material infirmities and wants, in either of their bodies or goods, though with hazard of missing the match; rather than that the one should obtain the other, with guile and after-discomfort. I said also in respect of their souls; by which I mean, that for the time of wooing only, as they call it, they should not put on a shew of religion, when in deed and truth there is no such matter. For this execrable imposture also is sometimes villanously practised, to the infinite prejudice

of the deluded party. And not only some parties are faulty this way ; but even Christian friends are often too forward, in giving testimonies.

Now I come to the second point ; a comfortable continuance in the marriage state. For the happy attainment whereof, let us take notice ; first, of some common duties, which are to be performed on both sides.

I. Lovingness : which is a keeping in exercise that habit of conjugal affection, mentioned before. It is a sweet, loving, and tender pouring out of their hearts, with much affection into each others bosom ; in all passages, carriages, and behaviours, one towards another. This mutual heart-felt love being fresh and fruitful, will infinitely sweeten and beautify the marriage state. For an uninterrupted preservation of this amiable deportment on both sides, let them consider,

1. That the wise hand of God's gracious Providence guided all the business, and brought it to pass. And he commands constancy in this loving carriage, Prov. v. 18, 19, "Rejoice with the wife of thy youth ; and be thou ravished always with her love." Methinks this charge from the Holy Ghost, being often reverently remembered, should ever banish from both their hearts, all heart-rising and bitterness, distaste, and disaffections ; all wicked wishes, that they had never met together. When the knot is once tied, every man should think his wife the fittest for him of any in the world. Otherwise, so often as he thinks he sees a better, he will wish this his choice were to make again ; and so fall off from kindness and love to his own : (and so the wife with respect to her husband) which would be a great disparagement to God's providence, and an execrable empoysoner of marriage comforts. 2. That by the power of the honourable ordinance of marriage, the two are made one ; and, therefore, they ought to be as lovingly and tenderly affected one unto the other, as they would be to their own flesh. 3. That these mutual expressions of love, are very powerful to preserve chastity and pureness in body

and spirit on both sides. It is noted of Isaac, that he loved Rebekah dearly; and this was a special preservative, that he fell not into polygamy, as many of the patriarchs did.

II. Faithfulness. 1. In respect of the marriage-bed; which they ought on both sides to keep inviolable. And it behoves all that enter into this state, to repent for all former wantonness; or else, a thousand to one, but it will break out either into a sensual, immoderate abuse of the marriage-bed; or else, into a lustful hankering after the strange woman. 2. In respect of domestic affairs, and the business of the family; the care and burthen whereof is common to them both. 3. In the concealment of each others secrets. It is a monstrous treachery to publish one anothers frailties, or any thing, which in hope of keeping counsel, they have communicated one to another.

III. Patience, which is as precious and needful a duty as I can possibly recommend for comfortable conversing together. For a most constant exercise whercof; consider, 1. That two angels are not met together, but a son and daughter of Adam. And, therefore, they must look for infirmities, frailties, imperfections, passions, and provocations on both sides. 2. That it is a charge given to all, "That the sun must not go down upon their wrath:" Much more to man and wife. 3. That there never did, nor ever will come any good by the falling out of man and wife. Well may they thereby become a by-word to their neighbours, table-talk to the country, troublers of their own house, and as a continual dropping one unto another: but they will never gain by their mutual hastiness, passions, and impatience. Proportionable mischiefs and miseries happen in the marriage-state, by falling out, bitterness, and angry reservedness between the parties.

This grace then will be of excellent use, and must be exercised many ways: 1. In bearing with the wants and weaknesses, infirmities and deformities of each other. And let the man (for the woman is the weaker vessel) remember

for this purpose, how many faults, frailties, and falls, and how many times Christ pardons his spouse, the church. And he ought to love his wife, as Christ doth the church.

2. About cross accidents in the family, losses in their outward state, and going backward of business, they must not lay the fault one upon another, to the breaking out into choler or impatience; but both join with blessed Job, in sweet and meek submission to God's pleasure.

3. In waiting for the conversion of one another, if either prove unconverted. In which case, be patient, pray, and expect God's time. Or, if the one be but a babe in Christ, deal fairly, lovingly, and meekly.

IV. A holy care and conscience to preserve between themselves, (for there is a conjugal, as well as virginal chastity,) the marriage-bed undefiled, and in all honour and Christian purity. It ought by no means to be stained with sensual excesses, wanton speeches, foolish dalliance, and other incentives of lust, which marriage should quench, not inflame. Even in wedlock, intemperate and unbridled lust, intemperance and excess is deemed, both by ancient and modern divines, no better than plain adultery before God. Two ancient fathers, Ambrose and Austin, speak thus: "What is the intemperate man in marriage, but his wife's adulterer?" The resolution of the rest sound to the same sense. "As a man may be a wicked drunkard with his own drink; and a glutton, by excessive devouring of his own meat; so likewise, one may be unclean in the immoderate use of the marriage-bed." Even popish casuists discover and detest exorbitancies of married couples, in their matrimonial meetings. (But read such passages with much modesty and judgment.) Nay, hear what a philosopher saith of the point: "In the private acquaintance and use of marriage, there must be moderation; that is, a religious band; for the pleasure that is therein, must be mingled with some severity. It must be a wise and conscionable delight. A man must touch his wife discretely, and for honesty," &c. Another thus: "Marriage is a religious and devout band; and that

is the reason, why the pleasure a man hath of it, should be a moderate, stayed, and serious pleasure, and mixed with severity. It ought to be a delight conscientious and circumspect. We may conceive, what moderate, reverent, and honourable thoughts antiquity entertained of the marriage state, and conjugal chastity, by Euanistus's words, *Epist. 1. ad omnes Epis. Aphri.* "Let new-married couples," saith he, "for two or three days ply prayer, — that they may have good children, and please the Lord in their marriage duties." Now all intemperate pollutions of the marriage-bed, though magistrates meddle not with them, because they lie without the walk of human censure; yet assuredly God's pure eye cannot look upon them; but without repentance will certainly plague them.

In the next place, let us take a view of duties peculiar to each.

I. To the husband: First, Let him behave himself as a head to the body, 1 Cor. xi. 3, Ephes. v. 23.

1. The head is, as it were, the glory of the body: so let the husband shew himself in a kind of eminency, and authority over the wife. For procuring and preserving which, let the husband be manly, grave, worthy; not light, vain, contemptible. Let him not be bitter, wayward, passionate. Let him not be vicious. A disordered life in the man, doth much abate the wife's reverence unto him.

2. The head is the seat of understanding and wisdom: out of which consideration, let the husband stir up and enlarge his spirit, to comprehend all affairs, provisions, and worthy usages which may any ways promote his wife's happiness. It is his necessary charge, with special care, to provide for her soul, body, comfort, and credit; and with all meekness and love, to instruct and inform her in all parts of her duty.

3. The husband, by the benefit of a more manly body, tempered with a natural fitness for the soul to work more nobly in; doth, or ought to exceed the wife in understand-

ing, and dexterity to manage business. Yet, let him know, that his wife hath as noble a soul as himself. "Souls have no sexes," as Ambrose saith. In the better part they are both men. Let the husband then be so far from insulting over, or undervaluing his wife's worth, for the weakness of her sex; that out of consideration that her soul is naturally every way as good as his own, (only the excellency of its native operations, something damped by the frailty of that weaker body, with which God's wise providence hath clothed it upon purpose, for a more convenient, but ingenuous serviceableness to his good;) he should labour the more to treat her with all tenderness and honour, to recompence, as it were, her suffering for his sake.

Secondly, Let him dwell with her according to knowledge, 1 Peter iii. 7

1. By a timely acquainting himself with her disposition, affections, passions, imperfections; let him apply himself in a fair and loving manner, to rectify all he can, and to bear the rest; still waiting upon God by prayer, for a more full redress and conformity. One of the rankest roots of distaste in the marriage-state, is the neglect of observing this; of taking the right measure of each other, on purpose, that with mutual forbearance, they may support each other in love. Memorable is that speech, which a reverend man received from a husband. Being asked, How such a choleric couple could so agree together? "Thus," said he, "when her fit is upon her, I yield to her as Abraham did to Sarah; and when my fit is upon me, she yields to me: and so we never strive together, but asunder."

2. By a discreet, and patient managing business abroad, and family affairs; without that anxiety and distrust of God's providence; without that clamour and confusion, with which worldings are wont to trouble their own houses. It is incredible to consider the vast and invaluable difference between the comforts, calmness, and sweet content of an household, governed by the patient

wisdom of an heavenly-minded man, and the endless brawlings and disorders which haunt that family, where a choleric, worldly husband domineers.

3. But, above all, by leading his wife in the way of life. This is the flower of his skill. For want of this wisdom, many a poor soul lies bleeding unto eternal death, under the bloody hand of an ignorant, profane, or pharisaical husband; who, perhaps, has knowledge enough to thrive in the world; but no understanding to teach one foot of the way to heaven; "Wise to do evil," as the Prophet speaks, Jer. iv. 22; "But to do good, having no knowledge at all." No heart to pray with her, to instruct and encourage her in the great mystery and practice of godliness; to keep the Sabbath holy, and days of humiliation; to read the Scriptures, repeat sermons, and confer of good things with her; from which he is so far, that, although it be the strongest bar to keep her from grace, and the bloody cut-throat of both their souls, he will needs persuade himself that all this is too much preciseness. And yet hear Chrysostom: "Let them both go to church; and afterward at home let the husband require of the wife, and the wife of the husband, those things which were then spoken and read." And in the same sermon: "Teach her," said he, "the fear of God, and all things will flow in abundantly, as out of a fountain; and thy house will be replenished with innumerable good things."

