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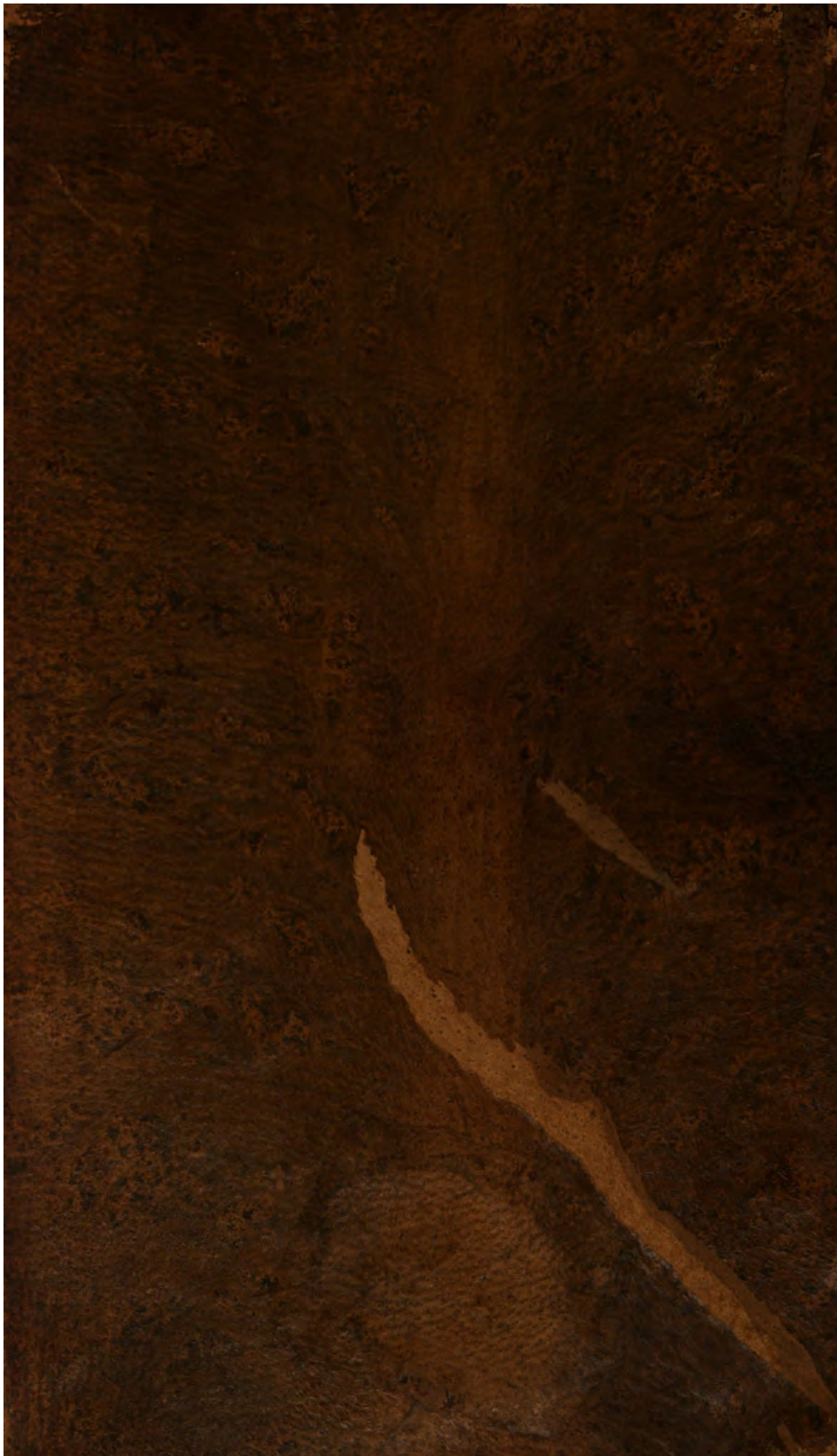
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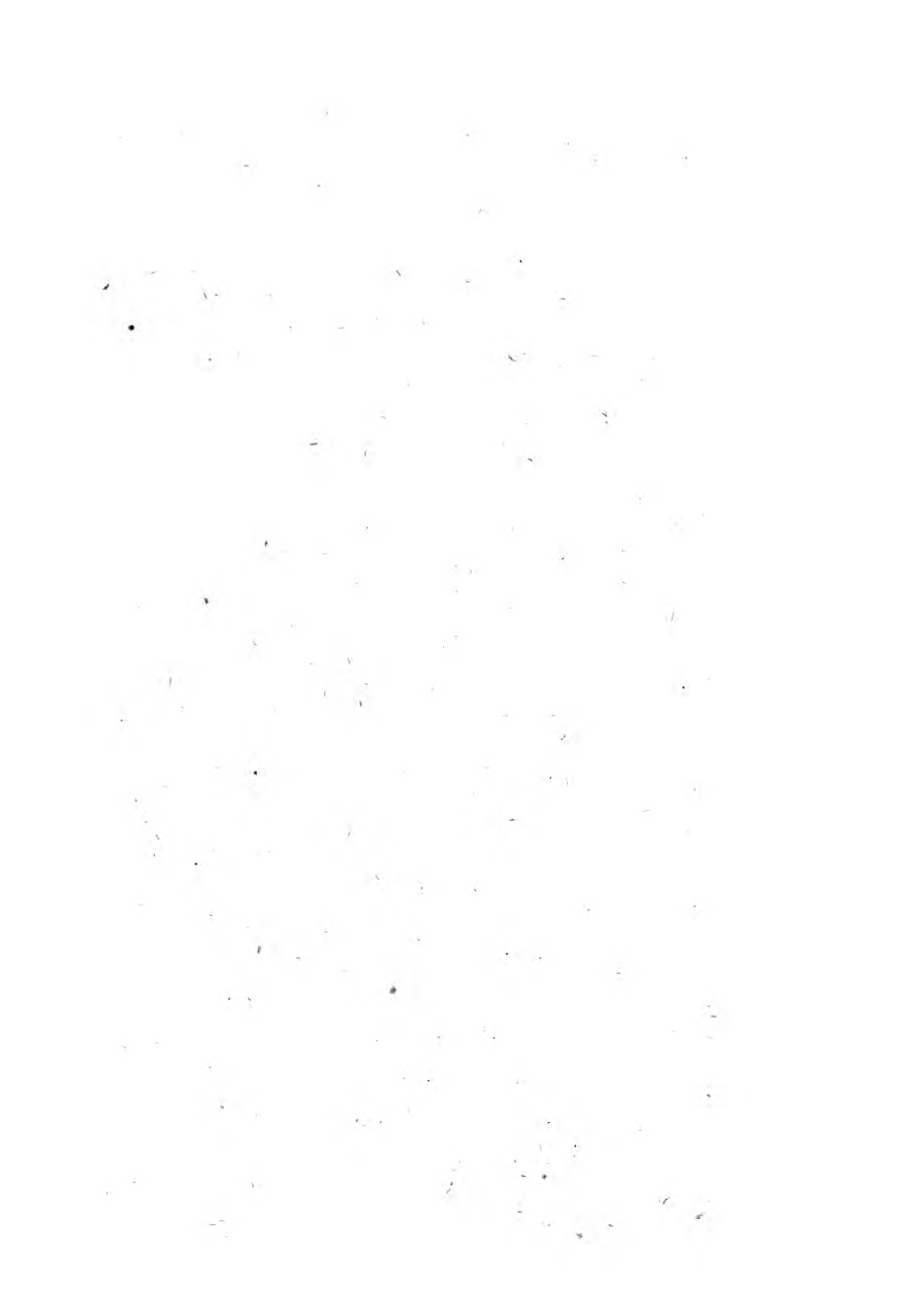


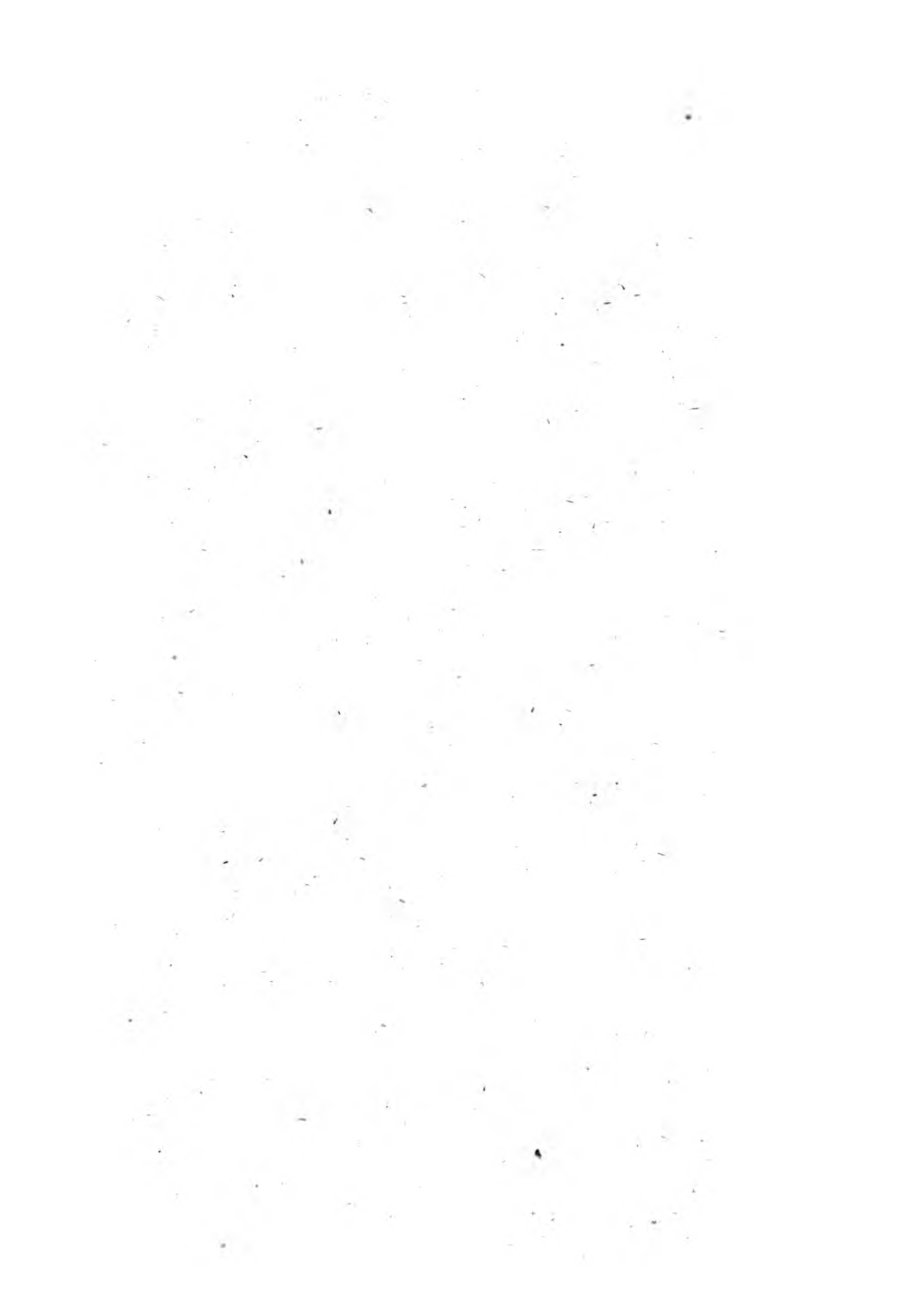
Mason
A.A. 340.

Thos. Mann

Sep. 1794.







THE
REFORMED PASTOR;
A DISCOURSE ON
THE PASTORAL OFFICE.

Designed principally to explain and recommend the
Duty of PERSONAL INSTRUCTION and CATE-
CHISING.

To which is added
An APPENDIX, containing some hints of advice
to STUDENTS for the Ministry, and to TUTORS.

Written by the Reverend and pious
Mr. RICHARD BAXTER.

Abridged and reduced to a new Method
By SAMUEL PALMER.

—EX SEIPSA RENASCITUR.
PLIN. De Phœnice.

LONDON:
Printed for J. BUCKLAND, at the Buck, in
Pater-noster-Row. MDCCLXVI.



T H E
P R E F A C E

By the COMPILER of this Abridgment.

MR. BAXTER's practical writings are almost universally known, and generally held in very high esteem, on account of that remarkable strain of piety which runs through them, and the uncommon success which has attended them. The REFORMED PASTOR is written with as important a design as any of the rest, and has commonly met with as good a reception. It is presumed, therefore, that the republication of it will need but little apology; and that it will be deemed sufficient to give a brief account of the work as it was first published by the author, and of the liberty that has been taken with it to reduce it to the size and form in which it is here presented to the publick.

The occasion of the work was this: The associated ministers in Worcestershire, and the adjacent parts, assembled at WORCESTER, December 4th, 1655. to keep a day of fasting and prayer, in order to humble themselves before God for their mi-

nisterial neglects, and implore his blessing on their future labours; particularly in the business of personal instruction and catechising; in which duties, they had subscribed an agreement to be more conscientious and diligent than they had formerly been. On this occasion they desired MR. BAXTER to preach to them. He accordingly drew up the substance of this discourse with that view; but was prevented from meeting his brethren, by the increase of a disorder from which he was seldom free; upon which, in compliance with their united request, he printed what he had prepared, with some considerable enlargements. All that are acquainted with MR. BAXTER's uncommon abilities, unwearied diligence, and amazing success in his work, will readily allow that he was well qualified to treat such a subject as this. What might we not expect from one who had been instrumental in the conversion of so many hundred souls, and who, on reviewing his labours, in the prospect of eternity, could say, "For these forty four years I have no reason to think that I ever laboured in vain?"* What christian minister would not wish to know the maxims on which this great man acted with an almost unparalleled success?—HERE they are, in the

* Dying Thoughts. Works, Vol. III. p. 859, Abridgment, p. 16.

The P R E F A C E. v

most familiar manner, represented.—DR. BATES, who was intimately acquainted with him, having spoken of the REFORMED PASTOR as “an accomplished model of an evangelical minister,” adds this further encomium: “The idea of a faithful minister delineated in that book, was a copy taken from the life; from his own zealous example.”*

MR. BAXTER himself appears to have entertained considerable expectations with regard to the success of this treatise; and he lived to see them answered. Towards the close of this work,† he expresses himself in this manner: “For my part, I apprehend this to be one of the greatest and best works that I ever put my hand to in my whole life.” And in his life, written by himself, and published by MR. SYLVESTER, (having reviewed his numerous publications) he says of the REFORMED PASTOR, “I have great cause to be thankful to God for the success of that book, as hoping many thousand souls are the better for it, in that it prevailed upon many ministers to set upon that work which I there exhorted them to. Even from beyond the seas, I have had letters of request [from my brethren] to direct them how

* Bates's Works, (fun. ferm.) p. 815. 1st Edition.

† See p. 229 of this Abridgment.

“ they might bring on that work, according as that
 “ book had convinced them it was their duty.”*
 Indeed an author’s estimate of his own works is
 not always to be depended upon, (tho’ MR. BAX-
 TER, in such a case, would be credited as soon as
 most men.) But it would be easy to collect very
 ample testimony to the excellence of this work,
 from other unprejudiced and able judges, if there
 was occasion for it, which, it is presumed, there is
 not. However the Editor cannot forbear adding one
 recommendation, which will serve in stead of a
 thousand others; it is that of the late excellent DR.
 DODDRIDGE, than whom, perhaps, no one (ex-
 cept the author himself) ever acted more conform-
 ably to the rules laid down in this treatise, which,
 it appears, he made the model of his conduct.†
 The passage refer’d to, is in his Lectures on preach-
 ing, and the pastoral care; which is the rather in-
 serted here, as it is most probable, that work will
 never be published. “ The REFORMED PASTOR
 “ (says he) is a most extraordinary performance,
 “ and should be read by every young minister, be-
 “ fore he takes a people under his stated care; and,
 “ I think, the practical part of it review’d every

* Sylv. Life of Baxt. Part I. p. 115. § 177.

† See MR. ORTON’S Life of DR. DODDRIDGE,
 p. 26, and Chap. v. Passim.