4. By a constant care for the salvation of their children and servants. Every husband and head of a family, is, as it were, a priest in his own house; and, therefore, if he take not a course to catechise them, pray with them, prepare them for the sacraments, and to bring them up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," Ephes. vi. 4; to restrain them, all he can, from ill company, and the corruptions of the time: let him know, that those sins they run into by his neglect, are set upon his score, and he must dearly answer for them at that great and last day. Nay, let me further tell him, those his children and

servants, who by his omissions have perished in their sins, will curse him for ever amongst the fiends in hell. They will follow thee up and down in that ever-burning lake, with hideous outcries : crying out continually, “ Woe unto us, that ever we served such a wretched master, that had no care to save us out of these fiery torments ! ” Even thine own dear children in this case, will yell in thine ears world without end ; crying, “ Alas ! that ever we were born of such accursed parents, who had not the grace to train us up in the paths of godliness ! Had they done so, we might have lived in the endless joys of heaven ; whereas now, we must lie in these everlasting flames. ”

II. To the wife. First, Let her be in subjection to her head.

1. By a reverent persuasion of his preecedy and authority over her, grounded in her by virtue of the divine ordination, Gen. iii. 16, Ephes. v. 24. For if her heart begin to be lifted up, so that she grow impatient of contradiction and command, she brings a world of misery into her own house, and lies in a grievous sin against the institution and honour of the marriage-state. No sufficiency of gifts must justle us out of that rank, whercin God’s wise providence hath placcd us. No plea on the woman’s part, can procure a dispensation against God and nature, of deposing her head.

2. By a hearty and cheerful submission : 1. To all his lawful directions : for her personal behaviour and carriage ; that it may be fashioned with an ingenuous and loving accommodation of herself, to do him all the honour, and give him all the content she can ; for ordering and disposing her children, servants, and other domestic affairs, (whercin, notwithstanding there are some things more proper to her sex, in which, except she be graceless, and strangely weak, it will be dishonourable for him to be too meddling). But, above all, for guiding her aright in all the glorious paths of Christianity ; that after their communion in spiritual blessings, which only can sweeten the

bitterness of this vale of tears, they may for ever be crowned together in heaven. 2. To all his reasonable and religious restraints ; not only from wicked customs, but for the abridging, or abandoning of her ease, will, desires, delights, this or that company. For the spouse, for Christ's sake, doth deny herself, her own reason, and wisdom, her passions, pleasures and profits, her ease and liberty. And the wife is charged by blessed St. Paul, to be subject to her husband, as the church is to Christ, Ephes. v. 24. 3. To all his admonitions, counsels, reproofs, commands, even in every thing, only in the Lord. In a word, she ought, like a true looking-glass, faithfully to return to her husband's heart, the exact lineaments of of all his honest desires, and demands ; and that without discontent, thwarting, or sourness. For her subjection in this kind, should be as to Christ, sincere, hearty, and free.

Secondly, Let her be an helper, Gen. ii. 18 ; and do him good all the days of her life, upon all times ; upon all occasions, in all estates ; of adversity or prosperity ; sickness or health ; youth or old age. Her helpfulness to her husband must be universal ; apprehending with all readiness and love, all opportunities to do him any good in soul or body, name or estate. In a special manner, she must learn, and labour with all meekness of wisdom, to forecast, and manage, as her proper and particular charge, household affairs, and business within door. For which, see a glorious pattern, Prov. xxxi.

But, above all, let her be assistant to him, in erecting and establishing Christ's glorious kingdom, both in their own hearts, and in their house. This is that one necessary thing, without which their family is but Satan's seminary, and a nursery for hell. And, therefore, let her be so far from drawing a contrary way, (a dreadful sin of some wicked wives,) or dead-heartedness, which is the grave of all spiritual graces, that in case of negligence and slackness, she should labour by all wise, modest, and seasonable insinuations, to quicken her husband to con-

stancy, and fervency in religious exercises ; of prayer, reading, catechising, conference, days of humiliation, and other household, holy duties. As the two greater lights of heaven do govern this great world with their natural, so let the husband and wife guide the little world of their family, with the spiritual light of Divine knowledge and discretion. When the sun is present in our firmament, the moon doth veil her splendour ; but when he is departed, she shews herself, and shines as a princess amongst the lesser lights. When the husband is at home, let the wife only, if need be, serve, as a loving remembrancer to him to keep his turns and times of enlightening the ignorant, darkly and earthly hearts of their people ; but in his absence comes her course, when her graces of knowledge and prayer ought to shew themselves, and shine upon them, to preserve them from coldness, and that dreadful curse which hangs over the heads of those families that know not God, and shall certainly fall upon those that call not on his name.

For conclusion of the point, and crowning of the marriage-state with sound and lasting comfort, let the man and wife jointly labour to sweeten and sanctify both common and several duties each to other, with constant meeting together in prayer. Consider that passage in Ambrose : “ You must both,” speaking of the married couples, “ rise in the night to prayer, and God is to be entreated of you with joint supplications.” “ Continually,” saith Chrysostom, “ teach her profitable things, and pray together.”

If besides family-prayers, wherein the more general affairs of the household are to be commended unto God, the man and wife make conscience also of this more private duty between themselves, wherein many particulars are to be petitioned, only proper to that near society ; I say, if they set themselves unto it with sincerity of heart, it may, by God’s blessing, prove a sovereign antidote against any root of bitterness, heart-rising, dissension, or discontent betwixt them ; (wrath and ill-will

towards any, doth utterly damp the power of prayer, much more towards one tied unto them with so many dear bonds ; so that prayer together will make them leave jarring, or jarring will make them leave praying,) against all immodesties, dishonours, and defilements of the marriage-bed ; against weariness, and light esteem one of another ; against plunging themselves insensibly into the gulf of worldly-mindedness. This private morning and evening sacrifice, offered to the throne of grace with heartiness and life, will spiritualize their love, and renew it daily upon their hearts, with fresh, ardent, and heavenly embracements. It will marvellously sweeten all reproaches cast upon them by envenomed tongues ; when they shall come together in private, and beg Christian fortitude to take them, in submission to his will, and conformity to his Son, as so many crowns of glory to their heads, and of joy unto their hearts. Acts v. 41, 1 Pet. iv. 14, Job xxxi. 36. It will sweetly seal unto them, in the mean time, their assurance of meeting together in heaven. And when the stroke of death shall divorce them for a time, a consciousness of their former blessed communion in prayer ; will not only serve as a counter-poison against all immoderate grief ; but crown their hearts at parting, (which is a precious thing,) with incomparably more true, inward contentment, than if they had hoarded together all the wealth of the world.

Thus much for our civil affairs.

V. Now concerning works of mercy, which, springing from an heart melting with a sense of God's mercy to itself, quickened with a lively faith in the Lord Jesus, and shining with saving graces, are an " odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God," Phil. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 16. There are two sorts of them ; 1. Spiritual : 2. Corporal.

1. Spiritual flow from the fountain of truest mercy, and greatest tenderness ; even to relieve the poverty, wants, and miseries of the soul : 1. By instructing the ignorant, Prov. x. 21, and xv. 7. 2. By giving counsel

to them that need, or seek it, Exod. xviii. 19, Ruth iii. 1, &c. 3. By reducing the erroneous, Exod. xxiii. 4. 4. By labouring for the conversion of others, Psa. li. 13, Luke xxii. 32. 5. By exhorting one another, Heb. iii. 13. 6. By reproving the offender, Levit. xix. 17. 7. By admonishing them that be disorderly, 1 Thess. v. 14. 8. By considering one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works, Heb. x. 24. 9. By comforting the heavy heart, and afflicted spirit, 1 Thess. v. 14. 10. By forgiving from the heart our brethren their trespasses, Matt. viii. 35. 11. By chastising delinquents, Prov. xxii. 15. 12. By raising those which are fallen with much meekness and tenderness, Gal. vi. 1. 13. By mutual encouragements in the way to heaven, Mal. iii. 16. 14. By supporting weak Christians, 1 Thess. v. 11. 15. By patience towards all men, 1 Thess. v. 14. 16. By praying one for another, Jam. v. 16.

2. Corporal works of mercy spring from a compassionate heart, yearning over the temporal wants and necessities of our brethren; whereby we are stirred up, as occasion is offered, according to our ability, to succour their outward distresses, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to entertain the stranger, to visit the sick, and go to those that are in prison, Matt. xxv. 35. To put to an helping hand for raising our brethren fallen into decay, Levit. xxv. 35. To lend, hoping for nothing again, Luke vi. 35. Thus Christians ought to be ready to distribute, willing to communicate in all kinds to men's outward necessities also: 1. First, Of those of the household of faith, Gal. vi. 10. 2. Of the lame, the blind, the sick, the aged, or any that God hath made poor. 3. Of any, in a case of true necessity, whatsoever the party hath been before.

Now of these two kinds, fathers, schoolmen, casuists, all concur, that spiritual alms, *cæteris paribus*, are more excellent than corporal. Because, 1. The gift is more noble in its own nature. 2. The object more illustrious; man's immortal soul. 3. The charity more heavenly,

which aims at our brother's endless salvation. Let then every Christian constantly endeavour to improve to the utmost all his abilities, learning, discretion: all his skill in the Word, and ways of God; all his experience in temptations, cases of conscience, spiritual distempers; his spirit of counsel, comfort, courage, or what other gift or grace soever he is endowed with; to procure and promote by all means, the eternal salvation of others.

Let the saving light of thy Divine knowledge resemble that bountiful light in the body of the sun. That 1. Enlighteneth that goodly creature wherein it originally dwells. 2. Illuminates, and beautifies all the orbs and heavenly bodies about it. 3. By the projection of his beams, begets all the beauty, glory, sweetness, we have here below on the earth. 4. Insinuates into the earth and concurs to the making of those precious metals, which lye in her bowels. 5. Whose beams glide by the sides of the earth, and enlighten even the opposite side of heaven. 6. Is so communicative, that it strikes through the firmament in the transparent parts, and seeks to bestow its brightness and beauty, even beyond the heavens; and never restrains the free communication of its influence and glory, until it terminate by natural and necessary expiration.

Even so proportionably, let the light of Divine knowledge be still working, shining, spreading to do all possible good. 1. Let it make thine own soul all glorious within, fairly enlighten it with an humble self-knowledge, with purity, peace, and spiritual prudence, to guide constantly thine own feet. 2. Let it shine upon thy family, and those that are next about thee, with all seasonable instructions convincing them of the truth, and goodness of the ways of God. 3. Let it be employed upon thy neighbours, kindred, friends, acquaintance, visitants of all sorts; to warm their hearts all thou canst with heavenly talk, and to win their love to the life of grace. 4. Let it insinuate also amongst strangers, and into other companies, upon which any warrantable calling shall cast

thee. 5. Nay, let it offer itself with all meekness of wisdom, and patient disposition, even to opposers; and labour to conquer, if it be possible, the contrary-minded; if their scornful carriage and visible hate against the *mystery of Christ*, hath not set a brand of dogs and swine upon them. 6. Lastly, when upon all occasions, in all companies, by all means, it hath done all the good it can, yet let it still retain that constant property of all heavenly graces, an edge and eagerness to do more. And in this way now may the poorest Christians be plentiful in works of mercy, and enrich the richest with spiritual alms. Which, in the mean time, may comfort the bountiful hearts of those, to whom the Lord, out of his best wisdom, hath denied this earthly dross.