“ three or four years; for nothing would have a
 “ greater tendency to awaken the spirit of a mini-
 “ ster to that zeal in his work, for want of which,
 “ many good men are but shadows of what (by
 “ the blessing of God) they might be, if the
 “ maxims and measures laid down in that incom-
 “ parable treatise were strenuously pursued.”

MR. BAXTER'S practical* writings are, doubtless,
 an invaluable treasure: yet his greatest admirers
 will readily acknowledge that his prolixity, his fre-
 quent digressions, want of method, and other cir-
cum-

* Perhaps his CONTROVERSIAL works (however ex-
 ceptionable) have raised greater calumnies against him
 than he deserved. This certainly has been the case
 with regard to ONE treatise, entitled “ Aphorisms of
 “ Justification.” Respect to the memory of this great
 man obliges the editor to take this opportunity of wip-
 ing off the reproach which many persons (in all respects
 his inferiours) have cast upon him for having written
 that piece; by referring them to his own maturer judg-
 ment of it, in his account of his writings. “ It was
 “ the first book (says he) that I ever published;
 “ two faults I now find with it, 1. It is defective, and
 “ hath some propositions that need correction, being not
 “ cautiously enough expressed. 2. I meddled too for-
 “ wardly with DR. OWEN, &c. Indeed I was
 “ then too raw to be a writer.†” Many persons wrote

† SYLV. Life of Mr. BAXTER, Part I. p. 107.

cumstances, (in which he was unhappy even above many writers of his age) render his works somewhat disagreeable to readers of the present day, and afford an opportunity of abridging them with great advantage. Our author himself was sensible of his inaccuracies, and freely lamented them. Having drawn out a catalogue of his printed works, he passes his judgment upon them in the following words: “ Concerning almost all my writings, I
 “ must confess my own judgment is, that fewer,
 “ well studied and polished, had been better. Ex-
 “ cepting THE SAINT’S REST, I wrote them in
 “ the crowd of all my other employments, which
 “ would allow me no great leisure for polishing and
 “ exactness, or any ornament; so that I scarce
 “ ever wrote one sheet twice over, or stayed to
 “ make any blots or interlinings, but was fain to
 “ let it go as it was first conceived. When I do
 “ not recollect by what sudden occasions almost all
 “ my writings were extorted from me, and how the
 “ apprehension of present usefulness prevailed against
 “ other motives, I am ready to wish, with some

against this book, and MR. BAXTER has ingenuity enough to acknowledge “ that he received some light
 “ and improvement from their animadversions.”—It is ungenerous—it is cruel, to reproach a man with what he himself has so freely condemned.

“ divines

“divines who are not thoroughly acquainted with
 “the case, that I had published a few elaborate writ-
 “ings, and had been doing some work of more
 “durable usefulness.”*

There are few of our author's writings, perhaps, to which this passage is more applicable than THE REFORMED PASTOR. The style is remarkably diffuse: the method is surprisingly perplexed; the same thoughts, and even the same heads of discourse, being often repeated: many things foreign to the main design of the book are introduced: matters of controversy are proposed and pursued; and perpetual references occur, to things peculiar to the time in which the work was compos'd, and the occasion on which it was drawn up. These several circumstances must necessarily render it, to a reader of the present day, much more tedious and disagreeable, and consequently much less useful, than otherwise it might have been. In its original form, this valuable piece is like a precious stone set in the antique mode, which, though of great intrinsic worth, loses much of its value to the possessor, and is but seldom used, on account of its disagreement with the present taste. Many have lamented it that the reading of so excellent a discourse should

* Sylv. Life of Baxter. Part I. § 212. p. 124.

be rendered tedious and disagreeable by the above unhappy circumstances; and have wished to see it thrown into a more modern and pleasing form. This is what is here attempted; with what success the reader must judge. Indeed the Editor sincerely wishes it had been undertaken by some abler hand; nor would he have presumed to engage in the work, had not a worthy minister,* from whom it might naturally have been expected, declared, when applied to on the occasion, that he chose to decline it; and had not several learned friends, who perused the manuscript of this abridgment, (which was designed only for private use) strongly encouraged the publication of it.

In the execution of this work, whatever appeared foreign and redundant is omitted; sentences that were too long are commonly divided; the construction of such as were obscure is altered; and obsolete or uncouth words are generally changed for more common ones. But the greatest liberties have been taken in the alteration of the Method, which is in a manner new; the design of which was to lessen the number of divisions, to avoid frequent repetitions, and to bring together in one point of view, all the author's thoughts on the same sub-

* The Reverend MR. FAWCETT, who has abridged several of Mr. Baxter's pieces.

jects, which were sometimes scattered in four or five different parts of the treatise. So that sentences, paragraphs, and whole heads of discourse, are transposed with great freedom, wherever it was apprehended it would be of advantage to the work; which, it is hoped, is generally the case. To point out these several transpositions, would be tedious and unnecessary. But it was proper that the reader should be apprised of them, lest, if he should give himself the trouble of comparing this work with the original, he should imagine any important passages have been omitted; or that any additions have been made, which, he may be assured, there have not, (excepting the contents of the chapters) unless the connexion seemed to require it; and in that case the words inserted are distinguished by crotchets [thus.] The utmost care has always been taken to preserve the author's sense; and in some instances, his expressions, tho' rather inaccurate, are suffered to remain as they were, through fear of altering his sentiment, or losing his spirit, by correcting them. In short, this work is as really MR. BAXTER'S as that he himself published.

The APPENDIX is principally an abridgment of the IXth Chapter of his "Counsel to young men." (Works, Vol. IV. p. 16, &c.) As the subject of it

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has some connection with that of this treatise, it seemed not improper to be printed with it; especially as many valuable hints to Students and Tutors are introduced in the REFORMED PASTOR, which could not with propriety be brought into this abridgment, any otherwise than in an Appendix; which therefore are now interwoven with this separate piece. See p. 250, and p. 252 to the end.

What pains have been taken with this work to render it worthy the publick acceptance, it does not become the Editor to say; nor will his readers be able to judge. However, he is far from thinking it perfect: since it has passed the press, he himself discerns many faults, and can easily believe that better judges will discern more. As to the propriety of retaining, or omitting, or altering some particular passages, it will be no wonder if his readers should differ from him, since he has often differed from himself; having made many considerable alterations in the work since it was first drawn up; and he believes that were he to review it ever so often he should every time make more. It is highly improbable that any two persons would have conducted a work of this nature in nearly the same manner. The Editor, therefore, conscious that he has acted according to the best of his judgment, and with due deliberation, cheerfully relies
on

on the candour of the publick ; begging leave only to remind the reader that it will be easier to judge what is NOT, than what HAS BEEN done ; and, that justice to him requires that the original work be carefully read, before a censure is cast on this abridgment of it.—If, on the whole, what was superfluous has been generally omitted, and yet every thing material retained ; if the method is rendered more distinct and easy ; and this valuable performance is made more agreeable, and is likely to be more generally read, by this new edition of it, the attempt it is hoped, will not be entirely condemned, tho' it be not so perfect and elegant as it might have been.

Some parts of the work will seem greatly disproportioned to others ; as some things are largely insisted on, (particularly Personal Instruction) and others of equal importance, (especially those treated of Part II. Ch. I.) are but just mentioned. But it must be remembered that the author did not propose this treatise (so he himself declares*) “ as a directory for the whole ministerial work ;” and that his chief view was to recommend a stricter attention to those duties that are here most insisted on, and which are most neglected. Here the reader will naturally

* See p. 92. 2d Edition, Works, Vol. iv. p. 352.

recollect

recollect the occasion on which the work was composed.

It is probable that most persons will think many things retained in this Abridgment either unnecessary or impracticable, in most places in the present day, whatever they might be in the time and place in which the author lived. But what these are, the editor apprehends it is the READER'S business, and not HIS, to determine: that may be needless, or impossible in some places and circumstances, which, in others, may be easy and useful. If, to particular persons, any thing here retained should appear impracticable, or even imprudent, it is hoped that they will not throw aside the book as of no use; nor, because they cannot do every thing here enjoined, determine to do nothing. The author's directions, in general, may be applied to some good purpose, tho' not just in the particular way he proposes. Much more might certainly be done than generally is done, in that mode of personal instruction which he so strongly recommends, and so diligently practised; especially by the Established Clergy, who have generally more of that influence over their people which MR. BAXTER had, than Dissenting Ministers commonly possess. However, different situations and circumstances must be allowed to make a considerable difference. It would
be

The P R E F A C E. xv

be great arrogance in the editor to prescribe to his brethren and fathers what use to make of the author's directions, amidst their several different situations; and it would be unnecessary, were he better qualified for it than he is: every one is able to judge what duties his circumstances admit of and require; and no conscientious minister will neglect those methods, which this treatise shall convince him that he may and ought to use.

The editor has nothing more to add but his fervent prayers that the same blessing of the Almighty which so remarkably attended the pious author, and the discourse itself, when first published by him, may accompany this revival of it, and render it useful, particularly, to those, who are rising to the sacred work, for whom it is principally designed, and to whom, it is imagined, it may be peculiarly acceptable.

HACKNEY,
Jan. 13th, 1766.

S. P.

E X T R A C T S
F R O M T H E
A U T H O R ' s P R E F A C E .

P E R H A P S the freedom with which the following treatise is witten may be thought by some to need an apology. It may be said " That I ought not to have spoken so plainly and sharply ; especially against the sins of ministers, in a discourse published to the world : at least that it should have been done in another language, and not in the ears of the vulgar, when so many are endeavouring to bring the ministry into contempt, and our people are too prone to hearken to their suggestions." I answer, it has not been insinuated that all ministers are guilty of the several faults that have been censured : and those who are not guilty are expressly excepted. There are many humble men who are willing to know their sins that they may forsake them, and their duty that they may perform it. As to others, where the sin is open in the sight of all the world, it is in vain to hide it; the attempt will but aggravate our guilt and encrease our shame. If the ministers of England had sinned only in LATIN, I would have made shift to admonish them in Latin, or else have said nothing to them ; but if they will sin in ENGLISH, they must hear of it in English. If we will not find out our sin, it will surely find out
vs.

us. Unpardoned guilt will never let us rest, tho' we are at ever so much care and cost to hide it. 'He that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall find mercy.*' If we be too tender of ourselves and loath to confess, God will be less tender of us, and will indite our confessions for us: he will either force our consciences to confess, or his judgments will proclaim our iniquities to the world. Indeed the tongues of many are already at work to proclaim our sin: because we will not speak the truth, they will speak more than the truth. The world knows that we are sinners: as none can suppose us perfect, so our particular sins are too apparent to the world. And is it not fit that they should see that we are PENITENT sinners? Penitent confession and speedy reformation are the means to silence our adversaries, as well as to repair our credit with wise and godly men.

If any who have set their hands to this sacred work give themselves up to self-seeking, negligence, pride, and other sins, it is necessary to admonish them. If we could see them reform without reproof, we would gladly forbear to publish their faults. But if reproof itself is ineffectual, it is time to sharpen the remedy. To bear with the vices of ministers, is to hasten the ruin of the church; for nothing contributes more to the undoing of the people than the depravity of their Guides; nor can we more effectually promote a reformation, than by

* Prov. xxviii. 13.

endeavouring to reform the Leaders of the church. For my part, I have herein done as I would be done by. I do not blame my brethren, as some others do, to make them contemptible and odious ; but to heal those evils that would make them so. It is not to indulge my own inclination, for I displease myself as much as I do some of them ; and would rather have the ease and peace of silence if it might consist with duty. It is merely the necessity of men's souls, and the prosperity of the church, which forces me to this arrogance and immodesty, if it may be called such. When the honour of God and the everlasting happiness of so many persons are concerned, who that has a tongue can be silent ? If thousands of you were in a leaking ship, and those who should pump out the water and stop the leaks were sporting, or quarrelling, or sleeping, or only favouring themselves in their labour, to the hazard of you all, would you not call them to their work ? If you used sharpness with the slothful, would you think that man in his senses who took it ill ? who accused you of pride, self-conceit, or want of good manners for talking so saucily to your fellow work-men ? If they charged you with diminishing their reputation, would you not say, " The work must be done, or we are all dead men ! The ship is ready to sink ; and do you talk of reputation ? Had you rather hazard yourselves and us than hear of your sloth ?"—This, brethren, is the case with us. The work of the Lord must needs be done. Souls must not perish whilst you mind your worldly business, take your ease, or quarrel with your brethren ; nor must we be silent, for fear of seeming uncivil, while men
are

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE. xix

are hastened by you to perdition. If you had chosen some other calling, and only had sinned by yourselves, and perished alone, it had not been so necessary to molest you; but if you will enter into an office which is for the necessary preservation of us all, so that by letting you alone in your sins we must give up the church to apparent hazard, do not blame us if we talk to you more freely than you would have us to do. There is no bearing with your remissness. How much soever it may displease you, take it how you will, you must be told of it; and if that will not do, you must be told of it more closely still.—If you have so much greater business that you cannot ordinarily have time to do the ministerial work, you should not undertake the office; for ministers are men ‘separated to the Gospel of Christ, and must give themselves WHOLLY to these things.’

To the L A Y - R E A D E R.

I dare not let this work come into your hands, without a word of caution and advice, lest you should misunderstand, or misapply it.

1. Do not entertain any unworthy thoughts of your pastors, because we here confess our own sins, and aggravate them in order to our humiliation and reformation. You know that we are MEN and not angels, whom God has put into the office of your spiritual guides; and you know that we are imperfect men. Let Papists and others pretend to sinless perfection, we dare not do it, but confess that we are sinners. And we should heartily rejoice to find the signs even of imperfect

fect sincerity in them that make so confident a pretence as this; nay, if in some of them, we could find common honesty, and a freedom from the crying abominations of the ungodly; such as cruelty, lying, slandering, &c. Yet some of these people, because we confess that we have sinned in neglecting the work of the Lord, pretend to prove us deceivers from our own confession: whereas God saith, ‘If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins;’ but that ‘he that saith he hath no sin deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him.’—For our parts, we believe that ‘in many things we offend all.’ We profess to know but in part; to have our treasure in earthen vessels; and to be insufficient for these things [about which we are employed:] see therefore that you love and imitate the holiness of your pastors [as far as you discern it] but take not occasion of disesteeming or reproaching them for their infirmities.

Beware of those (particularly the Papists) whose design is to unsettle you in matters of religion, and, in order to it, to bring you first to suspect, and then to condemn and reject your teachers.—Let me warn you, as you love your souls, that you keep close to scripture and a faithful Ministry. And let me tell you, that notwithstanding all those sins of ours which are here confessed, the known world hath not a more able, faithful, godly ministry than BRITAIN hath at this day. If at the Synod of DORT the “Clerus Anglicanus” was called the “Stupor mundi” (before all those ignorant and scandalous men were cast out) what may we call it NOW?

Brethren

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE. xxi

Brethren, let me deal freely with you. The ungrateful contempt of a faithful Ministry, is the shame of thousands in this land : and if a thorough repentance prevent it not, they shall better know in Hell, whether such ministers were their friends or foes ; and what they would have done for them if their counsel had been heard. [We are told concerning the Jews that] when ‘ they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and abused his prophets, the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy*’ — Shall ministers study, and preach, and pray for you, and shall they be despised ?—When they have the God of heaven and their own conscience to witness that they desire ‘ not your’s but you ;’ that they are ‘ willing to spend and be spent’ for your sakes ; that all the wealth in the world would not be regarded by them in comparison with your salvation ; and that all their labours and sufferings, are for your welfare ; if yet they shall be requited with your contempt and scorn, or discouraged by your unteachableness.—see who will prove the losers in the end. When God himself shall justify and commend them with a ‘ Well done good and faithful servant,’ let those that reproached, despised, and condemned them, defend their faces from shame, and their consciences from the accusations of horrid ingratitude, if they can !