But yet for all this, I would have you know, that I know none, not the poorest, exempted from seasonably ministering to the corporal necessities also of their brethren. We have a precept from blessed Paul, Eph. iv. 28, "That we must work with our hands, that we may have to give to him that needeth:" and a noble precedent in the poor widow, who cast her two mites into the treasury, which was "all she had, even all her living." And if any here make a counterplea of their poverty, I would know if there be any who is not able to give a cup of cold water? and yet this from a sincere heart, shall be both graciously accepted, and certainly rewarded.

And therefore, in the second place, I infinitely desire and entreat, (and this is that which I would specially persuade with deepest impression,) that every one who hath given his name unto Christ, rich or poor, according to his power, would, with singular care, address himself to a fruitful, affectionate, and constant discharge of this much-honoured duty of alms-giving.

1. For we are obliged to abound in this grace also, 2 Cor. viii. 7 There is no true Christian, but desires to be exact in all commanded duties every day. Therefore upon thy secret survey of the day past, call thyself to a strict account; as for others, so concerning this duty

also, of doing good *unto all men*; (for the discharge of this duty, ought also to be daily; if thy ability will bear, and the necessities of the poor shall require: “In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand. Give a portion to seven, and also to eight,” Eccles. xi. 6, 2,) and let the consciousness of any omission, neglect, or sloth in performing it, humble thy soul, and quicken thy heart with new life of resolution, and a more lively endeavour to mend every morning; and perfume, as it were, thine every day’s walking with God, with this sweet-smelling sacrifice of bounty and love, Phil. iv. 18. Let this duty likewise fall within the compass of thy severe search, in all thy more solemn self-examinations. It is a profitable consideration, that a customary neglect of one Christian duty, may damp the performance of all the rest. For example: A willing omission of private prayer, or reading the Word of God every day, may intercept and restrain the sweet influence of God’s refreshing mercy, and the fructifying beams of his countenance from thine heart, in the use of all the other ordinances. Disemployment of any one grace in the soul, may blast the comfort of all the rest. For example: If thou suffer thy patience to sleep, when thy passions begin to break in upon thee; no marvel, if thou find a faintness also to seize upon thy faith, brotherly kindness, love, zeal, joy, and peace in believing. Why then, when thou feelest thine inward man begin to languish; amongst other inquisitions, why dost thou not also, out of a godly jealousy, labour to find out, whether the neglect of relieving the poor members of Christ may occasion thy spiritual damp? It is the property of every true-hearted Nathanael, as to have respect to all God’s commandments; so, though they cannot in perfection and height, yet with truth and sincere endeavour, to have respect to all the ordinances; to the performance of all holy duties, and exercise of all spiritual graces in their seasons.

2. But above all other motives of mercifulness to the

poor, methinks that argument should melt the most flinty heart: "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." Shall the only Son of the all-powerful and ever-blessed Lord, and King of heaven and earth, disrobe his heavenly highness of that majesty above, and become so poor, that whereas "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; yet he not have where to lay his head:" that through his poverty, and pouring out his heart's blood, he might crown us with the inestimable riches of heavenly glory? And shall not we worms part with our superfluities, to relieve the fainting soul of him for whom Christ died, and which he would take as done unto himself, Matt. xxv. 40, were it but a cup of cold water? Mark ix. 41. Monstrous, unthankful cruelty! meriting the fiercest flames in the dungeon of fire and brimstone.

3. The everlasting doom, at that great and dreadful day, must pass upon us according to our carriage in this kind. Then shall there be a severe inquiry made after works, as the signs and outward demonstrations of faith. That glorious sentence, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," shall be pronounced upon the godly, according to the effects and fruits of their faith, to teach what faith to trust unto; even that which works by love; and at that day, to let all the world see, angels, men, and devils, that the kingdom of heaven is given only to true-hearted, working believers. And there is singled out, with special choice, one of the worthiest effects of faith, and noblest fruits of grace, even the point I now press; an open-hearted, real, fruitful bounty and love to God's people. How deeply then doth it concern every Christian, to practise that most gainful art of alms-giving, which shall be so highly honoured at that great day, before that glorious, universal presence; when every merciless man shall cry to that rock, this mountain, to fall upon him, and hide him from the wrath of that just God, which will

flame unquenchably and everlastingly against all those, who in this life have shut up their bowels of pity against the poor.

4. If thou lay out to the poor cheerfully, seasonably, liberally, according to thy ability, thou shalt become creditor even to thy Creator. "He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given, will he pay him again," Prov. xix. 17. And in the mean time, for re-payment in due time, thou hast security infinitely above all exception, a bill under his own hand, even his own blessed book; wherein to fail, were to forfeit his Deity, if I may so speak. Now, what an inflaming motive is this to be merciful; that we shall make God himself our debtor, the ever-springing fountain of bliss, and Lord of all goodness, who doth all things like himself, omnipotently, bountifully, above all expectation, as becomes the mighty Sovereign of heaven and earth? If he work, he makes a world. If he be angry, he drowns the whole face of the earth. If he love, the heart's blood of his dearest Son is not too dear. If he stand upon his people's side, he makes the sun to stand still, and the stars to fight. If he repay, he gives his own all-sufficient self, with the over-flowing torrents of all pleasures and glory through all eternity.

In the third place, take notice of the order of those objects, upon which thy Christian love is to be directed. The catalogue of them runneth thus, as I conceive. In the first place stands thyself; then thy wife; then thy parents; then thy children and family; then the household of faith; then thy natural kindred sprung lately from the same progenitors; then thy nearest neighbours and common friends; then thy countrymen; then strangers; then thine enemies. For as thou wouldst be holden a *child of the Highest*, thou must love thine enemies, and relieve them too, Prov. xxv. 21, Rom. xii. 20.

But art thou indeed a child of the Highest? To put this beyond all dispute; a Christian runs over in his mind, with an humble ravishing commemoration, the heavenly

footsteps, and mighty works of the Holy Ghost in his conversion ; special watchfulness over his ways ; sincere heartedness, holy strictness, and sanctified singularities in his conversation ; which, as they are peculiar to God's people, so are they mysteries to the best unregenerate man ; and that thus, or in the like manner : " Blessed be God," saith he within himself, " that the holy ministry of the Word, guided particularly by the finger of God, seized upon me, while I did yet abide in the armies of darkness, and the devil's snares, a polluted, abominable wretch ; and effectually exercised its saving power upon my soul, both by the workings of the law, and of the gospel. It was first as an hammer to my heart, and broke it in pieces. By a terrible cutting, piercing power, it struck a shaking into the very centre of my soul by this double effect. 1. It first opened the book of my conscience, wherein I read with a most heavy heart, ready to fall asunder, even like drops of water, the execrable abominations of my youth ; the innumerable swarms of lewd and lawless thoughts, that all my life long had stained mine inward parts ; the continual wicked talking of my tongue ; the cursed profanation of God's blessed sabbaths, sacraments, and all the means of salvation I ever meddled with. In a word, all the hells, and sodoms of lusts and sin, of vanities and villanies I had remorselessly wallowed in ever since I was born, I say, I looked upon all these, engraven by God's angry hand upon the face of my conscience, in bloody and burning lines. 2. Whereupon in a second place, it opened unto me the armoury of God's flaming wrath and fiery indignations ; nay, and the very mouth of hell, ready to empty themselves upon mine amazed and guilty soul.

" In these restless perplexities, while his wrath, who is *a consuming fire*, was wringing my very heart-strings with unspeakable anguish, Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, was lifted up unto me in the gospel, as the brazen serpent in the wilderness. In whom, dying and bleeding upon the cross, I beheld an infinite treasury of mercy and

love; a boundless and bottomless sea of tender-heartedness; a whole heaven of peace and spiritual pleasures. Whereupon there sprung up in my heart, an extreme thirst, ardent desires, vehement longings after that sovereign saving blood, which alone could ease my grieved soul, and turn my foulest sins into the whitest snow. So that had I had the pleasure, profits, joys, and glory of many worlds, willingly would I have parted with them all. And had I had a thousand lives, freely would I have laid them all down; nay, with all my heart would I have been content to have lain for a season in the very flames of hell, to have had my spiritual thirst a little cooled, but with one drop of Christ's precious blood; the darkness and desolation of my heart refreshed and revived, but with the least glimpse of God's favourable countenance. The eagerness of which inflamed affections, made me cast about with infinite care how to compass it. Then came into my mind, (the Holy Spirit being my remembrancer,) those many compassionate invitations, more warming and welcome to my heavy heart, than many golden worlds, Matt. xi. 28, Rev. xxi. 6, John vii. 37, Isa. lv. 1, lvii. 15, 16, Ezek. xviii. 30, 31, 32, xxxiii. 11. So that at last, (Oh blessed work of faith!) resting my sinking soul upon *the rock of eternity*, and the impregnable truth of these promises, sealed with the blood of the Lord Jesus, and as sure as God himself, I threw myself into the arms of my crucified Lord; with this reply to all terrors and temptations: 'If I must needs be cast away, they shall tear me from the tender bowels of God's compassions, upon which I have cast myself. If they will have me to hell, they shall hale me from the bleeding wounds of my blessed Redeemer, to which my soul is fled.' Whereupon I felt, (and I bless God infinitely, that ever it was so,) derived upon me from my blessed Jesus, the well-spring of immortality and life, a quickening influence of his mighty Spirit, and heavenly vigour of saving grace, whereby I became a new man, quite changed, new created. By this vital moving of the Spirit of Christ upon

the face of my soul, all things became new ; mine heart, affections, words, actions, delights, desires, sorrows, society.