2. Let me advise you to obey your faithful teachers, and improve their help for your salvation while you have it. Take heed that you refuse not to learn when they

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16.

are willing to teach. Particularly see to it that you refuse not to submit to them in this duty of PRIVATE INSTRUCTION, which is more especially recommended in this treatise. Go to them when they desire you, and be thankful to them for their help : and at other times, when you need their advice, go to them and ask it of your own accord. Their office is, to be your guides in the way to life. If you seek not their direction it seems you either despise salvation itself, or else are so proud as to think yourselves sufficient to be your own directors.—Shall God, in mercy, send you leaders to guide you in the way to glory, and will you stoutly send them back, or refuse their assistance, and say, “ We have no need of their direction ? ”—Is it for their own ease or profit that they trouble you, or is it not for your everlasting gain ? Remember what Christ hath said to his messengers,—‘ He that despiseth you, despiseth me.’* If your obstinate refusal of their instruction cause them to bear witness against you in Judgment, look you to it and answer it as you can. For my own part, I would not be then in your case, for all the world.—If you read this Book, remember that the duty which you find to belong to ministers, doth also shew what belongs to YOURSELVES : for it cannot be our duty to teach and admonish, if it be not yours to hear and learn.

* Luke x. 16.

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T H E

T H E
REFORMED PASTOR.

A C T S xx. 28.

*Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock,
over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers;
to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased
with his own blood.*

REVEREND AND DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

IF the people of our charge must 'teach, admonish and exhort one another,' * no doubt TEACHERS THEMSELVES may do it, as Brethren in office, as well as in faith, without pretending to any supereminence in power or degree.

We have the same sins to mortify, and the same graces to be quickened and corroborated, as they have. We have greater works than they have to do, greater difficulties to overcome, and, no less necessity is laid upon us. We have therefore need to be warned, and awakened, (if not instructed) as well as they. So that I confess, I think we should meet together more frequently, if we had

* Col. iii. 16. Heb. iii. 13.

B

nothing

2 INTRODUCTION.

nothing else to do but this. And we should deal as plainly and closely with one another, as the most serious among us do with our Flocks; lest, if they only have the sharp admonitions and reproofs, they only should be 'sound and lively' in the faith.' This was PAUL's judgment. I need no other proof of it, than this rousing, heart-melting exhortation to the Ephesian elders. — A short sermon, but not soon learn'd. Had the Bishops and teachers of the church but thoroughly learned it, (tho' to the neglect of many a volume which has taken up their time and helped them to greater applause in the world) how happy had it been for the church and for themselves!

I shall now touch upon no part of it but my Text. — The persons here addressed under the characters of OVERSEERS or BISHOPS,* were officers appointed to teach and guide the Ephesian church in the way to salvation; and are the same persons, that in the 17th verse are called ELDERS. So that all persons who stately officiate in the same work and capacity, as the Pastors of a particular church, may consider themselves as included. †

The exhortation here addressed to such, consisteth of two parts. The

* ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΙ.

† If the reader would see this point defended, he may meet with satisfaction by turning to the original work.

Part I. *Of a Minister's personal duty.* 3

FIRST is, — That they should take heed to
THEMSELVES : And the

SECOND, — That they should take heed to the
FLOCK over which the Holy Ghost hath made
them overseers ; to feed the Church of God,
which he hath purchased with his own blood.

Both these articles will, in the following work,
be distinctly handled.

PART THE FIRST.

Of the Duty of Christian Ministers with regard to THEMSELVES.

THE first part of the Apostle's exhortation
respects the care that ministers ought to ex-
ercise with regard to their own disposition and be-
haviour. It is thus expressed : — ' Take heed
' therefore to YOURSELVES.' Let us then in the

FIRST place, consider what this PERSONAL
care is, and wherein it consisteth.

For the sake of brevity, I will join the explica-
tion and the application together. And I beseech
you, brethren, let your HEARTS attend, as well as
your understandings.

I. Above all, see to it that a work of saving grace be thoroughly wrought on your own souls.

Take heed to yourselves lest you be strangers to the effectual working of that gospel which you preach; and lest, while you proclaim to the world the necessity of a Saviour, your own hearts should neglect him, and you should miss of an interest in him and his saving benefits. Be that first, yourselves, which you persuade your hearers to be; believe that, which you daily persuade them to believe; and heartily entertain that Christ and Spirit, which you offer to them.

You have an heaven to win or lose yourselves, and souls that must be happy or miserable for ever; it therefore concerns you to begin at home, and take heed to yourselves. It is possible (tho' an unusual thing) that preaching well may succeed to the salvation of others without the holiness of your own hearts and lives; but it is impossible it should save your own souls. Tho' it be promised to 'them that turn many to righteousness' that they 'shall shine as stars,'* it is on supposition that they be first turned to it themselves. Believe it, Sirs, 'God is no respecter of persons.' An holy calling will not save an unholy man. God never did save any man for being a preacher, nor because he was an able preacher; but because he was a justified sanc-

* Dan. xii. 3.

tified man, and consequently faithful in his master's work. Nor can it be reasonably expected that he should save any for offering salvation to others, while they refuse it themselves; or for telling others those truths, which they themselves neglect and abuse. If you stand at the door of the kingdom of grace to light others in, but will not go in yourselves, you shall knock at the gates of glory in vain. Many a preacher is now in hell, who called upon his hearers an hundred times to use their utmost care and diligence to avoid that 'place of torment.' Preachers of the gospel must be judged by the gospel:—must be sentenced on the same terms, and dealt with as severely as other men. 'Many at that day shall say, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?' Who shall be answered 'I never knew you: depart from me ye workers of iniquity. *' And what case can be more wretched than that man's, who made it his very trade and calling to proclaim salvation, and help others to attain it, and yet after all is excluded from it himself. [Let me add, The case of unconverted ministers, is very deplorable AT PRESENT.]

It is a dreadful thing to be an un sanctified PROFESSOR; but much more to be an un sanctified PREACHER. Do not you, who know this to be your character, tremble when you open the Bible,

* Matth. vii. 22, 23.

lest you should read there the sentence of your own condemnation? When you pen your sermons, you are drawing up indictments against yourselves. When you are arguing against sin, you are aggravating your own. When you proclaim to your hearers, the riches of Christ and his grace, you publish your own iniquity in rejecting them, and your own unhappiness in being destitute of them. What can you devise to say to your hearers, but for the most part, it will be against your own souls? If you mention hell, you mention your own inheritance. If you describe the joys of heaven, you describe your own misery in having no right to them. O wretched life! that a man should study and preach against himself, and spend his days in a course of self-condemning! A graceless unexperienced preacher is one of the most unhappy creatures upon earth.

Yet he is ordinarily, the most insensible of his unhappiness. He has so many counters, that seem like the gold of saving grace, and so many splendid stones that resemble the Christian's jewels, that he is seldom troubled with the thoughts of his poverty; but thinks 'he is rich and wants nothing, while he is wretched and miserable, poor and blind and naked.*' He is acquainted with the holy scripture; he is exercised in holy duties; he

* Rev. iii. 17.

Part I. Unconverted Ministers—such too common. 7
lives not in open disgraceful sins ; he serves at God's altar ; he reproveth other men's faults, and preaches up holiness of heart and life ; and therefore can hardly suspect himself to be unholy. How awful the delusion of such ! But especially, how dreadful and aggravated their future misery ! — To perish with the bread of life in their hands, while they offer it to others ! — That those ordinances of God, should be the occasion of their delusion, which are the appointed means of conviction and salvation ! — That while they hold the looking-glass of the gospel to others, and shew them the true face of their souls, they should turn the back part of it towards themselves, where they can see nothing !

Verily it is the common danger and calamity of the church, to have unregenerate and unexperienced pastors ! Many men become preachers, before they are christians ; are sanctified by dedication to the altar as God's priests, before they are sanctified by hearty dedication to Christ as his disciples. Thus they worship an unknown God ; preach an unknown Saviour ; an unknown Spirit ; an unknown state of holiness, and communion with God ; and a future glory that is to them unknown, and to be unknown to them for ever.

And can it be expected that such persons should prove any great blessings to the church ? —

How can it be imagined that he is likely to be as successful as others, who dealeth not heartily and faithfully in his work; who never soundly believeth what he saith, nor is ever truly serious, when he seemeth most diligent? And can you think that any un sanctified man CAN be hearty and serious in the ministerial work? It cannot be. A kind of seriousness indeed he may have; such as proceeds from a common faith or opinion that the word is true, and is actuated by a natural fervour, or by selfish ends: But the seriousness and fidelity of a sound believer, who ultimately intends God's honour, and men's salvation, he cannot have.—O Sirs! all your preaching and persuading of others will be but dreaming, and trifling hypocrisy, till the work be thoroughly done upon yourselves. How can you constantly apply yourselves to a work from which your carnal hearts are averse? How can you, with serious fervour, call upon poor sinners to repent and come to God, who never did either yourselves? How can you follow them with importunate solicitations to forsake sin, and betake themselves to an holy life, who never felt the evil of the one, or the worth of the other? And let me tell you, these things are never well known till they are FELT; and that he who feeleth them not himself, is not likely to speak feelingly of them to others, or to help

help others to feel them. He that does not so strongly believe the word of God and the life to come, as to take off his own heart from the vanities of this world, and bring him, with resolution and diligence, to seek his own salvation, cannot be expected to be faithful in seeking the salvation of other men. He that dares to damn himself, will dare to let others alone in the way to damnation. He that, with JUDAS, will sell his master for silver, will not scruple to make merchandise of the flock. We may well expect that he will have no pity on others, who is thus wofully cruel to himself; and surely he is not to be trusted with other men's souls, who is unfaithful to his own. - It is a very unlikely thing that he will fight against Satan with all his might, or do any great harm to his kingdom, who is himself a servant of Satan and a subject of that kingdom; or that he will be true to Christ, who is in covenant with his enemy. What prince will choose the friends and voluntary servants of his enemy to lead his armies in war against him? Yet alas! many preachers of the gospel are enemies to the work of the gospel which they preach. O how many such traitors have been in the church of Christ in all ages, who have done more against him under his colours, than they could have done in the open field! Tho' many of these men seem excellent preachers, and cry down sin as loudly as others,

yet it is all but an affected fervency, and commonly but a meer ineffectual bawling. A traiterous commander, who shooteth nothing against the enemy but powder, may cause his guns to make as great a report as theirs that are loaded with bullets; but he doth no hurt to the enemy by it. So one of these men may speak as loud and with as much seeming fervency as others; but he will seldom do any great execution against sin and Satan. No man can fight well but where he hateth, or is very angry: much less against those whom he loveth, and loveth above all. So that you see, an un sanctified man, who loveth the enemy, is very unfit to be a leader in Christ's army;—that he is very unlikely to engage others to renounce the world and the flesh, who cleaveth to them himself as his chief good.

If such a wretched man would take my counsel, he should make a stand, and call his heart and life to an account. He should fall a preaching a while to HIMSELF, before he preach to others any more. He should consider, whether 'he that names the name of Christ' should not 'depart from all iniquity'? Whether, 'if he regards iniquity in his heart, God will hear his prayers?' And whether a wicked preacher 'shall stand in the judgment, or a sinner in the assembly of the just *?'

* Psalm i. 5.

When

Part I. *Qualifications requisite for a Minister.* II

When such thoughts as these have entered into his soul, and kindly wrought upon his conscience, I would advise him next, to go to the congregation, and there preach over ORIGEN'S sermon on Psalm L. 16, 17. 'But to the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou should'st take my covenant into thy mouth? Seeing thou hatest instruction, and hast cast my words behind thee.'—When he has read this text, I would have him sit down (as ORIGEN did) and expound and apply it by his tears; then make a free confession of his guilt before the assembly, and desire their prayers to God for pardoning and renewing grace; that hereafter, he may preach a Christ whom he knows, may feel what he speaks, and may commend the riches of the gospel by experience.

II. 'Take heed to yourselves,' that you be not destitute of the necessary QUALIFICATIONS for your work.

And oh! what qualifications are requisite for a man that hath such a charge as ours! He must not be a babe in knowledge that will teach men all those things which are necessary to salvation. How many difficulties in divinity are there to be opened; yea, about the very fundamentals of religion! How many obscure texts to be expounded! How many

12 *Qualifications requisite for a Minister. Part I.*

duties to be done, wherein ourselves and others may miscarry, if in the matter, the end, the manner, and circumstances of them, they be not well informed ! How many sins, and subtile temptations must we direct our people to avoid ! How many weighty, and yet intricate, cases of conscience have we frequently to resolve ! How many ‘ strong holds’ have we to beat down ! What subtile, diligent, and obstinate resistance must we expect from those we have to deal with !——We cannot make a breach in their groundless hopes and carnal peace, but they have twenty shifts and seeming reasons to make it up again ; and as many enemies, under the appearance of friends, that are ready to help them. We dispute not with them upon equal terms ; but we have children to reason with, who cannot understand us. We have wilful, unreasonable, distracted men to deal with ; who when they are silenced, are not at all the more convinced ; but when they can give you no reason, will give you their resolution. We have multitudes of raging passions and contradicting enemies to dispute against at once ; so that when ever we go about the conversion of a sinner, it is as if we were to dispute in a noisy crowd. Dear brethren ! what men should we be in skill, resolution, and unwearied diligence, who have so much to do, [and so much to hinder

us in doing it!] Did PAUL cry out, * ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ And shall WE be careless or lazy, as if we were sufficient? ‘What manner of persons ought we to be †’ not only ‘in all ‘holy conversation and godliness’, but in all knowledge, resolution, and diligence!

—To preach a sermon, I think is not the hardest part of our work: And yet what skill is necessary to make plain the truth; to convince the hearers; to let irresistible light into their consciences, and keep it there; to drive the truth into their minds, and answer every objection that opposes it; and at the same time, to do all this with regard to the language and manner, so as best becomes our work; as is most suitable to the capacities of our hearers; and so as to honour that great God, whose message we deliver, by our delivery of it!

It is a lamentable case, that, in a message from the God of heaven, of everlasting consequence to the souls of men, we should behave ourselves so, as that the whole business should miscarry in our hands.—That God should be dishonour’d; his work disgraced; and sinners rather hardened than converted, thro’ our weakness or neglect. [Yet how frequently is this the case!] How often have carnal hearers gone jeering home, at the palpable

* 2 Cor. ii. 16.

† 2 Pet. iii. 11.

and dishonourable failings of the preacher! How many sleep under us, because our hearts and tongues are sleepy, and we bring not with us skill and zeal enough to awaken them!—Brethren, do you not shrink and tremble under a sense of the greatness of your work! Will a common measure of ability and prudence serve for such a task as yours?—Necessity may indeed cause the church to tolerate the weak; but woe to us if we tolerate and indulge our own weakness.

Do not reason and conscience tell you, that if you dare venture on so high a work as this, you should spare no pains to be fit for the performance of it? It is not now and then an idle taste of studies, that will serve to make an able divine. I know that laziness has learned to argue, from the insufficiency of all our studies, that the SPIRIT must wholly and alone qualify us for, and assist us in our work. But can we reasonably think that God, having commanded us to use the means, would warrant us to neglect them? Will he cause us to thrive in a course of idleness? Or bring us to knowledge by dreams? Or take us up to heaven and shew us his counsels, while we are unconcerned about the matter? Strange! that men should dare by their sinful laziness, thus to ‘quench the spirit’! God has required us that we ‘be not slothful in
‘business,

‘ business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.’*

Therefore, brethren, lose no time : study, pray, discourse, and practise ; that by these means your abilities may be increased.

Besides the composition of sermons, how many other things should a minister understand ! What a great defect would it be to be ignorant of them ; and how much shall we miss such knowledge in our work ! In order to gain a competent measure of knowledge, a variety of books must be read, [and well digested.] Experience will teach you, that men are not to be made learned or wise, without hard study and unwearied diligence.— Shall we then be indolent ? Will neither the natural desire of knowing, nor the spiritual desire of knowing God and things divine, nor the consciousness of our ignorance and weakness, nor a sense of the importance of our ministerial work, keep us close to our studies, and make us diligent in seeking after truth ? [Let these considerations have their due influence upon us.]

We should the rather take heed to our qualifications, because such works as ours put men more upon the use and trial of their graces, than those of other persons. Weak gifts and graces may carry a man through an even and laudable course of

* Rom. xii. 11.

life, who is not exercised with any great trials. Small strength may serve for easier works, and lighter burdens: But if you will venture on the great undertakings of the MINISTRY; if you will engage against 'principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses', * in order to rescue captive sinners from the dominion of Satan, and lead on the troops of Christ in the face of all their enemies, common abilities will not be sufficient. The tempter will make his first and sharpest onset on you. He bears you the greatest malice, who are engaged to do him the greatest mischief. He has found, by experience, that to 'smite the shepherd,' is the most effectual means to 'scatter the flock †.' You therefore shall have his most subtle insinuations, incessant solicitations, and violent assaults. So that you must expect to come off with greater shame and deeper wounds, than if you had lived a common life, if you think to go through such things as these with a careless soul. We have seen many persons that lived a private life, in good reputation for parts and piety, who, when they have taken upon them either the magistracy, or military employment, where the work was superior to their abilities, have met with scandal and disgrace. So also have we seen some private Chris-

* Eph. vi. 12.

† Zech. xiii. 17.

rians of good esteem, who having thought too highly of their abilities, and thrust themselves into the ministerial office, have proved weak and empty men, and have become some of the greatest burdens to the church. They might, perhaps, have done God more service, had they continued in the higher rank of private men, than they did among the lowest of the ministry. If then you will venture into the midst of dangers, and bear the burden of the day, 'take heed to yourselves.'

This care and diligence is now the more requisite for ministers, because the necessity of the church, forces so many from our places of education, so very young, that they are obliged to teach and learn together. It were very desirable that the church should wait longer for their preparation, if it were possible; but I would by no means discourage such young persons as are drawn out by mere necessity, if they are but competently qualified, and quickened, with earnest desires of mens salvation, to close study, and great diligence in their work.—And this is necessary: for if the people take them to be ignorant, they will despise their teaching, and think themselves as wise as they. The lowest degree tolerable in a minister, is to be "supra vulgus fidelium."—It will produce some degree

degree of reverence, when your people know that you are wiser than themselves.

If you are conscious that you are none of the most able ministers, and despair of being revered for your parts, you have the more need to study and labour for their increase: That which you want in natural ability, you must make up in other qualifications; and then you may be as successful as other persons.

III. 'Take heed to yourselves,' that your **ENDS** in undertaking and discharging the ministerial office are good and honourable.

The ultimate end of our pastoral oversight, is that which is the ultimate end of our whole lives: viz. to please and glorify God. With this is connected the honour of Christ, the welfare of the church, and the salvation of our people:—Their sanctification and holy obedience; their unity, order, beauty, strength, preservation, and increase.

The whole ministerial work must be managed purely for God, and the good of souls, without any private ends of our own. This is our sincerity in it. None but the upright make GOD their end, or do all, or any thing heartily, for his honour. As for OTHER persons, they choose the ministry rather than any other calling, either because
their

their parents devoted them to it; or because it is a pleasant thing to know; and this is a life wherein they have the most opportunity to furnish their intellects with all kinds of science; or because it is not so fatiguing to the body, (loving to favour the flesh,) or because it is accompanied with some degree of reverence from men; and they esteem it an honourable thing to be leaders and teachers;—to have others depend on them, and ‘receive the law at their mouth;’ or because it affords them a comfortable maintenance. For such ends as these do many undertake the ministry; and were it not for some or other of these, they would soon give it over.——Now, can it be expected that God should greatly bless the services of such men?——Since it is not for him that they preach, but for themselves,——their own ease or advantage, no wonder if he leave them to themselves for the success. A wrong END spoils all our work with regard to ourselves, how good soever it may in itself be.——They that undertake this as a common work, to make a trade of it, in order to their subsistence in the world, will find that they have chosen a bad trade, though it be a good employment. Self-denial is of absolute necessity in every Christian; but of double necessity in a MINISTER, as he hath a double sanctification or dedication to
God.

God; and without self-denial he cannot faithfully do God any service. Hard studies, much knowledge, and excellent preaching, if the end be not right, are but more glorious, hypocritical sinning.

IV. ‘Take heed to yourselves,’ lest you fall into those sins you preach against, and lest, by your example, you contradict your doctrine.

Will you make it your business to magnify God, and when you have done, dishonour him as much as others? Will you proclaim Christ’s governing power, and yet rebel against it? Will you preach his laws, and then wilfully break them?—If sin be evil, why do you commit it? If it is not, why do you dissuade men from it? If God’s threatenings are true, why do you not fear them? If they are false, why do you needlessly trouble men with them? ‘Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not THYSELF? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law, dishonourest THOU God?’* It is a palpable error in those ministers, who make such a disproportion between their preaching and their living, that they will study hard to preach accurately, and study little or not at all to LIVE accurately. They are loath to

* Rom. ii. 21—23.

misplace a word in their sermons, but they make nothing of misplacing their affections, words, or actions in the course of their lives. They are so nice in their compositions, that they seem to look upon it as a virtue in them to preach seldom, that their language may be the more polite; and all the rhetorical writers they can meet with are pressed to serve them for the adorning their style; but when it comes to matter of practice, how little do they regard what they said? What difference is there between their pulpit-speeches and their familiar discourse! They that are most impatient of barbarisms and solecisms in a sermon, can too easily tolerate them in their conversation. — Surely, brethren, we have great cause to take heed what we DO, as well as what we SAY. A practical doctrine must be practically preached. We must study as hard, how to live well, as how to preach well. If the saving of souls be your end, you will certainly attend to it out of the pulpit, as well as in it; you will LIVE for it, and contribute all your endeavours to attain it. If you intend the end of the ministry, only in the pulpit, it seems you take yourselves for ministers no longer than you are there: and if so, I think you are unworthy to be esteemed such at all.

You have very great need of the strictest care over your conduct; — for you have the same DE-

PRAVED

PRAVED NATURE and sinful inclinations as others. There are in the best of us, the remnants of pride, unbelief, self-seeking, hypocrisy, and other sins. How small a matter may cast us down, by enticing us to folly, enkindling our passions, perverting our judgments, abating our resolution, and cooling our zeal! Without great care, our treacherous hearts may some time or another deceive us; and those sins that seem to lie dead, may revive.

Remember too, that as you have the same evil dispositions as other persons, you are exposed to TEMPTATIONS peculiar to yourselves; particularly, (as has been already observed) from the great enemy of souls; who obtains a very great conquest, if he can make a minister unfaithful, and tempt him into sin. Do not gratify your grand adversary, nor give him an occasion to insult and triumph.

Again, MANY EYES ARE UPON YOU, and therefore many will observe your falls. The eclipses of the sun by day-time, are seldom without many witnesses. If other men may sin without great observation, YOU cannot. While 'you are 'as lights set upon an hill, you cannot be hid*'. The light of your doctrine will expose your evil doings. Live therefore as those who remember

* Matth. v. 14.

that

Part I. *Sins of Ministers peculiarly aggravated.* 23

that the world looks on you with the quick sighted eye of malice, ready to find the smallest fault; to aggravate and divulge it; yea, to make faults where there are none.

Further, take heed to your conduct, because your sins are attended with MORE HEINOUS AGGRAVATIONS than those of other men. It was a saying of king ALPHONSUS, "that a great man cannot commit a small sin." We may with more propriety say, that a LEARNED man, and a TEACHER of others, cannot: or at least, that THAT sin is great when committed by him, which would be esteemed smaller in another person.—Your sins are committed against greater knowledge than the sins of most others can be. They discover greater hypocrisy, and carry in them greater treachery. You are laid under more solemn obligations to abstain from them than other men, and you enjoy superior advantages for so doing.

Again, take heed of falling into sin, because THE HONOUR OF YOUR LORD AND MASTER is concerned. As you may do him more service, so you may do him more disservice than others. The nearer men stand to God, the greater dishonour does he receive from their miscarriages. An heavy judgment was threatened and executed on ELI and his house, because they 'kicked at his
' sacrifice

‘ sacrifice and offering ;’ and we are told, ‘ the
 ‘ sin of the young men was great before the Lord,’
 because on account of their prophane behaviour,
 ‘ men abhorred the offering of the Lord. *’ The
 aggravation of their sin was, that it ‘ caused the
 ‘ enemies of the Lord to blaspheme † ;’ which
 circumstance provoked God to deal more sharply
 with DAVID with respect to his crime than other-
 wise he would have done. Never give sinners oc-
 casion to say, “ there goes a covetous, or a drunken
 “ priest :” or to reflect, when they see you, that
 “ notwithstanding all your talk, you are as bad as
 “ they.” ‘ Offences will come; but woe to the
 ‘ man by whom they come. †’ You ‘ bear the
 ‘ ark of the Lord;’ you are intrusted with his
 honour; and dare you let it fall? Take heed, in
 the name of God, of every word you speak, and
 of every step you take. God will indeed wipe off
 all the dishonour that may be cast upon HIM; but
 YOU will not so easily remove the shame and sor-
 row from yourselves.

Once more; take heed to your conduct, because
 the SUCCESS OF ALL YOUR LABOURS does very
 much depend upon it. If you unsay, by your
 lives, what you say with your lips, you will prove

* 1 Sam. ii. 29 and 17. † 2 Sam. xii. 11—14.

† Matth. xviii. 7.

the greatest hinderers of your own work. It greatly prevents our success, that other men are all the week contradicting to the people in private, what we have been speaking to them from the word of God, in publick; but it will prevent it much more, if we contradict ourselves; if our actions give our words the lie. This is the way to make men think that the word of God is but an idle tale. Surely he that means as he speaks, will do as he speaks. One improper word, one unbecoming action, may blast the fruit of many a sermon.

Say, brethren, in the fear of God, do you regard the success of your labours, and wish to see it upon the souls of your hearers, or do you not? If you do not, why do you study and preach, and call yourselves the ministers of Christ? If you do, surely you cannot easily be induced to spoil your own work. You do not much regard the success of it, if you are willing to sell it at so cheap a rate, as for the indulgence of any sin. Long enough may you lift up your voices against sin, before men will believe there is any such harm in it, or such danger attending it as you talk of, if they see you commit it yourself. While men have eyes as well as ears, they will think they see your meaning, as well as hear it; and they are much more ready to believe what they see than what they hear.

All that a preacher does, is a kind of preaching. When you live a covetous or careless life; when you drink or game, or lose your time, and the like, by your practice you preach these sins to your people. They will give you leave to speak against them in the pulpit as much as you will, if you will but let them alone afterwards, and talk and live as they do; for they take the pulpit to be but as a stage; a place where preachers must shew themselves and play their parts; where you have liberty for an hour to say what you please. They will not much regard it, if you do not shew, by your conduct amongst them, that you meant as you said.

Consider further, (since the success of your labours depends on the grace and blessing of God) whether you will not by your sins, provoke him to forsake you and blast your endeavours; at least with regard to yourselves, tho' he may in some measure bless them to his people. Once more,

V. 'Take heed to yourselves,' that your graces be maintained in life and in action.

For this end, preach to YOURSELVES the sermons you study, before you preach them to others. If you were to do this for your own sakes, it would be no lost labour. But I principally recommend it on the publick account, and for the sake of the church.

church. When your minds are in an holy frame, your people are likely to partake of it. Your prayers and praises and doctrine will be sweet and heavenly to them. They are likely to feel it when you have been much with God. That which is on your hearts most, will be most in their ears. I confess, I must speak it by lamentable experience, that I publish to my flock the distempers of my soul. When I let my heart grow cold, my preaching is cold; and when it is confused, my preaching is confused also. And I have often observed it in the best of my hearers, that when I have grown cold in preaching, they have grown cold accordingly. The next prayers I have heard from them, have been too much like my sermons. You cannot decline and neglect your duty, but others will be losers by it as well as yourselves. If we let our love decrease, and if we abate our holy care and watchfulness, it will soon appear in our doctrine. If the matter shew it not, the manner will; and our hearers are likely to fare the worse for it. Whereas, if we could abound in faith and love and zeal, how would they overflow to the refreshing of our congregations! and how would this appear by encreasing the same graces in our people! Watch therefore, brethren, over your own hearts.

28 *Immediate preparation for the Pulpit. Part I,*
Keep out lusts, and worldly inclinations; and keep up the life of faith and love. Be much at home, and be much with God. If it be not your daily serious business to study your own hearts, to subdue corruptions, and to 'walk with God', all will go amiss with you, and you will starve your audience.— Or if you have an affected fervency, you cannot expect any great blessing to attend it.—Above all, be much in secret prayer and meditation. There you must fetch the heavenly fire, that must kindle your sacrifices.

But besides this general course of watchfulness for ourselves and others, methinks a minister should take some special pains with his own heart, just before he goes to the congregation. If it be cold THEN, how is he likely to warm the hearts of his hearers? GO THEN to God especially for life. Read some rousing awakening book; or meditate on the vast importance of the subject on which you are to speak; and on the great necessity of your peoples souls; that thus you may go, in 'the zeal of the Lord, into his house*.'

* Psalm lxi. 9.

THE END of the FIRST PART.

T H E
R E F O R M E D P A S T O R .

P A R T T H E S E C O N D .

Of the Duty of stated Ministers
with respect to their PEOPLE.

HA V I N G shewed you, as it was first necessary. What we must be, and what we must do for our own souls, I proceed to the

SECOND branch of the exhortation; which is thus expressed: "Take heed unto all the
" FLOCK over which the Holy Ghost hath made
" you overseers, to feed the church of God,
" which he hath purchased with his own
" blood."

Here it is necessarily supposed that every flock should have their own pastor, and every pastor his own flock. It is the will of God, that christians should 'know their teachers that labour among them, and are over them in the Lord.*' PAUL and BARNABAS 'ordained elders in every church.†'

* 1 Thess. v. 12. † Acts xiv. 25. See Tit. i. 5.

Tho' a minister be an officer in the universal church, yet he is in an especial manner the OVERSEER of that particular church which is committed to his care. When we are ordained ministers, without a special charge, we are licenced and commanded to do our best for all, where we are called to exercise; but when we have undertaken a particular charge, we have restrained the exercise of our gifts and guidance especially to that: so that we should allow others no more of our time and help than our own flock can spare. From this relation of pastor and flock, arise those duties which we mutually owe each other.

It is further implied, that our flocks should be no larger, than we are capable of overseeing, or taking the care of. The nature of the pastoral work is such as requires it to be done by the pastor himself.

By the FLOCK or CHURCH is meant that particular society of christians of which a bishop or elder has the charge; associated for personal communion in God's publick worship, and for other mutual assistance in the way to salvation.

What is meant when we are exhorted ποιμαίνειν την εκκλησιαν seems to be, not only to FEED the church, as it is translated; nor meerly to RULE it, as some understand it; but to perform every branch of the pastoral oversight. In a word, it is PASTOREM

TOREM AGERE ; to do the work of a Pastor to the flock.

In treating of this part of the exhortation, we shall I. Consider and recommend the several branches of the ministerial office. (Ch. i.) A minister's stated publick work—preaching—prayer—and administering the sacraments.—(Ch. ii.) Personal inspection, and private instruction.—(Ch. iii.) The several cases and characters to be regarded both in preaching, and private discourse.—(Ch. iv.) Catechising.—(Ch. v.) Arguments for personal instruction, particularly by catechising.—(Ch. vi.)—Church discipline.—II. (Ch. vii.) The motives to pastoral fidelity, suggested in the text.—III. (Ch. viii.) The objections against this course of ministerial duty.—IV. (Ch. ix.) Miscellaneous directions respecting the whole ministerial work.—V. (Ch. x.) The conclusion ; being a particular application of the whole.

C H A P. I.

Of a minister's stated publick work—preaching ; prayer ; and administering the sacraments.

ONE of the most important and most excellent parts of our work is

I. The **PUBLICK PREACHING** of the word.
[Here we shall suggest a few thoughts on the de-

sign of preaching—the manner of it—the pronunciation—and the composition of sermons.]