“ And I am sure my change is sound and saving ; for it is not, 1. A mere moral change from notoriousness to civility, and no further. 2. Nor a formal change only, which adds to moral honesty, outward profession, and outside conformity to the ordinances of religion, and no more. 3. Not merely mental ; the understanding only being enlightened with Divine knowledge ; having some flashes of joy swimming in the brain, but not rooted in the heart. 4. Nor temporary only, whereby a man discontinues the outward practice, perhaps of all gross sins for a time ; out of terror, or for some other bye-end ; but falls again upon his former vomit, and wallows in the mire with more resolution than before. 5. Nor partial ; where there may be an outward reformation in most things ; but the bosom-sin is retained still ; which cannot possibly consist with a truly religious and regenerate state. I say, my change, (I magnify and adore the free love of God for it,) was not only moral, formal, mental, temporary, or partial, but universal. My teachers have told me, that every true change is of the whole man ; from the whole service of Satan to the living God, in sincere obedience to his whole law, in the whole course of our lives. That it is differenced from all partial, insufficient, hollow, half-conversions.”

1. By integrity of change ; I mean, in all parts and powers of spirit, soul, and body ; in the understanding, judgment, memory, conscience ; in the will, affections, desires, thoughts ; in the eyes, ears, tongue, hands, feet. For even as they were instruments to sin before, employed for Satan ; so now they are instruments of righteousness unto God. A child new-born, hath all the parts of a man, though not the perfection of his growth ; so a new-born babe in Christ is throughly and universally changed ; though not yet a perfect man in Christ.

2. By sincerity of change ; as well in heart, as in life

‘ O Jerusalem,’ saith the prophet, ‘ wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved : how long shall thy vain thoughts lodge within thee ?’ No external privileges of religion, though never so glorious ; no exactness of the work wrought ; no forms of devotion ; no outward behaviour, be it never so blameless ; no cost in the service of God, will serve the turn, without sincerity of heart. ‘ Though a man should come before the Lord with thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers of oil : should he give his first-born for his transgression ; the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul : should he bestow all his goods to feed the poor, and give his body to be burned :’ were he able to comprehend the whole Book of God, with the largeness of his understanding : should he eat and drink up at the Lord’s table, all the sanctified bread and wine : were he plunged over head and ears in the water of baptism : nay, if it were possible, washed outwardly from top to toe, in the precious blood of Christ ; yet all this were utterly unavailable, without uprightness of heart, and purity in the inwards parts.

3. By spiritual growth. Spiritual stuntings there may be, and standings at a stay for a time. But as good corn being refreshed after a drought with a good ground-shower, springs up faster, and more freshly ; so it is with the sound-hearted Christian, after a damp in grace. For being roused out of such a state by the quickening voice of a piercing ministry ; the cutting sting of an heavy cross, or some other special hand of God, he lays hold upon the kingdom of Christ with more holy violence than before, and labours afterward, by the help of God, to repair his former spiritual decay, with double diligence, in watchfulness, zeal, and heavenly-mindedness. Progress in Christianity is resembled to the thriving of a child ; which may fall into sickness ; but it many times proves a growing ague : to a man in a race, who may stumble and fall ; but after his rising takes surer footing, and runs faster : to the ascending of the sun towards mid-day, which may be overcast with a cloud ; but after

he hath recovered a clear sky, shines more brightly and sweetly.

4. By self-denial. He that would soundly comfort his conscience with the true testimony of a true convert, must, at the first giving his name to Christ, sound with a sincere heart, that fundamental principle, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself." As soon as he resigns up himself to this royal service, he must presently make over all his interest in liberty, life, all earthly pleasures and treasures, without any reservation, or he will certainly faint in the day of battle. The necessity of this is intimated unto us in two parables, Luke xiv. 28, 31. A man that will build, must count the cost beforehand, and make sure of means to defray the charge; otherwise to begin, and not be able to make an end, were but to lay a ground-work of disgrace. A prince, who would make war, must first have a true trial of his own, and dexterity to discover his enemy's strength; otherwise he must not bid him battle. He that seriously sets himself to seek God, and to save his soul, must cast up his reckonings beforehand, what will be required at his hands, and consult with his own heart, whether he is willing to forego all such hopes, pleasures, preferments, worldly comforts, as are incompatible with a good conscience; and to endure all those troubles and indignities from the angry world, which ordinarily are wont to crown the heads of Christ's soldiers. He must resolve to digest the hate and opposition of dearest friends, nearest kindred; the railings and reproaches of men most abject and contemptible. He must be content to become *the drunkard's song*; table-talk to those that sit in the gate; and the bye-word of the basest men, *viler than the earth*. In a word, he must prefer his Saviour, his truth, cause, and service, infinitely before the whole world. Such a change is there in the regenerate man; "and such a change," (the reader must be able to say,) "blessed be my merciful God, there is in me."

"Now, besides my blessed change, and this glorious

work of the Holy Ghost upon my soul; by the help of God, I have thus *denied myself* ever since I was new born. I have ever since made conscience of shunning all sin, and performing all holy duties. I have had respect to all God's commandments and ordinances. I have loved my blessed Lord, and all things that belong unto him; his titles, attributes, creatures, works of justice and mercy; his Word, sacraments, sabbaths, ministers, services, children, presence, corrections, coming. I have since delighted in the saints, *the only excellent ones upon earth*, whom I hated before. I have daily, with as great earnestness as my dull heart could, complained, and cried unto God in prayer against my many failings, frailties, and imperfections. I have rid mine hands of all that consuming pelf, which any way crept into mine estate, by wrongful means in the days of mine iniquity. (For scarce any man in the state of nature, but deals falsely in one kind or other.) I have desired and endeavoured to adorn my profession, as well with works of justice, mercy, and truth, as by the outward acts of piety. 'Herein I have exercised myself to have always a good conscience, void of offence toward God and toward man.' And in all these passages and particulars, both of my conversion and conversation, had I only reposed upon the outward act, and rested in the work wrought, I had utterly fainted in the day of adversity. But truth of heart was the touchstone, and sincerity is the sinew of all my assurance and comfort this way.

"I have been, I confess, sore against my will, haunted, and hindered in passing through the pangs of my new-birth, and managing my Christian businesses, with the insinuating mixture of many imperfections, distractions, temptations, weaknesses, privy pride, secret hypocrisy, distrusts, and deadness of my own naughty heart. I was much wanting, by reason of the rebellion of mine hard heart, to those workings of the law and gospel, mentioned before. I have come far short of that sorrow for sin, which I desired, and of that heavenly-mindedness which

was required. But I have, from time to time, groaned under those frailties and defects, as under a heavy burden. I have many a time bitterly bewailed them in secret. They have made me walk more humbly before my God, and towards men. I have complained heartily against them at the throne of grace. I have sincerely endeavoured after all those means which might mortify them, and made conscience to discover and decline their unwelcome insinuations, and so I have gone on still in the *holy path*, with sincerity of heart; still upholding mine heart with a consideration of the merciful disposition of my heavenly Father; who, if the heart be upright, ‘accepts us according to that which we have, and not according to that which we have not.’ And therefore I am most sure, that they are buried in the righteous and meritorious blood of my blessed Saviour. And so I hold up my head still against all contradiction of carnal reason, and satan’s suggestions; being well assured, that hearty humiliation, and grieving under weakness in well-doing, is as true a fruit of sanctification, as spiritual ability to do well. It is not so much the quantity, as the truth of grace; not the exactness of the outward act of performing holy duties, as sincerity of heart, which qualifies a broken heart for comfort in the promises of life. Though I know well, there was never any who truly tasted grace, but he sincerely thirsted and endeavoured after more; and never did any man well in the service of God, who did not bewail his wants, and truly desire to do better.”

Neither is this all. The true Christian hath yet more immediate and demonstrative evidence to strengthen his heart in the assurance of God’s love unto him, through Christ. For a sanctified man may be assured of his spiritual safety, and sound state to God-wards, divers ways: as, 1. By the evidence of internal vision. “We have received,” saith the apostle, “not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given us of God:” (that is to say, say the papists, “Christ’s incarnation, passion, presence

in the sacrament, and the incomprehensible joys of heaven.”) But it is clear, that the apostle here speaks of all the gifts that are given us of God. This is the comparison: as a man’s spirit teacheth him to know all his thoughts that are in him; so also the Spirit of God teacheth the believers to know all that God hath given them. He doth not say, that we know God’s gifts; but that we know the gifts that God hath given unto us. By a secret irradiation of the spirit of faith, the sanctified soul is ascertained of its personal and particular dependence, and reliance upon the promises of life, and God’s mercies through Christ, by which it knows it hath eternal life, John iii. 36. *As certainly as he that hath a corporal eye knoweth that he sees, so certainly he that is illuminated with the light of faith knows that he believes.* The glorious splendour of such an heavenly jewel cannot but shew itself, and shine clearly to the heart wherein it dwells. Like a bright lamp set up in the soul, it doth not only manifest other things; but also itself appeareth by its own light. When I see and rely upon a man promising me this, or that, I know I see, and rely upon him. Shall I by faith behold my blessed Redeemer, lifted up as the brazen serpent, for the everlasting cure of my wounded conscience, and rest upon him, and yet not know that I do so?

Hear how clear learned Austin is on this head. “Our faith,” saith he, “is conspicuous to our own mind. Faith itself is seen in the mind, although that which is believed by faith is invisible. A man holds his faith by most certain knowledge, and plain attestation of conscience. Every man sees his faith in himself.” Even Durandus, taking upon him to expound one of those passages in the fore-cited place of Austin, tells us, “That he that hath faith, is as certain that he hath it, as he is of any other thing: for he that believes, feels that he believes; and there is nothing more certain than experience.” Vegacs’s words also, in the Council of Trent, sound this way, “As he that is hot is sure he is so, and should want

sense if he doubted, so he that hath grace in him, doth perceive it."

But if these things be so, how comes it to pass that God's children complain sometimes, that they have not this sight? Ans. I speak of that which is ordinary, not always. The sun in a clear sky discovers itself, though sometimes it be overcast with clouds. This heavenly lamp of faith shews itself clearly in the serenity of the soul; especially freshly cleared, and purged with showers, as it were of penitent tears; though in the darkness of strong temptation, it may lie obscured for a time. And yet for all this, if Christians would believe the prophets; if they would not under-value God's infinite mercy, by looking upon him through a slavish dejected humour, which is wont to represent him as terrible, fierce, and inexorable; (whereas he is indeed ever most compassionate, tender-hearted, and melting over the bleeding miseries of a truly broken heart,) I say, if they would conceive aright of that bottomless depth of his free love, they might, even in times of temptations and spiritual afflictions, sweetly uphold their hearts with assurance of adherence, though for the present they want the assurance of evidence. For instance: many a faithful soul, making conscience of shunning all sin, sincerely following the best things, resolved without reservation to do or suffer any thing for Christ, would give a world to be sensibly assured of God's favour, and fully persuaded that his sins are pardoned. For want whereof, he slavishly languishes upon the rack of tormenting fears. In the mean time his heart doth cleave unto Christ, as the surest rock. He cries, and longs after him, and would not part with him for all the world. He would rather have his body rent from his soul, than his soul separated from his Saviour. Ask his resolution, and, notwithstanding all his fears and sorrows, he will tell you, that he will rely upon his Lord, and ever-blessed Redeemer, let him do with him as he pleases; he will trust in him, though he kill him. Now the consciousness even of this

sincere adherence unto Christ, and those exceeding precious promises, sealed with his blood, ought to comfort him infinitely more, than if he had the crown of the whole world set upon his head.