I. Of the DESIGN of PREACHING.

The grand design of preaching is, to shew men their truest happiness, and to direct them how to attain it.—It is the great work of christian ministers to acquaint men with God, and that glory which all his chosen people shall enjoy in his presence; to shew them the certainty and excellence of the promised felicity in the life to come, compared with the vanities of the present world, that so we may turn the stream of their thoughts and affections; bring them to a due contempt of this world, and put them upon seeking that durable treasure. This is the work about which we are to treat with men, day after day; for could we once bring them to propose a right END, and set their hearts unfeignedly on God and heaven, the greatest part of our business would be done,—Having shewn them the right end, our next work is to acquaint them with the right means of attaining it. We must first teach them the evil and danger of sin; then we must open to them the great mysteries of redemption;—the person, natures, incarnation, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and dominion of the blessed Son of God. As also, the conditions impos'd on us; the duties he has commanded

manded us ; the everlasting torments he has threatened to the finally impenitent ; the rich treasury of his blessings and grace ; the tenour of his promises, and all the privileges of the saints. We must recommend to them a life of holiness and communion with God. We must excite them to, and direct them in the performance of all the spiritual duties which the gospel requires. At the same time we must discover to them the deceitfulness of their own hearts ; the many difficulties and dangers they will meet with ; especially we must shew them the depth of Satan's temptations, and assist them against all these. We must reveal and recommend to them the great and gracious designs of God, in his works of creation, providence, redemption, justification, adoption, sanctification, and glorification. In a word, we must teach them as much as we can, of the whole works and word of God. And what two volumes are here for a minister to preach upon ! how great, how excellent, how wonderful ! All christians are the disciples or scholars of Christ : the church is his school : we are his ushers : the Bible is his grammar : this it is we must be daily teaching them. The PAPISTS would teach them without book, lest they should learn heresies from the word of truth ; but our business is not to teach them without book, but to help them to understand this book of God.

2. Of the MANNER of PREACHING.

Preaching is a work which requires greater skill, and especially greater life and zeal than any of us commonly bring to it. It is no trifling matter to stand up in the face of a congregation, and deliver a message of salvation or damnation, as from the living God, in the name of the Redeemer. It is no easy thing to speak so plainly that the most ignorant may understand us; so seriously that the dearest heart may feel, and so convincingly that contradicting cavillers may be silenced.—Certainly, if our hearts were set upon the work of the Lord as they ought to be, it would be done more vigorously than by the most of us it is. Alas! how few ministers preach with all their might, or speak about everlasting joys and torments in such a manner as may make men believe that they are in earnest! It would make a man's heart ache to see a number of dead and drowsy sinners sit under a minister, without having a word that is likely to quicken or awaken them. The blow often falls so light, that hard-hearted persons cannot feel. Few ministers will so much as exert their voice and stir themselves up to an earnest delivery. Or if they speak loud and earnestly, often times they do not answer it with earnestness of matter; and then the voice does but little good. The people will esteem it but meer bawling if the matter does not correspond. On the
2 other

other hand, it would grieve one to hear what excellent subjects some ministers treat upon, who yet let them die in their hands for want of a close and lively application; — what fit matter they have for convincing sinners, and yet how little they make of it. O sirs! how plain, how close, how serious should we be in delivering a message of such importance as ours, when the everlasting life or death of men are concerned in it! Methinks we are no where so much wanting, as in seriousness; yet nothing is more unsuitable to our business, than to be slight and dull. What! speak coldly for God, and for the salvation of men? Can we believe that our people must be converted or condemned, and yet can we speak to them in a drowsy tone? In the name of God, brethren, awaken your hearts before you come into the pulpit; that when you are there you may be fit to waken the hearts of sinners. Remember, that they must be awakened, or damned: but surely a sleepy preacher is not likely to awaken them. Tho' you give the holy things of God the highest praises in words, if you do it coldly, you will unsay by your manner all that you have said. It is a kind of contempt of great things, (especially so great as these) to speak of them without great affection, and fervency. 'Whatsoever our hand findeth to do, (certainly then in such a work as preaching for men's salvation) we should 'do it with all our

36 *Fervency in preaching recommended.* Part II.

‘ might.*’ Tho’ I do not recommend a constant loudness in your delivery, (for that will make your fervency contemptible) yet see to it, that you have a constant seriousness; and when the matter requires it (as it should do in the application, at least) then ‘ lift up your voice and spare not’ your spirits. Speak to your hearers as to men that must be awakened either here or in hell. Look upon your congregation with seriousness and compassion; and think in what a state of joy or torment they must be for ever; and that surely will make you earnest, and melt your hearts for them. Whatever you do, let the people SEE that you are in good earnest. You cannot soften men’s hearts by jesting with them, or telling them a smooth tale, or patching up a gawdy oration. They will not cast away their dearest pleasures, at the drowsy request of one who seems not to mean as he speaks, or to care much whether his request be granted or not.

Let us then rouse up ourselves to the work of the Lord. Let us speak to our people as for their lives, and ‘ save them as by violence, pulling them out of the fire.†’ Satan will not be charmed out of his possessions; we must lay siege to the souls of sinners, which are his chief garrison; must play the battery of God’s ordnance against it, and play it close, till a breach is made; not suffering them

* Eccl. ix. 10.

† Jude 23.

to make it up again. As we have reasonable creatures to deal with, we must see to it that our sermons be all convincing; and that we make the light of scripture and reason shine so bright in the faces of the ungodly, that unless they wilfully shut their eyes, it may even force them to see. A sermon full of meer words, while it wants the light of evidence, and the zeal of life, is but an image, or a well dressed carcase. In preaching, there is intended a communion of souls between us and our people; or a communication of somewhat from ours to theirs. We must endeavour to communicate the fullest light of evidence, from our understandings to theirs; and to warm their hearts, by enkindling in them, holy affections from our own. The great things which we are to commend to our hearers, have reason enough on their side, and lie plain before them in the word of God. We should therefore be so furnished with a proper store of evidence, as to come as with a torrent upon their understandings, and bear down all before us. With our dilemmas and exhortations, we should endeavour to bring them to a nonplus, that they may be forced to yield to the power of truth; to see that it is great and will prevail.

3. OF THE PRONUNCIATION.

A great matter with most of our hearers, lies in the pronounciōn and tone of the voice. The
best

best matter will not move them unless it be movingly delivered. When a man has a reading or declaiming tone, and speaks like a school-boy saying a lesson or pronouncing an oration, few are much affected with any thing that he says. The want of a familiar tone and expression, is as great a defect in the delivery of most of us, as any thing whatever: in this respect therefore we should be careful to amend. Let us guard against all affectation, and speak as familiarly to our people as if we were speaking to any of them personally.

4. Of the COMPOSITION of SERMONS.

In the study of our sermons we are apt to be too negligent; gathering only a few naked heads, and not considering of the most forcible expressions to set them home to men's hearts. We must STUDY how to convince and get within men, and how to bring each truth to the quick; not leaving all this to our EXTEMPORARY PROMPTITUDE, unless it be in cases of necessity.

Next to preaching let me mention another very important part of our publick work; that is,

- II. To guide our people, and be their mouth to God in the PRAYERS and PRAISES of the church; as also to bless them in the name of the Lord.

This sacerdotal part of our office is not the least; nor ought it to be thrust into a corner, as it too
fre-

frequently is. A very considerable part of God's publick service, was wont in all ages of the church, till of late, to consist in praises and eucharistical acts of communion. The Lord's day was kept as a day of thanksgiving, in the hymns, and common rejoicings of the faithful; in special commemoration of the work of redemption, and the happy condition of the gospel church. Tho' I am as apprehensive of the necessity of preaching as most persons, yet I think it ought not to prevent our solemn prayers to, and praises of God, from employing more of the Lord's day than they generally do. Our worship should be as evangelical as our doctrine. [Now as it is our business to lead the devotions of our people on such solemn occasions, we ought to take great care, that we do it with that propriety and fervour which will promote their real edification.]

Another part of our pastoral work, which I may take notice of in this chapter, is

III. The administration of the sacred mysteries, or the seals of God's covenant, BAPTISM, and the LORD'S SUPPER.

Many ministers totally neglect these ordinances; others administer them in a very careless manner; and a third sort lay a very undue stress on trifling circum-

40 *Ministers should know and watch over* Part II.
circumstances relating to them, and make them a
matter of much contention, even in that ordinance,
in which union and communion are so much pro-
fessed ; [I shall only observe that we ought carefully
to avoid all these faults.]

C H A P. II.

Of personal inspection and private instruction.

WE are commanded in the text to ‘take
heed to ALL the flock ;’ that is, doubt-
less, to every individual member of it. To which end,
it is necessarily supposed that we should know every
person that belongs to our charge ; for how can we
take heed to them if we do not know them ? We
must labour to be acquainted, as fully as we can,
not only with the persons, but with the state of all
our people,—their inclinations, and conversations ;
what are the sins they are most in danger of ; what
duties they neglect, both with respect to the mat-
ter and the manner ; and to what temptations
they are peculiarly liable. If we know not the
temperament or disease, we are likely to prove un-
successful physicians.

Being thus acquainted with all the flock, we
must take diligent heed to them, or do the work
of a pastor towards every individual. And one
would imagine, that all reasonable men would
be

Ch. II. *every individual of their flocks.* 45

be so well satisfied in regard to this, that nothing need be said to recommend it. Does not a careful shepherd look after every individual sheep, and a good physician attend every particular patient? Why then should not the shepherds and the physicians of the church take heed to every individual member of their charge? Christ himself, the great and ‘good shepherd’, who has the whole flock to look after, takes care of every individual; like him whom he describes in his parable, who ‘left the ninety nine sheep in the wilderness, to seek after one that was lost.’ — PAUL ‘taught the people publicly, and from house to house.’ He ‘warned every man, and taught every man, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.* ‘Every man is to seek the law at the priest’s lips.’† We are to ‘WATCH for souls as those that must give an account’‡ how we have done it.

To these and a variety of other scriptures which might be quoted to our present purpose, I might add many passages from the ancient councils, from whence it appears that such a personal inspection, was the practice of the most antient times. But I shall only mention one from IGNATIUS :—
“ Let assemblies be often gathered; seek after (or

* Col. i. 18. † Mal. ii. 7. ‡ Heb. xiii. 17.

“ enquire

“ enquire of) all by name ; despise not servant-men
“ or maids.”

Let me now mention a few particulars to which this part of our work should be applied.

1. We should use all the means we can to instruct the ignorant in the matters of their salvation.

We should use our own most plain familiar words in discoursing with them, and should give or lend them such books as are fit for them. We should persuade them to learn catechisms ; and direct such as cannot read, to get help of their neighbours, whom we should exhort to give them their assistance ; especially such as have the best opportunities for it.

2. We should be ready to give advice to such as come to us with cases of conscience ; especially that great case which the Jews put to PETER, and the jailor to PAUL and Silas, ‘ What must we do to be saved ?’

A minister is not only to be employed in publick preaching to his people, but should be a known counsellor for their souls, as the lawyer is for their estates, and the physician for their bodies. Not that a minister (any more than a physician, or lawyer) should be troubled with every trifling mat-

* πυκνότερον συναγωγὰὶ γενέσθωσαν· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζη-
τεῖτε· δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφανεῖτε. Ignat. ad Polyc.

ter about which others can advise them as well. But every man that is in doubts and difficulties about matters of importance, should bring his case to his minister for resolution. Thus NICODEMUS came to Christ, as it was usual with the people to go to the priest, ' whose lips were to preserve knowledge, ' and at whose mouth, they were to ask the law, ' because he was the messenger of the Lord of ' hosts.*'—Since the people are grown too much unacquainted with the office of the ministry, and their own duty herein, it belongs to us to acquaint them with it, and to press them publickly, to come to us for advice in cases of great concernment to their souls. What abundance of good might we do, could we but bring them to this. But how few are there who heartily press their people to it! A sad case, that men's souls should be injur'd and hazarded, by the total neglect of so great a duty; and that ministers should scarce ever tell them of it and awaken them to it! Were they but duly sensible of the need and importance of it, you would have them more frequently knocking at your doors, to open their cases, to make their complaints, and to ask your advice. I beseech you then, put them more upon this; and perform your duty carefully when they seek your help.

* Mal. ii. 7.

To this end it is very necessary, that we should be acquainted with practical cases, and especially with the nature of true grace, so that we may assist them in trying their states, and resolve the main question, which concerns their everlasting life or death. One word of seasonable, prudent advice, given by a minister to persons in necessity, has sometimes done that good which many sermons have fail'd of doing.

3. We should have an especial eye upon **FAMILIES**, to see that they be well ordered, and that the duties of each relation be well performed.

The life of religion, and the welfare and glory of church and state, depend much upon family government and duty. If we suffer the neglect of this, we undo all. What are we likely to do towards the reforming a congregation, if all the work be cast upon us alone, and masters of families neglect that necessary duty of theirs, by which they are obliged to help us? If any good be begun by the ministry in any soul, a careless, prayerless, worldly family is likely to stifle, or very much hinder it. Whereas if you could but get the rulers of families to do their part; to take up the work where you left it, what abundance of good might be done by it! Do all that you can therefore to promote this business, if ever you desire the true reformation and welfare of your parishes.

To

To this end, get information, how every family is conducted, and how God is worshipped in it, that you may know how to proceed. Go now and then among them, when they are most at leisure, and ask the master of the family whether he prays with them and reads the scripture. Labour to convince such as neglect this, of their sin. If you have an opportunity, pray with them before you go, to give them an example what you would have them do, and how they should do it. Then get them to promise that they will be more conscientious therein for the future.—If you find any unable to pray in tolerable expressions, thro' ignorance or disuse, persuade them to study their wants, and get their hearts affected with them. Advise them frequently to visit those neighbours who use to pray, that they may learn; and in the mean time recommend it to them to use a form of prayer, rather than omit the duty.—It is necessary to most illiterate people who have not been brought up where prayer has been used, to begin with a form; because otherwise they will be able to do nothing. From a sense of their inability, they will wholly neglect the duty, tho' they desire to perform it. Many persons can utter some honest requests in secret, who will not be able to speak tolerable sense before others; and I will not be one of them that had rather the duty were wholly neglected, or prophan'd

phan'd and made contemptible, than encourage them to use a form, either recited by memory, or read.—Tell them however, that it is their sin and shame to be so unacquainted with their own necessities, as not to know how to speak to God in prayer, when every beggar can find words to ask an alms; and that this form is only to be used, till they can do without it; which they ought to endeavour after, that their expressions may be varied according to their necessities and observations.

See that besides the Bible, they have some profitable moving books in every family. If they have none, persuade them to buy some of a low price. If they are not able, either give them, or procure for them such as are likely to be of the greatest use to them. Engage them to read in the evening, when they have leisure, but especially on the Lord's day; and by all means persuade them to teach their children to read English. Particularly, direct them how to spend the Lord's day; how to dispatch their worldly business, so as to prevent encumbrances and distractions; and when they have attended public worship, how to spend their time in their families. The life of religion, among poor people especially, depends much upon this, because they have very little time besides this to spare. If they lose this, they lose all, and will remain ignorant and brutish.—Persuade the master of the family,
every

every Lord's day evening, to cause all his family to repeat some catechism to him, and give him an account of what they have learned that day in publick.—If you find any who cannot spend the time profitably at home, advise them to take their families to some godly neighbour that can.

If any in the family are known to be unruly, give the ruler a special charge concerning them, and make him understand what a sin it is to connive at, and tolerate them.—If you can thus get masters of families to perform their duty, they will save you much pains with the rest, and greatly promote the success of your labours. You cannot expect a general reformation, till you procure family reformation. Some little obscure religion there may be, in here and there one; but while it sticks with single persons, and is not promoted by these societies, it does not prosper, nor promise much for future encrease.

4. Another part of our ministerial oversight lies in VISITING THE SICK, and helping them to prepare for a fruitful life, or an happy death.

Tho' this be the business of all our lives and theirs, yet a time of sickness requires extraordinary care both in them and us. When time is almost gone, and they must be now or never reconciled to God and possessed of his grace, oh! how does
does

does it concern them to redeem their few remaining hours, and 'lay hold on eternal life!' And when we see that we shall have but a few more days or hours with them, in which to speak to them in reference to their eternal state, what man that is not an Infidel, or to the last degree stupid, would not be with them, and do all that he can in that short space for their salvation! Will it not awaken us to compassion, to look upon a languishing man, and think that within a few days his soul will be in heaven or in hell?—So great is the change made by death, that it should awaken us to the greatest sensibility to see a man so near it; and it should excite in us the deepest pangs of compassion, to do the office of inferiour angels for the soul, before it departs from the flesh, that it may be ready for the convoy of superiour angels, to transmit it to the prepared glory. When a man is almost at his journey's end, and the next step puts him into heaven or hell, it is time for us to help him, if we can, while there is hope.

But further; as the present necessity of sick persons, should induce us to take that opportunity, for their good, so should the advantage which sickness and the foresight of death affordeth for it.—There are few of the stoutest hearts but will hear us on their death-beds, tho' they scorn'd us before. They
will

will then be as tame as lambs, who before were as untractable as mad-men. I find not one in ten of the most obstinate scornful wretches in the parish, but when they come to die, will humble themselves, confess their faults, seem penitent, and promise, if they should recover, to reform their lives. With what resolution will the worst of them seem to cast away their sins, exclaim against their follies, and the vanities of the world, when they see that death is in earnest with them ! I confess it is very common for persons at such a season to be frightened into ineffectual purposes, but not so common to be converted to fixed resolutions. Yet there are some exceptions. That there are so FEW, should make both them and us the more diligent in the time of health; and that there are ANY, should bestir us at last, in the use of the last remedies.

It will not be useless to OURSELVES to read such lectures of mortality. Surely it will much try the faith and seriousness of ministers or others, to be about dying men : they will have much opportunity to discern, whether they themselves are in good earnest about the affairs of the world to come. ' It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting ;' for it tends to ' make the heart better' when we see ' the end of all the living,'* and what it is that the world will do for

* Eccl. vii. 2.

those who sell their salvation for it.—It will excite us the better to consider the use of faith and holiness, which cannot prevent us from dying, any more than others, but which may enable us to die better than they.

To render your visits to the sick the more useful, take the following directions.

(1.) Stay not till their strength and understanding be gone, and the time so short that you scarcely know what to do, but go to them as soon as you hear they are sick, whether they send for you or not.

(2.) When the time is so short, that there is no opportunity to attempt the change of their hearts in that distinct and gradual way which is usual with others, we must be sure to dwell upon those truths which are of the greatest importance, and which are the most likely to effect the great work of their conversion.—Shew them the certainty and glory of the life to come; the way in which it was purchased; the great sin and folly of neglecting it in time of health; yet the possibility that remains of obtaining it, if they do but close with it heartily as their happiness, and with the Lord Jesus Christ, as the way thereto; abhorring themselves for their former evil, and unfeignedly resigning up themselves to be justified, sanctified, ruled and saved by him.

him. Shew them the sufficiency and necessity of the redemption by Jesus Christ, and the fulness of the Spirit, which they may, and must be partakers of; the nature and necessity of faith, repentance, and resolutions for new obedience, according as there shall be opportunity. Labour, upon conviction and deliberation, to engage them by solemn promise to Christ, that if their lives are spar'd, they will yield him such obedience.*

(3.) If they recover, go to them purposely to remind them of their promises, that they may reduce them to practice. If, at any time afterward, you see them remiss, go to them again, to put them in mind of what they formerly said: this is often of great use to such as recover: it has been the means of converting many a soul. It is necessary therefore, that you visit them whose sickness is not mortal, as well as them that are dying: you will hereby have some advantage to bring them to repentance and newness of life, as you will afterwards have this to plead against their sins. When the emperor SIGISMUND ask'd the bishop of COLEN "What was the way to be saved?" He answer'd

* In MR. BAXTER'S practical works (Vol. I. p. 511, &c.) there is "A form of exhortation to the godly and the ungodly in their sickness," which the reader may find it worth his while to consult, for further direction on this head.

him, "that he must be what he promis'd to be, when he was last troubled with the stone or the gout." In such a manner may we remind our people after a fit of sickness, of the resolutions they made in it.

5. It is the duty of ministers to REPROVE and admonish such as have been guilty of notorious and scandalous sins.

Before we bring such matters to the congregation, [the propriety and manner of which will be afterwards consider'd] it is ordinarily fit for the minister to try what he himself can do more privately, to bow the sinner to repentance.—A great deal of skill is here required, and a difference must be made according to the various tempers of the offenders. But with the most, it will be necessary to fall on with the greatest plainness and power;—to shake their careless hearts, and shew them the evil of sin; its sad effects; the unkindness, unreasonableness, unprofitableness, and other aggravations that attend it;—what it is they have done against God, and themselves.

6. We ought to give due encouragement to those humble, upright, obedient christians, who profit by our teaching, and are ornaments to their profession.

We should, in the eyes of all the flock, put some difference between them and others, by our more especial

especial familiarity, and other testimonies of our approbation of, and rejoicing over them, that so we may both encourage them, and excite others to imitate them. God's graces are amiable and honourable in all, even in the poorest of the flock, as well as in their pastors. The smallest degrees must be cherished and encouraged; but the highest, more openly honour'd, and propos'd to imitation. They who slight the most gracious because they are of the laity, while they claim to themselves the honour of the clergy, as they shew themselves proud and carnal, take the ready way to debase themselves, and to bring their office into contempt. If there be no honour due to the real sanctity of a christian, much less to the relative sanctity of a pastor; nor can he reasonably expect it should be given him.

C H A P. III.

Of several particular cases and characters, to be regarded both in preaching and private discourse.

[HA V I N G treated of preaching in general, and recommended private instruction, with regard to some objects peculiar to it, we shall now take notice of such cases as are to be attended to in BOTH.]

I. One great part of our ministerial work (i. e. both in publick and in private,) is to bring unsound professors to sincerity.

Tho' we be not absolutely certain that this or that man in particular is unsound and un sanctified, yet as long as we have a certainty that many such attend upon our ministrations; and since we have a great probability that this is the character of some that we can name, we have ground enough to go upon, in treating with them for their conversion.

Alas! the misery of the unconverted is so great, that it calls loudest for our compassion. They are 'in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity.*' They have 'no part or fellowship' in the pardon of sin, or the hope of glory. We have therefore a work of great necessity to do for them; even to 'open their eyes, to turn them 'from darkness unto light; from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among the sanctified by faith in Christ;†'—to soften and 'open their hearts,' to the entertainment of the truth, 'if peradventure God will give them repentance, to the acknowledging of it, that they may escape out of the snare of Satan, who are led captive by him at his will.‡' It is so sad a case to see men in a state of damnation, that methinks we

* Acts viii. 23. † xxvii. 18. ‡ 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.
should

should not be able to let them alone, either in publick or in private, whatever other work we have to do. I confess I am forced frequently to neglect that which would tend to the further increase of the godly, and what may be called ‘stronger meat,’* because of the lamentable necessity of the unconverted.—Who can talk of controversies, or nice unnecessary points, or even truths of a lower degree of necessity, however excellent, to gratify certain hearers of higher fancies, (who look for rarities, and expect to have their ears pleased) while he sees a number of ignorant, carnal, miserable sinners, before him, who must be CHANGED OR DAMNED?—Methinks I even see them entering upon their final woe! Methinks I hear them crying out for the speediest help!—If they have not hearts to seek or ask for help themselves, their MISERY speaks the louder.—As PAUL’s ‘spirit was ‘stirred within him,’ when he saw the Athenians so addicted to idolatry,† methinks it should cast us into one of his paroxysms, to see such numbers of men in the greatest danger of being everlastingly undone. If by faith we did indeed look upon them as within a step of hell, it would more effectually untie our tongues, than CROESUS’s danger did his son’s. He that will let a sinner go down to hell for want of speaking to him, has infinitely less esteem for souls than the Redeemer of them had;

* Heb. v. 12.

† Acts xvii. 16.

and less for his neighbour, than rational charity will allow him to have for the greatest enemy. Oh ! therefore brethren, whomsoever you neglect, neglect not the MOST MISERABLE. Whatever you pass over, forget not poor souls, who are under the condemnation and curse of the law, and who may every hour expect the infernal execution, if a speedy change do not prevent it. Oh ! call after the impenitent with the greatest importunity, and diligently pursue this great work of converting souls, whatever else you leave undone !

II. The next part of our ministerial work, is for the BUILDING UP those who are already converted.

And here our work is various, according to the various conditions of such.

I. Many of our flock are young and weak; tho' of long standing, yet of small proficiency or strength.

Indeed this is the most common condition of the godly : most of them stop at very low degrees of grace ; and it is no easy thing to get them higher.— To bring them to higher and stricter OPINIONS, is easy enough ; but to increase their knowledge and gifts, is not easy ; and to increase their GRACES is the hardest of all.

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A state of weakness in grace is of very bad consequence.—It abates consolation and delight in God, and makes persons less serviceable to God and man. They dishonour the gospel; they do but little good to any about them, or to themselves. And as they live to but little profit, they are unwilling, and too unfit, to die. How diligent then should ministers be, to cherish and increase the graces of God's people! The strength of christians is the honour of the church. When men are inflamed with the love of God; live by a lively operative faith; set light by the profits and honours of the world; 'love one another with a pure heart fervently;' can bear, and heartily forgive a wrong; 'suffer joyfully' for the cause of Christ; walk inoffensively in the world; study to do good, willing 'to be the servants of all for their good, becoming all things to all men that they may win them;' yet 'abstaining from the appearance of evil;' and seasoning all their actions with a sweet mixture of prudence, humility, zeal, and heavenly spirituality,—O what an honour are they to their profession! what ornaments to the church! how excellently serviceable to God and man! The world would sooner believe that the gospel is indeed a work of truth and power, if they could see more of these effects of it upon the hearts and lives of men. They are better able to read the nature of a

man's religion in his LIFE than in the BIBLE. Those that 'obey not the word, may be won by 'the conversation *' of such as these. It is therefore a necessary part of our work, to labour after the polishing and 'perfecting of the saints,' that they may 'be strong in the Lord, and fitted for their 'master's use.'

2. Another sort of converts, who need our assistance, are such as labour under some particular distemper, or such as are often overcome by some particular lust, which keeps their graces under, and makes them temptations or troubles to others, and burdens to themselves.

Alas! there are too many such persons as these. Some are especially addicted to pride; some to worldliness; some to this or that sensual desire; and many to sudden anger or violent passions.—Now it is our duty to give our assistance to all these. We should labour, by dissuasions and clear discoveries of the odiousness of their sin, and by suitable directions about the way of remedy, to help them to a fuller conquest of their corruptions. We are the leaders of Christ's army against the 'powers of darkness,' and we must resist all the 'works of 'darkness,' wherever we find them, tho' it be in 'the children of light.' We must be no more

tender of the sins of the godly, than of the ungodly; nor ought we any more to befriend or favour them. In proportion as we love their persons above others, should we express it, by opposing their sins.—We must expect to meet with some tender persons among them, (especially when iniquity has got to any head, and many have indulged it) who will be as peevish, and as impatient of reproof, as some worse men; nay they will interest piety itself with their faults, and say that a minister who preaches against them, preaches against the godly. But the servants of Christ must do their duty, notwithstanding men's peevishness, and must not so far 'hate their brother,'* as to forbear the plain rebuking of him, and 'suffer sin to lie upon' his soul.

3. Another sort of persons who require our regard, are DECLINING CHRISTIANS, who are either fallen into some scandalous SIN, or who have abated their zeal and diligence, and discover that they have 'lost their former love.'

As the case of backsliders is very sad, our diligence must be great for their recovery. It is sad to THEMSELVES, to have lost so much of their life and peace and usefulness; and to have become so serviceable to Satan and his cause. It is sad to US to see that all our labour is come to this;—that when

* Lev. xix. 17.

we have taken so much pains with men, and have entertain'd such hopes concerning them, all should be so far frustrated. It is saddest of all to think that God should be so abused by those whom he hath so loved, and for whom he has done so much; that the enemy should have obtained such an advantage over their graces; and that CHRIST should be so 'wounded in the house of his friends;'—that the name of God should be evil spoken of thro' them, and that those who fear him should be reproached for their sakes.—Besides, the condition of such persons is deplorable, as a partial back-sliding has a tendency towards a total apostacy, and would end in it, if special grace were not to prevent it.—The worse the condition of such christians is, the more lies upon us for their effectual recovery. We should 'restore those that are overtaken with a fault, in the spirit of meekness;' * and yet see to it, that the sore be thoroughly searched and healed, what pain soever it cost. We should especially look to the honour of the gospel, and see that such persons rise by such free and full confessions, and by such expressions of true repentance, that some reparation may be made to the church and their holy profession, for the wound of dishonour they had given both, by their sin. Much skill is required to the restoring of such souls.

* Gal. vi. 1.

4. Much of our assistance is necessary for such of our people as have fallen under some great **TEMP-TATION.**

Every minister therefore, should have much insight into ‘Satan’s wiles.’ We of all persons, should ‘not be ignorant of his devices.’ We should be acquainted with the great variety of them; with the cunning craft of his instruments, ‘who lie in wait to deceive,’ and with all the methods used by the grand deceiver.—Some of our people lie under temptations to error; especially the young, the unsettled, the self-conceited, and such as are most conversant with seducers. Young, raw, ungrounded christians, are commonly of their mind who have most interest in their esteem, and most opportunity of familiar conversation to draw them into their way. And as they are tinder, erroneous persons want not the sparks of zeal to set them on fire. A zeal for error and opinions of our own is natural; it is easily kindled and kept alive; tho’ it is far otherwise with a spiritual zeal for God. How much prudence and industry then is necessary for a pastor, to preserve the flock from being corrupted with noxious conceits; and especially such as lie under peculiar temptations to it!—Others are under temptations to worldly-mindedness; others to intemperance; others to lust;—some to one sin, and some to another. A faithful pastor therefore, should

62. *Disconsolate, and lively Christians.* Part II.

should have his eye upon all his flock; should labour to be acquainted with their natural dispositions; with their business in the world; with the company they live in, or are most conversant, with; that so he may know where their temptations lie, and endeavour speedily, prudently, and diligently to help them, both by his publick preaching and private discourse.

5. Another branch of our ministerial work, is to comfort the **DISCONSOLATE**; and to settle the peace of our people's souls, on sure and lasting grounds.

To which end, the quality of their complaints, and the course of their lives had need to be known; for all persons must not have the same consolations, who have the same complaints. *

6. Another part of our work with regard to real christians, respects those who are **STRONG and LIVELY**.

They have need of our assistance, partly to prevent their temptations and declensions, or to pre-

* The author tells us, that the reason of his brevity on this head, was, that he had particularly treated of it in his other works, (See Vol. I. p. 281. & 477, &c. See also his "Directions for spiritual comfort," Vol. II. p. 846, &c.)—and that this subject had been considered at large by several other authors, particularly by **MR. BOLTON**, in his "Instructions for right comforting."

serve.

Ch. III. *Doubtful characters how to be treated.* 63

serve the grace they have ; partly to help them to a further progress and increase ; and partly to direct them in the improvement of their graces for the service of Christ and the assistance of their brethren : as also to encourage them (especially the aged, the tempted, and the afflicted) to persevere, that they ‘ may receive their crown.’

III. Those whose characters are DOUBTFUL are also to be regarded both in our publick and private discourses.

There are some of our flock, who by a professed willingness to learn and obey, make it probable that they may have true repentance and faith, who yet, by their ignorance, or lukewarmness, or by some uneven walking, will occasion us fears as great as, or greater than our hopes, with regard to their present safety ; we may see occasion to doubt the worst, tho’ we have not ground to charge them with being unconverted and impenitent persons. I think half that come to me are of this sort, among whom I almost dare pronounce ten to one to be unregenerate.

Now it may put some younger ministers to a difficulty to know what they should do with this sort of people, where they have no sufficient ground to pronounce them godly or ungodly, whatever their fears or hopes may be.—I would advise you to be
very

very cautious how you pass too hasty or absolute censures on any that you have to do with ; because it is not an easy matter to discern that a man is certainly graceless, who professes to be a christian. Besides, we may discharge our duty with regard to such persons, without an absolute conclusion concerning their real characters. With regard to such let the following hints suffice.