Therefore, when in time of temptation thou art affrighted with scruples and distractions about thy spiritual well-being, do not in any wise advise with carnal reason, which is stark blind in the mystery of Christ; much less with that evil one, who is a sworn enemy to thy soul, and the father of lies: but fly “to the word, and to the testimony.” Let thy trembling heart cleave to the impregnable truth of those sweetest promises, Matt. xi. 28, Rev. xxi. 6, John vii. 37, Isaiah lv. 1, &c. And commit thy soul unto Christ, as a faithful Redeemer, and thine everlasting strength. Apply the promises of the gospel to thyself, in form of an experimental syllogism, thus: whosoever believes and repents is a child of God: but I believe and repent, therefore I am a child of God.

The first proposition is clear and evident in the very letter, and by the immediate sense of Scripture. See John iii. 36, Acts x. 43, and xiii. 39, &c. And suppose it should be objected to you: but how do you know the minor or second proposition to be certainly so? You may answer, 1. By the certainty of internal vision, whereby I as clearly see my faith as my life, will, thought, and knowledge. Faith is as visible to the internal eye of a sanctified mind, as is a man’s life and will. Nay, and we are wont to discern with a more eager eye and observation a stranger, than an ordinary domestic. Our life and will are inbred; faith is adventitious. 2. By the testimony of a renewed conscience, which is as a thousand witnesses. Now had I a thousand honest witnesses at the bar before an upright judge, to prove my cause, and justify my right against the perjuries of a knight of the post, I would little doubt to get the day. It is proportionably so in this present point; I mean, between my regenerate conscience and satan. Nay, in this case,

should all the devils in hell swear the contrary, yet, by the merey of God, I will not withstand that heavenly light standing in my conscience like an armed man. *I will never take away mine innocency from myself, until I die.*

But many, say they, believe, and are deceived; thinking they have that which they have not; how then can a man be certain? I answer, thousands amongst us, by the false spectacles of presumption, make the bridge of God's mercy broader than it is, and larger than his truth, which confines it only to broken hearts; but must therefore those few who are sincerely humbled, truly believe, and upon good ground have a part in it, be also deceived? Because men asleep know not well that they are asleep; must therefore men truly waking, not know certainly they are awake? The common people generally conceive of the sun's magnitude, that it is not past a foot round; must therefore the certainty of knowledge, that it is many times larger than the earth, be denied to the skilful astronomer? Some men dream that they are rich, and it is not so when they awake; doth no man therefore certainly know, whether he be rich or not? Conceive proportionably of repentance, an inseparable companion of true faith, which is then saving, when it is serious, sincere, and without hypocrisy; and that may be manifest and clearly discernible to the heart that hath it. Do you think the sincerity of the Ninevites' repentance was not certain unto them? "We have received the Spirit of God, (saith Paul,) that we might know the things that are freely given us of God." I say, savingness of repentance, as of faith, consists not in the measure, but in the sincerity and truth of it; of which the true penitent may be certain, as well as of his sorrow. But the popish doctors being blind guides, lead their hoodwinked followers into such perplexed mazes of uncertainties, that it is no marvel they plead pertinaciously for the point, and purgatory of doubting.

3. A man may know that he has faith by the effects and fruits thereof. And supposing it be objected, there may be in the hypocrite, an exact, outward conformity: I answer, true it is, that for the carcass, as it were, the works of unsanctified men may be like to those of the godly; but they are without the soul, which is in the work of a true believer; to which he is no less privy in his heart, than to the outward work which passes through his hands. And we hold, that works done in uprightness of heart only, are they which testify in this case. Let every true-hearted Nathanael then comfortably conclude pardon and peace unto his own soul, from all such fruits so qualified. To instance in one: "We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren," 1 John iii. 14. I love the brethren: therefore I am translated from death to life. Here, perhaps, some one might ask, but is it possible for a man to know that he loves the brethren as the apostle requires? Without all doubt. For St. John makes it a sign of our being so translated; therefore it may be known: for signs manifesting other things, must themselves be more manifest. And Austin tells us, that "A man knows more the love with which he loves, than his brother whom he loves." Thus may the Christian infallibly collect, that saving grace dwells in his heart, by all inward and outward fruits springing from an upright heart. All such sound fruits of faith are evident signs and demonstrations of our spiritual safety. "If ye do these things, (says Peter,) ye shall never fall."

When we, by these means, have assured our souls that we are the children of God, which is the testimony of our own spirits, the Spirit of God, as another witness, secondeth and confirmeth this assurance, by Divine inspiration, and by sweet motions and feelings of God's special goodness, and glorious saving presence; and so, according to the apostle's phrase, Rom. viii. 16, "Beareth witness with our spirits." Wherefore, if any man pre-

tend to have this witness, and yet want the testimony of his conscience to the same purpose; the testimony of universal obedience; of not living in any *one* known sin; of crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts; I can give none but this cold comfort: he is miserably deceived by the devil's counterfeit glory of an angel, casting into his abused imagination, such groundless conceits, which, in time of trial, will vanish into nothing.

But though this last manner of assurance be more immediately from the Spirit; yet the others are not effectual upon the heart, without the excitation, illumination, and assistance of the same blessed Spirit. For the first, consider this fore-cited Scripture, "We have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God," 1 Cor. ii. 12. For the second; when the conscience, through the ministry of the law, testifies to a man, his state in sin, and under the curse, it is through the spirit of bondage that it doth testify; then when it doth testify to him his state of grace, and freedom from the curse, it is much rather from the Spirit of adoption. "No man can say, that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." For the third, I doubt not, that the blessed Spirit, as a comfortable remembrancer, refreshed Hezekiah's memory, when he cried to the Lord, "Remember now, O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight," Isaiah xxxviii. 3.

But how shall a man discern the true testimony of the Spirit, from a groundless delusion? If that arch-casuist, Bellarmin, ask me, I will easily stop his mouth: I. By demanding how his St. Francis, and St. Anthony, knew assuredly, that their revelations of the certain remission of their sins, were from the Spirit of God, especially, since with him, they were revelations quite besides and without the word? For he holds, that this proposition, **Francis** is truly justified; **Anthony** hath his sins forgiven;

and so of other particular men, is not to be found in the word, either immediately, or by evident consequence ; which we, upon good ground, contradict, if the particular men be true believers. 2. By that saying of St. Ambrose, urged by Catarinus in the council of Trent, “The Holy Ghost doth never speak unto us, but he makes us know, that it is he that speaketh.”

But if doubtful Christians, troubled about it, would be informed in the point, I advise that they should consider these following marks of difference :

1. A sound persuasion by the Spirit, is ever answerable exactly to the word. The inward testimony of the Spirit, and outward testimony of the word, answer each other, as face to face in water. And therefore, if thy present state, wherein thou conceivest thyself to be safe, be condemned by God’s Word, thy confidence is vain. The Scripture tells us, “That whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin,” 1 John iii. 9. If then thou allow any lust in thy heart, or practise any *one* known sin, and yet fancy thou hast this witness, the devil cozens thee. For the true testimony of the Spirit ever holds correspondence to the Word, and is infallibly grounded thereupon.

But how is it possible, that a man should be certain of that by the Word, which is not contained in the Word ? For Bellarmin affirms, that this particular proposition, *such, or such a man is justified*, is not contained in the Word of God, either immediately, or by good consequence. I answer, It is deduced by evident consequence out of the Word. For, from such general propositions as these, “He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life,” John iii. 36 ; “Whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins,” Acts x. 43 ; “And by him all that believe, are justified from all things,” &c. Acts xiii. 39, &c. follow by good consequence these particulars ; Paul, Peter, Luther, Bradford, or any other particular man believing in him, receives remission of sins ; is justified ; hath eternal life. Even as it followeth directly and infallibly, every man is a reasonable creature ; therefore

John or Thomas is endued with reason. Though no word saith expressly and immediately, thou Thomas believing shalt be saved; yet the same Word which saith, Every one believing, hath eternal life, saith also, Thou Thomas believing, hast eternal life, or shalt be saved. As, on the contrary, this universal declaration, "He that believeth not on the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him," includeth, consequently, and as infallibly, as though they were written in it, these particulars: Judas, Bellarmin, or Bonner, not believing, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him. Otherwise, if the general did not thus include every particuar, the law, "Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour," would not belong to Fawkes blowing up the parliament; to this or that priest polluting himself in hearing confession; to Bellarmin lying voluminously; because it is no where expressly written, Thou Bellarmin shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour: thou Shaveling, beware of self-pollution: thou Fawkes shalt not tear in peeces the royal limbs of the Lord's anointed.

If John or Thomas, believing, be not bound to be assured of his salvation out of the general promise, except it were said in Scripture, That Thomas or John by name should be saved, it would follow, that these particuar men were not bound to be honest men, or to fear God, because it is no where said in the Word, that Thomas or John ought to be honest men, or are commanded to fear God, but only in the general. In a word, let the Jesuit tell me, whether out of the Word he be infallibly certain that his body shall rise again at the last day. He dare not deny it. And I pray you, Bellarmin, tell me, where it is expressly said in Scripture, that the body of Robert Bellarmin shall rise again at the last day? All particuar infallible assurance, in this kind, springs out of the general promise, that *all shall rise*, 1 Cor. xv.

2. That heart which doth sweetly enjoy the paradise of a true testimony, and well-grounded persuasion, presently lives the life of grace and immortality; is sincerely inflamed with a reverent love, and insatiable longing after the Word preached and read, prayer, singing of psalms, meditation, conference, vows, days of humiliation, use of good books, godly company, all God's ordinances, and good means appointed and sanctified for our spiritual good. Because, through them, as so many golden conduits, those gracious operations of the Holy Ghost are continued unto it; and in the use of them are wont to be breathed into it, such heavenly refreshings as the joy of the whole world cannot possibly equal.

3. The real testimony of the Spirit, is a most rare jewel, which doth infinitely out-weigh in worth any rock of diamond; and therefore is infinitely envied, and assaulted mightily on all sides. It is continually hunted like a partridge on the mountains by natural distrust, and all the powers of darkness. There is not a wicked spirit, but is transported with implacable indignation against that heaven upon earth; and therefore rages and roars about thee still, to rob thee of such an heavenly gem. Besides the two main aims of all the malice of those apostate angels, the dishonour of God, and the discomfort of men's souls: in this point they are peculiarly enraged; to see a mortal man, a child of Adam, crowned, even in this life, with an earnest of the "inheritance of the saints in light," and of those blessed mansions, whereof by their apostasy and pride they have everlastingly deprived themselves. And they employ their agents, enemies to the grace of God, and thine own fearful heart, to charge falsely upon thee, hypocrisy and delusion; lest that *white stone*, given thee by the Holy Ghost, (the splendour and sweetness whercof none knoweth, but he that hath it,) should fairly shine in thy sad soul with that comfort, with which it both may and ought to shine. Whereupon it must needs follow,

that if thy assurance be true, it will be often exercised with varieties of temptations, satan's fiery darts, injected scruples, contradictions of flesh and blood, cavils of carnal reason, which will necessarily drive thee to cry mightily to God, and complain against all this hellish ordnance. On the contrary; the presumptuous confidence lies in the Pharisee's bosom with much quietness and security; without doubting, difficulty, contradiction, or any such ado. The reason is, his carnal heart is well enough content; because it still feeds upon his darling sin, without disturbance. And satan is too subtle to interpose. For he well knoweth that his hope of heaven is but a golden dream; and therefore in policy he holds his peace, that he may hold him the faster.

Take notice by the way, that the very thing which makes many a true Christian doubt of himself, and of his spiritual state, should put him out of doubt, even often exercise with temptations, multiplied attempts against his faith, prayed against, humbly resisted, and opposed with cleaving unto the tender-heartedness of Christ, and the truth of his promises. And that very thing, upon which the deluded ones build, and many times boast themselves, (to wit, that they are untroubled, untempted, in point of faith, and pretended assurance;) may return an infallible remonstrance to their own consciences, that they are certainly deceived. For doubtless, that faith which is never assaulted with doubting, is but a fancy. Assuredly, that assurance which is ever secure, is but a dream. Many a Pharisee stands by the bed-side of the sincere professor, visited with affliction of conscience, and many heavy temptations, secretly pleasing himself in the unblessed calmness of a groundless confidence, and in his freedom from such terrors and spiritual troubles: whereas himself is like an ox fattening in the green pastures of impunity, for the day of slaughter. But the afflicted party is as precious gold, purifying in the Lord's refining furnace, that he may afterward come out and shine more gloriously.

4. In that heart to which the Spirit of God testifies, "Thou art my child," the same Spirit creates many strong cries, and unutterable groanings. The testimony of the Spirit is ever attended with the spirit of prayer. That glorious glimpse shining into the soul, and assuring it of the love of God, is so sweet, so heavenly, so ravishing, that it warms the spirit of a man with quickening life, to pour out itself before the throne of grace: sometimes in more hearty, triumphant, and as it were, winged prayers: at other times, in those which are more faint and cold, yet edged with strong desires that they were more fervent, and therefore, mingled and perfumed with the incense in the golden censer, which the Angel of the Covenant holds in his hand, are graciously accepted of him, who, by a title of highest honour, is styled the *Hearer of Prayer*: or at least, with inexpressible groans and inward wrestlings, for preservation, recovery, and enlargement of that same comfortable assurance itself, and of all other holy graces and fruits of the Spirit, purity of heart, conquest over corruption, nearer communion with God, spiritual-mindedness, and such other heavenly guests. But, on the other side, every deluded pharisee is as a mere stranger to the power of prayer. His confidence is but a weed which will grow of its own accord; and therefore is not sensible of any necessity, neither feels any want of constant prayer for a broken heart, universal obedience, or the holy preciseness of the saints to support it.

5. A true assurance of God's love doth quicken and spur forward the ingenuous Christian to more holiness, hatred of sin, resolution in good causes, watchfulness over his heart, walking with God. "Having these promises, (saith he,) let me cleanse myself from all filthiness of the flesh and the spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." Having this hope, I will labour to purify myself, "even as he is pure." To let the principal motive pass, it is impossible but that the consciousness, that God's free love, through Christ, hath freed us from

an eternity of torments, (one hour wherein is infinitely more terrible than all the tortures that all mankind have, do, or shall endure on earth, from the creation to the end of the world,) and interested us in an eternity of joys, (one hour wherein doth incomparably surpass all the delights of this wide world, were they collected into one :) I say, it cannot be, but that such an assurance should stir up the blessed soul to do or suffer any thing for Christ's sake. But the groundless confidence, being in truth but a fancy, must needs be powerless, fruitless, and inactive ; and makes the deluded rather secure, careless, and presumptuous.

6. The blessed Spirit is wont to spring up in our hearts, with his sweetest testimony, at such times as these : when we retire to converse with God in a more solemn and solitary manner ; opening our consciences, disclosing our hearts, and pouring out our souls into his bosom : when we are preparedly and fruitfully exercised in the ordinances ; in our innocent, patient sufferings for conscience sake : when we feel we have conquered or curbed some corruption, by the power of prayer : in the believing contemplation and revise of our change, and the infallible marks thereof. But that other counterfeit flash keeps a deluded pharisee in a fool's paradise continually. He is ordinarily at all times alike peremptory in the point of assurance. You shall not take him without it any week in the year, any day in the week, any hour in the day.

7 The presumption of the pharisee is ordinarily at the height, in his height of outward prosperity. But the persuasion of the Christian is for the most part then strongest, when the world most froweth ; and in the heat of persecution.

8. Those that are deluded with a groundless confidence, have ordinarily been so ever since they can remember, and that without consciousness of any conversion, or supernatural work upon their souls. But the testimony of the Spirit is never felt before conversion ; nor ever to

be found but in a regenerate soul. I doubt not but many Christians, to their singular comfort, can tell the experience of both: their bold peremptory presumption in their unregenerate time, and their now true persuasion, so much envied by satan.

9. The Laodicean longs more for gold than growth in grace; thinks himself already rich enough in religion. But the Christian, having truly tasted of the assurance of God's love, is infinitely greedy of growing in grace, of conquering corruptions, of enjoying nearer communion with Christ, of doing God all the service he can, before he go hence, and be seen no more. His performances, by the grace of God, are many, his endeavours more, but his desires endless; and ever unsatisfied with his degree of well-doing, his present pitch of grace and measure of obedience.

Thus, having premised a discovery of spiritual self-deceit, I come now to forewarn the true Christian that, with all watchfulness and constancy, he should ever labour to prevent and defeat the assaults of that white devil, (as a worthy divine calls it,) spiritual pride. When the strong man can no longer keep goodness out of the soul, but the Holy Ghost, with a merciful violence, breaks in upon him and dwells there, his next endeavour is to abuse even grace itself, as an unhappy instrument to weaken and wound itself; nay, so subtle is he, and endless in his attempts, that if he cannot make a man proud of any thing else, he will labour to make him proud that he is not proud, *and to glory vainly because he is not vain-glorious*. When therefore thou beginnest to admire thyself, cast thine eyes,

1. Upon the purity and piercing of God's all-seeing eye, which sees sin to be infinitely more sinful and loathsome than thou canst possibly do; whereby his holy justice is incensed with infinite indignation and unquenchable severity against it. Witness the turning into devils so many glorious creatures, shining once so fairly in the highest heaven; the curse which fell upon Adam

and all his posterity, for eating the forbidden fruit; the confusions which came upon the first world by the flood; the burning of Sodom with fire and brimstone from heaven; the horrors of a guilty enraged conscience, which is a hell upon earth, and damnation above ground; the everlasting fire which is prepared for reprobate men and angels. Neither doth this brightest eye only see all thy sins in their native foulness, but also in their truest number. Thou, perhaps, beholdest them as stars in a gloomy evening; but he sees them as stars in the clearest winter's night. Methinks this meditation should rather make thee grow into further detestation of sin, than admiration of thyself.

2. Look upon the clear crystal of God's law, which can discover unto thee the least spot that ever stained one of thy thoughts; which shines with that perfect light that it would guide aright every step which thou takest; and is of that breadth for prohibition of sin, and leading to purity and exact pleasing of God; that though "we may see an end of all perfection, yet it is exceeding broad." And therefore, though such as hate to be reformed are drawn to a particular survey of themselves and all their ways in this pure crystal, even as a bear to the stake, yet let it be thy delight, who art blessed with an impregnable protection, by the blood and merit of Jesus Christ, from the curse of the law, to observe thyself exactly by this heavenly looking-glass, for the discovery of thy defects and aberrations, and to dive, with searching and serious meditation, into this adored depth of perfection and purity, to see how far thou comest short. And then thou shalt find infinitely more cause to press hard towards the mark, than proudly to prize any thing that is past. Only I advise, when thou settest thyself thus solemnly to rip up thy conscience, and ransack thy heart to the root, to bring it down into the dust, for increase of humiliation and lowliness in thine own eyes; as thou holdest in the one hand the clear crystal of God's pure law, to discover thy vile disposition, and the daily spots and stains which

light upon thy soul ; so hold in the other hand, or rather lay hold on Christ Jesus by the hand of faith, hanging, bleeding, and dying upon the cross for those very sins ; that thereby thou mayest utterly quench all satan's fiery darts, drawing towards despair ; nay, preserve thy spirit in peace against the least distrustful intrusion of any slavish terror.