Keep them close to the use of publick and private means.—Be often with the lukewarm and careless, to admonish and awaken them : for this purpose take the opportunities of sickness, which will bow their hearts and open their ears.—See that they spend the Lord's day, and order their families, aright.—Draw them off from the temptations to, and occasions of sin.—Charge them to come to you for help when their minds are distressed, to open to you their temptations and dangers before they are swallowed up by them.—In your preaching, and your discourse with them, strike at the great radical sins ; self-seeking, carnality, sensuality, pride, worldly-mindedness, infidelity, &c.—Press them to reading the scriptures, and other good books ; and direct them to such as are most likely to awaken them.—Engage their godly neighbours to have an eye over them.—Keep up discipline in the church to awe them.—But especially
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Ch. III. *Opinionated persons how to be treated.* 65

maintain the life of grace in your own souls, that it may so appear to them in all your sermons, that every one who comes cold to the assembly, may have his mind properly affected before he departs.

[Thus have we given some directions for discharging our ministerial duty with regard to the unconverted,—to real converts of various classes,—and to those whose characters are doubtful. But there is another sort of men, whom we may probably meet with, in regard to whom it may be proper in this chapter, to give a few hints of advice ;] That is

IV. OPINIATED PERSONS, who being tainted with pride and self-conceit, are more ready to teach, than to be taught ;—who rather than receive instruction from you, will quarrel with you, as ignorant or erroneous.

The preservation of the unity and peace of your congregations, doth very much depend on your right dealing with such persons as these. [—In order to cure them of their conceits, and to prevent others from being infected with them, take the following directions.]

1. If any such person should fall in your way in any of your private conferences with your people, and by his impertinence should strive to divert you from better discourse, tell him that the meeting was appointed for another use, and that you think it improper to pervert it from that.—However let him

him know, that you do not say this to avoid any trial of the truth, but that you will, at any other time, give him satisfaction, or receive instruction from him.

2. When you meet him with such an intent, ask him such questions as appear to be of great importance, but take care to throw some difficulty in his way, and be sure to keep the predicate out of your questions: put him most upon defining or distinguishing.*—If he discover his ignorance in the case proposed, endeavour to humble him under a sense of his pride and presumption, in going about with a teaching, contentious behaviour, while he is so ignorant in things of very great moment. At the same time, see to it that you are able to give him information with regard to those points, wherein you find him ignorant.

3. Take care to discern the SPIRIT of the man.—If he be a settled perverse schismatick, quite transported with pride, humble him as much as you can before other persons. But if you find him godly, and there is hope of his restoration, only do this in a private manner. Do not let fall any bitter words that would tend to his disparagement.

* The author produces a number of such questions (Chap. viii. § 1.) which it was judged unnecessary here to retain.

We must always be as tender of the reputation of good men, as our fidelity to them and the truth will permit. We must 'restore such with the 'spirit of meekness.*' There is little hope of doing them any good, if you once exasperate them, and disaffect them towards you.

4. If you come to debate any controversy with such persons, tell them that seeing they think themselves able to teach you, it is your desire to learn.—When they have spoken their minds to you in their dictatorial manner, let them know, that they have said nothing NEW to you; that you had considered of it all before, and that if you had seen divine evidence for it, you had received it long ago: that you are truly willing to receive all truth, but that you have far better evidence for the doctrines you have embraced than they have for the contrary. If they desire to hear what your evidence is, tell them, that if they will hear as learners, with impartiality and humility, freely entertaining the truth, you will communicate your evidence to them in the best manner you can.—When you have brought any such person to this, first shew him your reasons against the grossest imperfections of his own discourse, and then give him a few of the clearest texts of scripture in support of your sentiments.—

* Gal. vi. 1.

When you have done, give him some BOOK that best defends the truth in question; desire him to peruse it carefully, and to bring you a sober solid answer to it, if, after the perusal, he judge it to be unsound. And, if you can, fasten some one of the most striking evidences on him before you leave him.—If he refuse to read the book, endeavour to convince him of his unfaithfulness to the truth, and his own soul.

But above all, before you part, sum up the truths wherein you are both AGREED. Ask such a person whether he suppose that you may obtain salvation if you live according to your faith? And, if he will allow that you may,——whether they that are so far agreed should not live in love and peace, as children of the same God, and heirs of the same kingdom?—Whether, notwithstanding your smaller difference, you are not bound to hold communion in publick worship and church relation, and to walk together in the fear of God? And whether it be not schism to separate for the sake of so small a disagreement.

5. In order to preserve the church from such an infection it is desirable, that the minister be so far superiour to the people, as to be able to teach them, and keep them in awe, and manifest their weaknesses to themselves and others.—The truth

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Ch. III. *from opinionated, contentious people.* 69

is (a truth which cannot be hid) it is much owing to the weakness of ministers, that our poor people run into so many factions. When a proud seducer has a nimble tongue, and a minister is so dull or ignorant as to be confounded by him in company, it brings him into contempt, and overthrows the weak, who judge his to be the best cause, that talks in the most confident, plausible, and triumphant manner.

6. Endeavour frequently and thoroughly to possess your people's minds with the nature, necessity, and daily use of the great unquestionable principles of religion, and of the great sin and danger of a perverse zeal about the lower points; especially before the greater are well understood. Convince them of the obligations we are all under, to maintain the unity and peace of the church.

If any small (but hurtful) controversy should arise, in order to divert them from it, do you raise a greater, yourself; which you have better advantage to manage, and which is not likely to make a division. Let contentious persons know that there are greater difficulties than theirs, first to be resolved.—Go and converse with the persons whom you perceive to be affected with any noxious conceits, as soon as possible. When a fire is kindling, resist

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70 *How to preach to captious hearers.* Part II.
it in the beginning, and make not light of the
smallest spark.

7. Preach to such auditors as these, some higher points which shall be above their understandings. Feed them not always 'with milk,' but sometimes with 'strong meat;' for it exceedingly puffs them up with pride, when they hear nothing from ministers, but what they already know, and can say themselves: this it is that makes them think themselves as wise as you, and as fit to be teachers, and it is this that hath set so many of them on preaching: For they believe that you know no more than you preach.—However, don't neglect the great fundamentals of religion, nor wrong other persons, for their sakes.

8. Be sure to preach as little as possible against such persons as these. Never in a direct manner oppose their sect BY NAME, or any reproachful titles; for such persons are ordinarily exceeding tender, proud, passionate and rash: so that they will but hate you, and fly from you as an enemy, and say that you rail at them. Without mentioning THEM, lay the grounds clearly and soundly, which must subvert their ERROURS. If you are obliged at any time to deal with them directly, handle the controversy thoroughly, peaceably, and
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convincingly. Be not long upon it; don't say all that can be said; but choose that which they can have the least pretence to quarrel with, and omit what would require more trouble to defend.

9. Keep up PRIVATE MEETINGS, and draw these persons in among you: manage them prudently, and by this means you may keep them from such meetings among themselves, as will promote divisions. Professors very commonly will have private meetings; which, if well conducted, are of great use to their edification; but if not, will be of bad consequence.

In the management of them for the present purpose, observe the following rules.—Be sure that you give a constant attendance.—Let not the exercises of the meeting be such as encourage private men's ostentation of their gifts, but such as tend to the edification of the people. Don't let private men preach or expound scripture; nor let every one speak to questions of his own proposing; but do you repeat the sermons you have preached, call upon God in prayer, and sing his praise.—Yet let there be some opportunity for the people to speak. When you have done repeating, give them liberty to propose any difficulties they want to have resolved respecting the subject in hand, or any other.—If you perceive any of them bent upon
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the exercise of their abilities for ostentation, be not too severe upon them, but mildly let them know, that it is for their good and the edification of the church, that you oppose it. However,

VI. 10. Make use of your PEOPLE'S GIFTS to the uttermost, as your helpers, in their proper places, in an ordinary way, and under your guidance. This may prevent them from using them in a disorderly way, in opposition to you. It has been a great cause of schism, that ministers have contemptuously refused to make use of private men's gifts for their assistance, and thrust them too far from holy things. The good work is likely to go on but poorly, if none but ministers are employed in it. By a prudent improvement of the gifts of the more able christians (none of which God gave to be buried, but for common use) we may receive much help from them, and prevent their abuse, as lawful marriage prevents fornication.

You may use the gifts of your people for several purposes: e. g. urge them to be diligent in teaching, catechising, and praying with their own families. — Recommend it to them to step out now and then, to their ignorant neighbours, to catechise and instruct them, in meekness and patience. Desire them to go often to impenitent and scandalous sinners,

ners, and endeavour, with all possible skill and earnestness, yet also with love and patience, to reform, convert, and save their souls.—Acquaint them with their duty of watching over each other ‘in brotherly love;’ of ‘admonishing and exhorting one another daily;’ if any of them walk disorderly, to reprove them, and if they prevail not, ‘to tell the officers of the church,’ that they may be further dealt with, as Christ has appointed.—At your private meetings employ them in prayer.—In some cases, send them to visit particular persons in your stead, when you are prevented from going.—Let some of them be chosen to represent, and be agents for the church, in affairs of importance relating to it. Let such as are fit, be made subservient officers, I mean DEACONS, that they may afford you help in a regular way; and then they will, by their relation, discern themselves obliged to maintain the unity of the church, and the authority of the ministry. But be sure that they be men competently qualified for the office.

I am persuaded, if ministers had thus used the abilities of their ablest members, they might have prevented much of the division, distraction, and apostacy, that have befallen us; for they would then have found work enough upon their hands, for higher parts than theirs, without invading the

ministry; and would have seen cause to bewail the inequality of their abilities, to the work which belonged to them. Experience would have convinced and humbled them more than our words will do.

11. Still keep up christian love and familiarity even with those that have begun to warp and make defection: lose not your interest in them while you have any thoughts of attempting their recovery.

If they withdraw into separate meetings, follow them, and enter into a mild debate as to the lawfulness of it. Tell them that you have a mind to hear what they have to say, and to be among them for their good, if they will give you leave, for fear they should run to further evil. You will thereby prevent much reviling, and the venting of further errors, and by a moderate gentle opposition of them, may in time, convince them of their folly: and by this means, if any seducers come from abroad to confirm them, you will be ready to oppose them, and so you will at least do much to prevent the encrease of their party.

Ministers themselves have occasioned many of the divisions in England, by contemning those that have withdrawn into separate meetings; by talking against them, and by reproving them in the pulpit; while they have been entire strangers to them, or have shunned their company, and in the mean
time

time have given seducers an opportunity to be familiar with them, and to do what they pleased with them without contradiction.—Oh that ministers had been less guilty of the errors and schisms that they talk against! But it is easier to chide sectaries in the pulpit, and subscribe a testimony against them, than to play the skilful physician for their cure, or to do the tenth part of our duty to prevent or heal their disorders. I am not finding fault with prudent reprehensions of, or testimonies against them in publick: but I think too many of us have cause to fear, lest we do but publicly proclaim our own shame, by our negligence or weakness; and lest, in condemning, and testifying against them, we testify against, and condemn ourselves.

12. In order to preserve your church from divisions, and to keep your people from running after irregular, libertine preachers, be sure that you never let these authors of schism out-do you in any thing that is good.

As truth should be more effectual for sanctification than error, if you give them this advantage, you give them the day, and all your disputations will do but little good. Weak people judge all by the outward appearance, and by the effects, not being able to judge of the doctrine itself: they think he has the best cause, whom they take to be

the best man.—I extend this rule both to doctrine and to life. e. g. If a libertine preach **FREE-GRACE**, do you preach it up more effectually than he: be much upon it, and make it more glorious, on right grounds, than he can do on his wrong. If on the like pretence he magnify the grace of **LOVE**, do not contradict him in the affirmative, only in the negative, and destructive, part: but go beyond him, and preach up the **LOVE OF GOD**, with its motives and effects, more fully and effectually than he can do, on the corrupt grounds on which he proceeds: or else you will make all the silly people believe, that the difference between you and him is, that he is for free-grace, and for the love of God, and that you are against both. So if an enthusiast talks of the **HOLY GHOST**, as the light and witness and law within us, do you fall upon that subject too, and do that well which he does ill; preach up the office of the Holy Spirit; his indwelling and operations; the light and testimony and law within us, better than he does.—You must **DWELL** upon these things in your preaching, as well as he; for the people will take no notice of a short concession. I might mention many more instances to this purpose, but these will be sufficient to shew what I mean: the sum of which is, that preaching **TRUTH** is the most successful way of confuting error. Further

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We should be careful that seducers do not excel us in the practice of religious DUTIES, any more than in defending any sacred truths.

Do any of them express an hatred of sin, and a desire of church-reformation? We should much more.—Do they, when they meet together, spend their time in religious discourse, instead of vain jangling? Let us do so much more.—Are they unwearied in propagating their opinions? Let us be much more diligent in propagating the truth.—Will they condescend to the meanest, and ‘creep into houses to lead captive the silliest’ of the flock? Let us stoop as low, and be as diligent to do them good.—Are they loving to their party and contemners of the world? Let us be lovers of ALL: especially of all the saints. Let us ‘do good to all, especially to those of the household of faith.’ Let us love an enemy as well as they can do a friend. Let us be more just than they; more merciful than they; more humble, meek and patient than they; ‘for this is the will of God, that by WELL-DOING, we put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.*’—There is no virtue wherein your example will do more to abate men’s prejudices, than humility, meekness, and

* 1 Pet. ii. 15.

78 *Meekness and patience recommended.* Part II.
self-denial. Forgive injuries, and 'be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' Imitate our blessed Lord, 'who when he was reviled, reviled not again.' Take not up carnal weapons against your enemies (further than self preservation or the publick good requireth it,) but overcome them with kindness, patience, and gentleness. If you believe that CHRIST was more imitable than CAESAR or ALEXANDER, and that it is more glorious to be a christian than a conqueror, or to be a man than a beast, contend with charity and not with violence. Do not set force against force; but meekness, love, and patience. If we thus excel these men in an holy, harmless, righteous, merciful, fruitful, and heavenly life, as well as in soundness of doctrine, 'by our fruits we shall be known;' and the weaker sort of people will see the truth, in this reflection of it, who cannot see it in itself. Then our 'light will so shine before men, that they may be led to glorify our father who is in heaven:' and even 'they that obey not the word, may, without the word, be won by the conversation'* of their teachers.

Oh how happy had ENGLAND been; how happy had all the churches been, if the ministers of the gospel had taken these courses: This would have

* 1 Pet. iii. 1, 2.

done more against error and schism, than all our exclaiming against them hath done, or than all the force of the magistrate can do.

C H A P. IV.

*Of CATECHISING: * with particular directions in reference to it.*

[H A V I N G treated of private and personal instruction, we proceed to recommend one very excellent and useful method of conducting it, viz. by CATECHISING.]—For the better management of this work, the following directions may be of service:—they are of two kinds, viz. for bringing your people to comply with your design,—and for executing it in the most acceptable and useful manner.

I. In order to bring those persons to comply with this method of instruction, [whom you think proper, thus to instruct,]

* By CATECHISING, the author plainly meant, not only hearing persons repeat, and expounding to them, A FORM OF WORDS containing the grand and common principles of religion; but proposing to them familiar questions of OUR OWN, in order the better to judge of their knowledge and dispositions, and to be the more capable of suiting our instructions and admonitions to them. And this method he recommends to be used not only with respect to children, but those who are come to years of maturity.

It will be a matter of vast importance to behave yourselves, thro' the main course of your ministry, in such a manner as may convince them of your ability, and your unfeigned love to them. When people are convinced that a minister is qualified for his work, and intends no private ends of his own, but meerly their good, they will more readily stoop to his advice, and be persuaded by him.