3. Thou must shortly be made strictly accountable at the just tribunal of God, for the use and employment of all the good things he hath given thee ; of thy life, and every moment of it ; of thy goods, and every farthing's worth of them ; of every word thou ever spokest ; of every thought that ever sprung out of thy heart ; of every sermon thou ever heardest ; of every Sabbath thou hast solemnized ; of every line thou hast written ; of every journey thou hast taken ; of thy wit, memory, learning, strength, courage, credit, honour, power, and high place. In a word, of every benefit, or any good thing, in any kind, thou ever receivedst from the bountiful hand of Almighty God. And the more, and more excellent endowments and gracious indulgencies have been vouchsafed thee, the more exactly must thou be answerable ; and in proportion accountable for more. Wherefore, since the graces of salvation incomparably excel all human abilities, all excellencies of nature, art, policy, learning, or what else can be named admirable in the eyes of men,—God looks that we should keep those jewels especially bright and shining ; communicate them most frankly and abundantly to our brethren ; and with all watchfulness and wisdom, upon all opportunities, employ them to our Master's glory. Now there is nothing that more hinders the improvement of them than pride : nothing makes them more profitable than humility.

A proud man doth ordinarily, out of an ambitious humour, single out such seasons for discovery of himself, and ostentation of his gifts, when he may win most applause from men, and thereupon is very rare and reserved in exercising his talent. But a downright humble

Christian is unreservedly and indifferently for all places, times, and persons ; where, and when he may bring glory unto God, good unto others, and comfort to his own soul. He dares not, either out of humour, or for fear he should make himself too cheap, conceal any thing in his heart, were it the highest strain of his heavenly skill, or any experimental secret in the *mystery of Christ*, from the meanest Christian, could he wisely and seasonably do him any spiritual good. Let us therefore infinitely abhor by pride to stain the glory and blast the fruitfulness of our graces ; but rather, with all humility and watchfulness, observe and apprehend all the graces, occasions and callings, whereby we may glorify God most with them, and improve them best for the Lord's advantage ; that so we may give up our account at the great audit with more favour, and enter more comfortably into our Master's joy.

Thus much concerning the first extreme in managing our spiritual estate, to wit, a proud, over-prizing our own graces. I come now to the second, which is, a dejected under-valuing of God's mercies, the promises of life and grace which we possess. Let those that hate to be reformed hang down their heads. Let Belshazzar's countenance be changed ; " let his thoughts trouble him ; let the joints of his loins be loosed, and his knees smite one against another." Let the hearts of all, who live in any beloved sin, tremble " as the leaves of the forest that are shaken with the wind ;" but let those who have given their names to Christ in truth, and are sincere in his service, upon whose heads everlasting light doth rest, lift up their heads. Let the amiable aspect of sweetness and peace ever dwell upon their foreheads. Let heavenly beams of spiritual light shine in their faces. Let never uncomfortable damp of any slavish sadness, or touch of hellish terror, vex their hearts. Let them never more be afraid of any evil tidings, or of destruction when it cometh. In a word, let them be infinitely and for ever glad at the very heart. And they have good cause. It is

the charge and command of the Spirit; "Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous, and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart," Psal. xxxii. 11.

Oh! that I might be vouchsafed the honour of being an humble instrument to quicken the drooping spirits of all that are true of heart! that they would arise and shake themselves from the dust, and put on their beautiful garments! that they would, with a resolution never to be shaken by all the powers of hell, banish out of their souls all unnecessary scruples, dejections, sad thoughts, and heaviness of heart! that they would bear and behave themselves as heirs of heaven, as the favourites of the King of kings! So should they infinitely more honour the sweetness of God's merciful disposition; the dearness of his love; the tenderness of his compassionate bowels; the bottomless mystery of his free grace; the preciousness and truth of his promises; the invaluable-ness of his Son's blood; the pleasantness of the ways of grace; and the glorious work of the Holy Ghost upon their own souls! Let them ever keep fresh in their minds, for this purpose, such considerations as these:—

1. True joy, the most noble, sweet, and amiable affection that ever warmed the heart of man, is only proper to honest, humble, and holy hearts. Such cabinets are only fit for this heavenly jewel. The beauty and deliciousness of it are confined only to the communion of saints, the *sealed fountain*, the spouse of Christ. It never did, nor ever will, shine upon the world, or to any earthly heart. But shall not a true-hearted Nathanael, to whom Jesus Christ hath bequeathed a legacy of peace, rejoice evermore? Who, which way soever he looks, if he open his eyes of faith, shall see nothing but matter of sweetest contemplation; infinite cause of truest joy. If he look backward upon the time, whilst he yet lay under the tyranny of the devil, and dominion of the first death, he shall see the catalogue of all his former sins, should it be as black as hell, as foul as Sodom, as red as scarlet, fairly, and for ever washed away in that "fountain.

opened for sin and for uncleanness," even the precious blood of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ. If he look upon his present state, he shall find himself preserved as a jewel most safe in the precious cabinet of God's dearest providence; environed with a glorious guard of mighty angels; kept "by the power of God through faith unto salvation." If he look forward, he shall see death indeed; but the sting taken out of it by the death of Christ; so that he may lie down in the grave as in a bed of down, fenced with the omnipotent arm of God till the resurrection.

2. Every Christian, after his new creation, hath incomparably more matter of mirth than mourning; infinitely greater cause to be ravished with spiritual joy, than to be dejected by grief. Though this may seem a paradox to worldly wisdom, yet it is a true principle in the mystery of Christ. For in the right estimate and valuation, all the afflictions of this life, whether of soul, body, outward state, or any way, are but dust in the balance, in respect of that "exceeding, eternal weight of glory," purchased and prepared for him by the blood of his dearest Lord. Whereupon, saith the apostle, in another place, "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." Whence it followeth, that even a fore-conception of the inconceivable happiness to be had hereafter, is able to hold up the Christian's heart, and to refresh it with a secret, unutterable gladness, even amidst variety and extremity of all worldly troubles.

3. It is a constant mark of every regenerate man, to make conscience of all God's commandments, Psal. cxix. 6. Now the Holy Ghost doth not only, in several places, charge us to rejoice, but is very earnest in this point. "Let the saints (saith he,) be joyful with glory," Psal. cxlix. 5. "Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee," Psal. xl. 16. "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous," Psal. xxxiii. 1. "Rejoice evermore," 1 Thess. v. 16.

“Rejoice in the Lord always; and again I say, rejoice,” Phil. iv. 4. “Let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy,” Psal. v. 11. “Let the righteous be glad: let them rejoice before God; yea, let them exceedingly rejoice,” Psal. lxxviii. 3. “Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous, and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart,” Psal. xxxii. 11. It is not an indifferent thing, as some may suppose, to rejoice, or to be sad: but a comfortable commandment is sweetly enforced upon us, by the Fountain of all comfort, “to rejoice;” and we break a commandment, if we rejoice not. And therefore we are bound in conscience to shake ourselves from the dust, to pluck up our spirits, to expostulate with our hearts, if they grow heavy, as David did: “Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me?” For we must answer as well for not rejoicing, as for not praying: for breaking this commandment, “Rejoice evermore,” as that other, “Thou shalt not kill.” But lest you should be mistaken in the nature of this spiritual joy, understand that it is a delicious motion of the mind, stirred up by the Holy Ghost, from the presence and possession of Christ Jesus, our Sovereign Good, dwelling in the soul by faith; whereby the heart is extraordinarily refreshed with a sweet, holy, and unspeakable delight.

4. What canst thou think upon, or what can possibly befall thee, out of which thou mayest not collect matter of comfort? For, 1, if thou survey the graces, with which the free mercy of God hath glorified thy soul, thou shalt see in them a sacred sun-shine, which is able to disperse the blackest clouds of temporal troubles. Thou shalt find in them an immortal vigour, that will most certainly uphold thy spirit at thy dying hour, and before that last dreadful bar; when all impenitent wretches shall roar like wild bulls in a net, full of the terrors of God; and call upon the hills and rocks to hide them from his unquenchable wrath.

Again, 2, if thou look upon thine outward state, upon

thy wife, children, friends, health, goods, good name, orchards, gardens, possessions, or whatsoever thou hast attained, or dost enjoy with a good conscience,—thou art bound to rejoice in them, as temporal tokens of God's eternal love; encouragements to act more nobly in his glorious service; but in such order, that as thy clothes first receive heat from thy body, before they can comfortably warm it, so some inward joy of reconciliation to the Creator must first warm thine heart, before thou canst take kindly comfort from the creatures.

Moreover, 3, concerning crosses, afflictions, troubles, and persecutions, which present themselves to the apprehensions of carnal men with much horror, even in the extremity of them, if thou cast the eye of thy soul upon such places and promises as these, 1 Cor. x. 13, Heb. xiii. 5, Rom. viii. 28, Heb. xii. 6, 2 Cor. iv. 17, Isai. lxiii. 9, and xliii. 2, thou mayest, by the marvellous work of faith, draw a great deal of joy from them. A fruitful exercise under God's visiting hand, is an infallible demonstration that thou art a *son*. And is there not more sweetness in those afflictions, which are evident marks thou art in a right way to heaven, than in worldly pleasures, which clearly remonstrate to thy conscience that thou art posting towards hell? Hence it was that the apostles "rejoiced (being beaten,) that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus:" that Paul and Silas sang in prison at midnight: that Ignatius cried, "Let fire, racks, pullics, yea, all the torments of hell, come on me, so I may win Christ."

Nay, 4, even contempt, reproaches, and scorn, crown thy head, and should fill thy heart with abundance of joy. "If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye, (saith Peter,) for the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you," 1 Pet. iv. 14. "Blessed are ye, (saith Christ himself,) when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice, and be exceeding glad," Matt. v. 11, 12. Scurrilities and scoffs, all spiteful

speeches, odious nick-names, lying imputations east upon thee by tongues which cut like a sharp razor, are in their due estimate, and true account, as so many honourable badges of thy standing on the Lord's side ; and at the throne of Christ will be certainly reputed as characters of special honour.

And, 5. If thou well weigh even the sorest sorrow, and the very bleeding of thy heart for sin, it should be so far from damping thy spirit, that it ought to open unto thee a well-spring of purest joy. For the penitent melting of our affections, and mourning over him whom we have pierced with our sins, argues infallibly, and sweetly assures us of the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. Such tears as burst out of a heart oppressed with grief for sin, are like an April shower, which, though it wet a little, yet it begets a great deal of sweetness in the herbs, flowers, and fruits of the earth. Even in such mourning, the heart of the true penitent is comfortable. For habitual joy may not only consist with actual sorrow, but even actual joy with actual sorrow. This is no strange thing. When we see a good man persecuted for a good cause, and stand to it nobly, we grieve for his troubles, but rejoice in his resolution. As we ought to grieve bitterly for our sins ; so let us rejoice for such ingenuous grieving. Let us lament heartily over him, whom we have wounded with our sins ; but let us also be infinitely glad, that they are pardoned by the pouring out of his blood.

Lastly. If thou be troubled with temptations, yea, with a variety of them, hear the Holy Ghost, " Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations." To let other particulars pass. From the very foulest and most grisly suggestions of satan, thou mayest collect this common, glorious comfort, that thou art none of his. The more restlessly he follows thee with the fury and variety of his temptations ; the more sweetly (if thou wilt give way to the counsel of the prophets, and the work of faith) mayest thou repose thy wearied soul upon the comfortable assurance of being certainly God's.

These things being so sure, let every Christian be entreated, nay, charged in the name of Jesus Christ, by the blessed Spirit, the fountain of all comfort, as he will answer it at the glorious throne of mercy, that he henceforth resolutely cast out of his conscience, sprinkled with the blood of the Lamb, those intruding tyrants; only natural lords over natural men: I mean, all uncomfortable pensiveness, dejection, and fear. Leaving these to the guilty consciences of satan's slaves, let him with holy violence, lay hold upon his just inheritance, purchased for him by the bitter and painful sufferings of the Son of God. Even floods of joy shall be showered down from the throne of grace upon his heart; if he will but open the door by the hand of faith, that the blessed beams of such light and comfort, shining from the face of Christ, may come in. Let all oppositions from man or devil, or fearful distrust, be but as so many proud and swelling waves, dashing against a mighty rock, which the more boisterously they beat upon it, the more they are broken, and turned into a vain foam.

But thou must learn, in order hereto, 1. To put a difference between nullity of grace, and imperfection of grace. Many desire that their hearts were broken in pieces for their sins; grieving much that they can grieve no more. But yet because they feel not that measure of anguish of heart in lamenting their former life, as they desire; because they cannot now pray as fervently and feelingly as they, perhaps, were formerly wont; in a word, because they are yet but as smoking flax and bruised reeds, not full shining lamps, and strong pillars in the house of God, they will needs have all to be nothing. It is a special point, then, of spiritual wisdom, to discern weakness of grace from want of grace.

2. Learn not to weaken thy own graces, by casting thine eye too dejectedly upon other Christians' perfections. Let it not fare with thee, as it doth with one gazing upon the sun; who, looking downwards again, can see nothing; whereas before he clearly discerned all colours about him.

Look upon them for imitation and quickening, not for slavish dejection.

3. Expect that heavenly graces, while we inhabit these earthly houses, will ebb and flow, by reason of the combat between the flesh and the Spirit. So that if a man should tell me, that he hath ever prayed alike, without temptation or damps, without any sense at any time of deadness ; that he hath ever believed alike, without doubts and scruples ; I durst confidently reply, that he never either prayed acceptably, or believed savingly.

4. Believe the Spirit of Truth, the Word of God, and voice of Christ, before the father of lies, and suggestions of flesh and blood. Then all the mists of thy spiritual miseries will be quickly dispersed. It is a mighty work to get any softness at all, and remorse for sin into the heart of man ; yet, for all that, when this is once begun, it is often too forward to feed upon tears still, and too wilful in refusing to be comforted. But what saith Christ ? “Come unto me, thus weary and heavy laden with thy sin, and I will refresh thee.” Believe the sweet voice of Christ Jesus, rather than the murdering sophistry of satan. Yea, but saith the tempter, thy heart hath been so hardened in sin, that there is no hope nor possibility. But what saith the Word ? “Seek him that maketh the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow into the morning.” He can easily change the midnight of thy present misery, into the glorious mid-day of sweetest peace. Yea, but saith he, thou hast lain long, had much counsel, and been under the hands of many spiritual physicians, and yet no comfort comes. And what then ? Hear what the the Spirit of Truth tells us ; “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,” Isa. lxiv. 4. Waiting patiently for the Lord’s coming to comfort us, either in temporal or spiritual distresses, is a right pleasing duty, and service unto God,

which he is wont to crown with multiplied and overflowing refreshings, when he comes.

These cautions premised, let us examine some complaints which are wont to arise in troubled consciences, out of ignorance of the merciful ways of God, and the mystery of his free love through Christ. And to begin with the first cries of a Christian in the pangs of his new birth.

1. A poor soul, having wallowed long in sin, is now struck through by the sword of the Spirit, and his heart broken into pieces by the hammer of the law. In this depth of heaviest distress, he casts his eyes upon Jesus Christ, lifted up for his everlasting cure. The messengers of God charge him in his name, who was anointed by the Lord for that purpose, to turn his legal terrors into joy ; to put on beauty for ashes ; the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Oh ! says he, out of the deep sense of his bottomless vileness, "The news is too good to be true, that the blessed Son of God, and all the precious purchases of his invaluable passion, should belong unto me, the sinfullest wretch that the earth bears. Whereupon he refuses comfort, and chooses rather to sink again under the horrors of guiltiness and fear. Here he forgets himself in a distrustful undervaluing God's incomprehensible greatness, and almighty mercy. He should consider not so much what is fit for us to receive, as for so great a God to bestow. If we once bring hearts bruised and broken with the burden of our sins, bleeding and weeping, unto his mercy-seat, he will think all the meritorious sufferings of his Son, all the promises in his book, all the comforts of his Spirit, all the pleasures in his kingdom, little enough for us. If we look upon ourselves, sinful wretches, we might justly fear the lowest dungeon in hell ; but he loves us freely. It is his pleasure to give us a kingdom. "Fear not, little flock," saith Christ, "for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." If it be the good pleasure of the King of kings, to bestow a kingdom upon

a truly humbled soul, which he makes, in the mean time, his royal throne here upon earth ; what can man or devil, or any distrustful heart say against it ? And why shouldst thou, being such an one, be so unthankful ; nay, so unnecessarily cruel to thine own heavy heart, as not to open the everlasting door of thy soul by the key of faith, to let the King of glory, knocking with his hand of mercy, come in, and crown it with grace and glory, with comfort and everlasting peace ?

2. But, alas ! (says he) my sins are more than any man's ; so that I cannot, I dare not think upon, or look towards any comfort. Let them be what they are, and add thereunto all the sins which have, are, and shall be committed by all the sons and daughters of Adam, from the creation to the end of the world, (excepting the sin against the Holy Ghost,) and yet in an heart humbled under them, hating them all, coming with a spiritual hunger at Christ's call ; they can make no more resistance against the mercies of God, than a little spark of fire against the mighty sea. For all these sins would still be finite both in nature and in number ; but God's mercies are infinite. Now between that which is finite and that which is infinite, there is no proportion, and so no possibility of resistance. Whence it is, that the prophet inviting the people to repentance, Isai. lv. 7, assures them of God's merciful and gracious disposition ; and lest any fearful spirit should think thus Be it so ; yet alas ! my sins are so many, that I can expect no mercy : God himself doth there purposely prevent the objection, and replies, " My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways ; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." Many a bruised reed would not exchange the comfort, which the weakest faith may extract out of this place, for all the kingdoms of the earth. He saith not, that his ways and thoughts of knowledge and wisdom ; but his ways and thoughts of mercy, are as far

above ours, as the heavens are above the earth : indeed, as himself is above man, which is infinitely.

3. Of the pardonableness of my other sins, saith another, I could be reasonably well persuaded ; but, alas ! there is one above all the rest, which now I find to be full of rank and hellish poison. Oh ! this is it that lies now on my heart like a mountain of lead, far heavier than heaven or earth ; and enchains it with inexplicable terror to the dust and place of dragons. This alone stings desperately, keeps me from Christ, and cuts me off from all hope of heaven. I am afraid my wilful wallowing in it heretofore, hath so seared my conscience, and hardened my heart, that I shall never be able to repent with any hope of pardon. And why so ? Is this sin of thine greater than Manasseh's familiarity with wicked spirits ? Than Paul's drinking up the blood of saints ? Than any of theirs in that black bill, 1 Cor. vi. 10, 11, who, notwithstanding, were afterwards, upon repentance, washed, sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God ? Than that horrible sin of killing Jesus Christ ? And yet the murderers of that Just and Holy One, upon their true compunction of heart, were saved by that precious blood, which they had cruelly spilt as water. But be it what it will, a scarlet sin, a crimson sin, a crying sin ; yet Paul's precious antidote, Rom. v. 20, holds triumphantly sovereign as well against the heinousness of any one sin, as the confluence of many, "Where sin abounded, grace over-abounded." It is indeed a very heavy case, and to be deplored even with tears of blood, that thou shouldst ever have so highly dishonoured thy gracious God ; and thou oughtest rather choose to be torn in pieces by wild horses, than commit it again ; yet if thy heart, now truly wounded with horror and hate of it, will but cleave to the truth and tender-heartedness of Jesus Christ, and fall into his blessed and bleeding arms, stretched out most lovingly to refresh thee ; as the heinousness of it hath abounded heretofore ; his grace will abound much more. Nay, in

this case, God's mercies shall be extraordinarily honoured, in pardoning such a prodigious provocation; and the blood of Christ made, as it were, more illustrious, by washing away such an heinous spot.

If we bring broken, believing hearts towards his mercy-seat, it is the Lord's name to forgive all sorts of offences, "iniquity, transgression, and sin," Exod. xxxiv. 7. It is his covenant to besprinkle clean water upon us, that we may be clean, and to cleanse us "from all filthiness, and from all our idols," Ezek. xxxvi. 25; even from idolatry, the highest villany against the Majesty of heaven. It is his promise not only to pardon ordinary sins, but those also which be as scarlet, and red like crimson, Isai. i. 18. It is his free compassion to cast all our sins into the depths of the sea, Mich. vii. 19. The sea, by reason of its vastness, can drown as well mountains as mole-hills. The boundless ocean of God's mercies can swallow up our mightiest sins. The strength of the summer's sun is able to scatter the thickest fog, as well as the thinnest mist; nay, to drive away the darkest midnight; and so is the irresistible heat of God's free love, shining through the Sun of Righteousness upon a penitent soul, to dissolve to nothing the desperate work of darkness, and most horrible sin. But this mystery of mercy, and miracle of God's free love, is a jewel only for truly humbled souls, and the sealed fountain. Let no stranger to the life of godliness meddle with it. Let no swine trample it under his feet.

END OF VOLUME IV.