Supposing this general preparation, the next thing to be done is, to convince your people of the benefit and necessity of this method of instruction, for the good of their souls. — In order to this, it will be proper to preach some plain and serious sermons to shew the benefit and necessity of an acquaintance with divine truths in general, particularly the great PRINCIPLES of religion ; and that persons advanced in life have equal need to be instructed in them with others, and in some respects greater. — Make them understand that this is not an arbitrary business of your devising or imposing, but that ' necessity ' is laid upon you' to look to every member of your flock, according to your ability, and that if you neglect to do it, they may ' perish in their iniquities, and their blood be required at your hands.' — When this is done, furnish every family with a catechism [where you apprehend they need it] or see that they furnish themselves. — Take

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a catalogue of the names of all those whom you intend thus to instruct, that you may know whom to expect, and who fail to give their attendance.— Deal very gently with them, and take off all discouragements as effectually as you can. Do not insist upon every person's committing the catechism to memory; but, where they labour under peculiar difficulties, only exhort them to read it often, and get the substance of it into their minds and hearts.—If any persons will not submit to be thus instructed by you, go to them and expostulate the matter with them; know what their reasons are; and convince them of the sinfulness and danger of contemning the help that is offer'd them.—Souls are so precious, that we should not lose one for want of labour; but should follow them while there is any hope, and not give them up as desperate, till there be no remedy.*

II. Having

* —“ Ignorant souls (says MR. GURNAL) feel not such smart as to put them upon enquiring for a physician. If the minister stay till they send for him to instruct them, he may sooner hear the bell go for them than any messenger come for him. You must seek them out, and not expect that they will come to you. These are a sort of people that are more afraid of their remedy than their disease, and study more to hide their ignorance than to have it cured: it should make us pity them the more because they can pity them.

II. Having brought your people to comply with this kind of instruction, the next thing to be considered is, how you should deal the most effectually with them in the work.

And I must say that I think it is a much easier matter to compose and preach a good sermon, than to deal rightly with an ignorant man for his instruction in the principles of religion. This work will try the abilities and tempers of ministers; it will shew the difference between one man and another, more than pulpit-preaching can do. Good bishop USHER observes, "As the laying of the foundation skilfully, is a matter of the greatest importance in the whole building, so it is the very master-piece of the wisest builder. Thus the apostle PAUL conceived of it when he said, 'According to the grace of God given to me, as a wise master builder, I laid the foundation.*' The neglect of this, is the frustrating the whole themselves so little. . . . It is an unhappiness to some of us, who have to do with a multitude, that we cannot attend on them, as their needs require . . . but let us look to it, that tho' we cannot do what we should, we be not wanting in what we may."

GURNAL's *Christian Armour* p. 235. quoted by the author at the end of his preface. (Fifth Edition fol. p. 89) The whole passage is worth reading.

* 1 Cor. iii. 10.

"work

“work of the ministry.”—The directions which I think should be observed in managing this work are the following.

1. When your people, one family or more, come to you, (which perhaps it will be the best for them to do,*) begin your work with a short preface to remove all discouragements, and to prepare them for your instructions. e. g. “It may perhaps appear to some of you (my friends) an uncommon and troublesome business, which I now put you upon: but I hope you will not think it needless. Had I thought so, I should have saved you and myself this labour. But God has told me in his word, how great a thing it is to have the charge of souls, and that the ‘blood of them that perish will be required at the hands’ of such ministers as neglect them; so that my conscience will not suffer me to be so guilty of such a neglect, as I have been. The Lord only knows how long you and I may be together; it therefore concerns me to do what I can for your salvation, and my own, before I leave

* MR. BAXTER, in his preface, tells us what was his method: “At the delivery of the catechisms (says he) I take a catalogue of all the persons of understanding in the parish; the clerk goes a week before hand to every family to tell them when to come and at what hour: e. g. one family at eight o’clock, the next at nine, the next at ten, &c.”

you and the world. I hope you will be glad of help in so needful a work, and not think much of it that I put you to this trouble, when even the trifles of the world cannot be gotten without much greater.”—

2. In general, take each person alone, and discourse with him out of the hearing of the rest; for some do not like to be questioned before others, and cannot answer you with freedom. However let none be present but those of the same family, or those with whom they are familiar. I find by experience that, in general, people will bear plain and close dealing about their sin, their misery and their duty when you have them alone, better than when others are present.

3. As for those that commit a catechism to memory, it may be proper at the beginning of these exercises, to take an account of what they have learned, and to hear them repeat the answers to each question.

4. When you form questions of your own to propose to them, be careful of the following things.—Let them be such as they may perceive to be of great importance, and of the nearest concernment to themselves :—e. g. “ What do you think becomes of men when they die?—Do you believe that
that

that you have sinned?—What doth sin deserve?—What remedy hath God provided for saving sinful and miserable souls?—Hath any one suffered for sin in our stead?—Who are they that God will pardon?—What change must be made on all that will be saved?—And how is it made?—Where is our chief happiness, and what must our hearts be most set upon?”—Take heed of asking them any nice, doubtful, or difficult questions.—Be very cautious how you put them upon definitions, or descriptions: so contrive to bring the predicate into your questions, that they may perceive what you mean.—e. g. “What is God? Is he flesh and blood as we are, or is he a spirit?—Look not after words but things; and often leave them to a bare *yes*, or *no*; for there are many elderly and even godly people who cannot speak their minds in any tolerable expressions.—If you find them at a loss, and unable to answer you, do not drive them on too hard, or too long, lest they should imagine that you only intend to puzzle and disgrace them. When you perceive them troubled that they cannot answer, take off their burden by answering the question yourself; and then do it thoroughly and plainly, that they may understand it before you leave them.

5. When you have done what you think necessary in trying their knowledge, proceed to instruct them

them further. This must be done according to their several characters. If the person be a professor, fall upon something which you apprehend he most needs; either explain some doctrine, or lay the foundation of some duty which you have reason to think he neglects, &c. If the person be grossly ignorant, give him a plain familiar summary of the christian religion; for though he may have it in the catechism, a more familiar way of discoursing upon it, may help him better to understand it. If you perceive he does not understand you, go over it again; then ask him whether he does or not; and endeavour to leave it fixed in his memory.

6. If you suspect any to be ungodly, whether they be grossly ignorant or not, make a prudent enquiry into their states. The least offensive way of doing it will be to take your occasion from some article in the catechism, which they have repeated: e. g. "Tho' I have no desire needlessly to pry into the secrets of any, yet because it is the office of a minister to give advice to his people in the matters of salvation, and because it is so dangerous a thing to be mistaken, where life or death eternal are depending, I would entreat you to deal faithfully, and tell me whether you ever found this great change upon your hearts;—whether you live
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in this or that sin ;—or, whether you perform this or that duty, &c.—If any such person tells you he hopes he is converted, shew him, in the plainest manner, what true conversion is ; then renew and enforce the enquiry. Ask him such questions as these: “ Can you truly say, that all the known sins of your past life are the grief of your heart ? That you have felt yourself undone by them ? That you have gladly entertained the news of a Saviour, and have cast your soul upon Christ alone for salvation ?—Can you say from your heart that you hate the sins which you formerly loved, and that you now love that holy life for which once you had no relish ?—Do you live in the practice of any known sin, or in the neglect of any known duty ?—Is the main course and the bent of your whole life to please God, and enjoy him for ever ?—Mention particularly some of those duties which you most suspect him to omit, and ask him whether he performs them ; especially PRAYER, in the family, and in secret ; as also, how he spends the Lord’s day ?

7. If you discern an apparent probability that the person is in an unconverted state, your next business is to labour, with all your skill and power, to bring his heart to a sense of his condition.—Address him in some such manner as this.—“ Truly friend,

friend, the Lord knows I have no mind to make your case worse than it is, nor to occasion you any unnecessary fear or trouble; but I suppose you would take me for an enemy, and not a faithful friend, if I should flatter you, and not tell you the truth. I much fear that you are yet a stranger to the new and divine life. If you were a christian indeed, you would not have lived in such a sin, &c. &c. Alas! What have you been doing? How have you spent your time, that you are so ignorant, and so unprepared for death if you should now be called to it? What if you had died before now in an unconverted state? What had become of you, and where had you now been?"—Here be very earnest; if you get not the heart you get nothing. That which does not affect is soon forgotten.

Let this be followed with a practical exhortation concerning the nature and necessity of closing with Christ, and the use of every proper means, for the time to come, to avoid former sins. Speak to them to this effect. "I am heartily sorry to find you in so sad a case, but should be more so to leave you in it. Let me therefore intreat you for the Lord's sake, and for your own sake, to regard what I shall say to you. It is a great mercy that you was not cut off in your natural state; that you have yet life and time; especially that there is a sufficient
remedy

remedy provided for you in the blood of Christ. There is yet a possibility of your being converted and saved. Let me then entreat you, not to rest in your present condition, since, if you do, you must perish for ever. Think seriously of the vanity of the world; the awful nature of eternity; and the importance of religion. Without any delay, accept of the salvation offer'd in the gospel, and close with the Lord Jesus Christ who offers it to you. Resolve immediately against your former sins, and be diligent in the use of all God's appointed means, till the great change of regeneration be wrought. Because you cannot effect this change yourself, betake yourself daily to God in prayer, and beg of him to effect it, as well as pardon your sins. Avoid carefully all temptations to, and occasions of, sin. Forsake your evil companions, and join the company of them that fear God. Especially spend the Lord's day in holy exercises, both in publick and in private: lose not any time, but especially, lose not that most precious time which God has given you to be instructed by him, and prepared for your latter end."—Be sure, if you can, to get a promise from such persons that they will attend to your advice. Ask it solemnly; reminding them of the presence of God who hears their promises, and will expect the performance.

8. Thro' the whole of these exercises, see that your manner, as well as matter, be suited to the end. Make a difference according to the difference of the persons you have to deal with. With the dull and obstinate, you must be earnest and severe: with the tender and timorous, you must mildly insist upon direction and confirmation. With the young, you must represent the shame and evil of sensual pleasures, and the necessity of mortification: with the aged, you must disgrace the present world; you must represent the nearness of their change; and the aggravations of their sins, if they live and die impenitent. With your inferiours, you may be very free: with your superiours and elders, you must speak with more reverence. To the rich, the nature and necessity of self-denial must be opened: to the poor, we must shew the great 'riches of glory' proposed to them in the gospel.— The evil and danger of those sins must be insisted on, to which each one's age, or sex, or temperature of body, or employment in the world, does most incline them. Be as condescending, familiar, and plain, as possible with those of the weakest capacities. Give them the scripture proofs of all that you say, to convince them that it is not you only, but God, by you, who speaks to them. Be serious in all, but especially in your applications.

I scarcely

I scarcely fear any thing more than lest some careless ministers will hurry over this work superficially, and destroy this, as they do all other duties, by turning it into a meer formality; proposing a few cold questions, and giving a few cold words of advice, without any life and feeling in themselves, or any likelihood of producing any feeling in the hearers. But surely he that values souls and knows what opportunity is before him, will do it accordingly.

To this end, it will be of considerable importance that both before, and in the work, we take great pains with our own hearts; especially to strengthen our belief of the truth of the gospel, and the invisible glory and misery which are to come. This work will greatly try the strength of our faith. A superficial christian will feel his zeal quite fail him (especially when the duty is grown common,) for want of a belief in the things he is treating of, to keep it alive. In the pulpit, from the press, and in publick acts, where there is room for ostentation, the hypocritical minister will give you his best: but an affected fervency and hypocritical stage-action will not hold out long in such duties as these: they are other kind of men that must effectually perform them.—We should endeavour to prepare ourselves for this business particularly by private Prayer.—And, if the time will permit, it will be best

to begin and end these exercises I am recommending with a short prayer with our people.

Lastly ; if God has given you ability, extend your charity to the poorer sort before they part from you, for their relief, and for the time that is thus taken from their labours ; especially for the encouragement of those that make the best proficiency.

C H A P. V.

ARGUMENTS for personal instruction, particularly by Catechising in the manner recommended.

IT must, indeed, be acknowledged that the method of instruction which has been proposed is attended with many difficulties and discouragements. Many arise both from our people, and from ourselves.—There is IN US much dulness and laziness ; so that it will not be easy to bring us to be faithful in so hard a work. We have also a base man-pleasing disposition, which will suffer us to let men go quietly to hell, lest we should lose their respect. We are more ready to venture on the displeasure of God, and their everlasting misery, than draw upon us their ill-will ; and are so carnal that we dare not be faithful for fear of losing our income, or bringing ourselves into difficulties. Many of us have a foolish bashfulness, which makes us backward to begin this great work. We are so modest,
forsooth,

forsooth, that we blush to speak for Christ, or contradict the devil, or attempt to save a soul; while we are less ashamed of more shameful works than these.—We are commonly too unfit for this work by reason of our unskilfulness: we know not (as we ought) how to deal with an ignorant worldling for his salvation; how to get within him and win upon him; nor how to suit our addresses to men's several conditions and tempers.—But the greatest impediment of all is, that we ourselves are too weak in the faith, and feel too little of the power of religion upon our souls. Our belief of divine truths and invisible things is so feeble that it will hardly excite in us so kindly, resolute, and constant a zeal as is necessary for this work.

Besides these difficulties from ourselves, we have too many to encounter from our PEOPLE.—Many of them will scorn to come to us to be taught, imagining they are too good to be catechised, or too old to learn.—Many are so dull that they will keep away, as ashamed of their ignorance; or, if they come, you will find it an hard matter to get them to understand you; and yet more difficult to work upon their hearts, so as to produce a saving change; which is our principal end, and without which our labour is almost lost.—Oh what a rock a carnal heart is! How strongly will it resist the most powerful persuasions, and with what unconcern
will

will finners hear of everlasting life and death!— And even when you have made some desirable impressions upon them, if you have not a special care over them, their hearts will soon return to their former hardness, and their old companions, and temptations, will work off all again.—[These things must be acknowledged to be great discouragements;] but in a necessary work, they should excite us to the greater diligence.—[That THIS is a necessary work, will appear, if we consider] the benefits to be expected from it,—and the obligations ministers are laid under to perform it.

I. Let us consider the BENEFITS which may reasonably be expected from the method of private instruction which has been proposed. And

I. It is attended with the most excellent advantage for informing the judgment, and changing the will, of the ignorant and ungodly.

It will tend greatly to inform the understanding, to have the sum of christianity in the memory. Tho' bare words will be of but little advantage, yet when the words are plain English, he who has them by rote, is much more likely to know the truths contained in them than another. Such forms of sound words (tho some deride all catechisms as unprofitable) may be of admirable use; especially as we shall have an opportunity, by personal converse

verse with those who have committed them to memory, to try how far they understand them; to explain to them what they do not understand; and to insist on those particulars which we apprehend each person has most need to hear.

[In some respects this kind of instruction has the preference to PREACHING.*] What other argument need we for this than our own experience?—I seldom deal with men on this great
business

* “ Private, frequent, spiritual conference (saith DR.
“ HAMMOND) between fellow christians, but especially
“ between the Presbyter and those of his charge, parti-
“ cularly in the discussion of every man’s special sins,
“ infirmities and inclinations, may prove very useful and
“ advantageous (in order to spiritual directions, reproof
“ and comfort) to the making the man of God perfect.
“ And to tell the truth, if the pride and self-conceit of
“ some, the carelessness of others, the bashfulness of a
“ third sort, the nauseating and instant satiety of any
“ good in a fourth, if the follies of men and the arti-
“ fices of Satan, had not put this practice quite out of
“ fashion among us, there is no doubt but more good
“ might be done by ministers this way, than is now done
“ by any other means, even than by that of publick
“ preaching, which is now almost solely depended upon :
“ it being, as QUINTILIAN saith, (comparing publick
“ and private instruction of youth) a more likely way
“ to fill narrow mouth’d bottles (and such are the most
“ of

business, in private serious conference, but they go away with some seeming convictions, and promises of new obedience; and sometimes with a deep remorse, and affecting sense of their condition. Yea, I have found (and I doubt not but you have experienced the same) that an ignorant sot, who for a long time had been an unprofitable hearer, has got more knowledge and remorse of conscience, in half an hour's close conversation, than he did by ten years publick preaching. I know THAT is the most excellent means, because we therein speak to many at once; but this private way of preaching is usually far more effectual, for many reasons. e. g. We have the best opportunity to imprint religious truths upon the heart, when we can speak to each one's particular necessity, and can say to the sinner, 'thou art the man;' when we can mention his particular case, and address him in regard to it with familiar importunity. If any thing in the world is likely to do our people good, it is this. They will understand a familiar speech, who hear a sermon as if it were nonsense. Besides, they have far greater advantage for the application

"of us) to take them single in the hand, and pour
 "water into them, than to set them altogether, and
 "throw ever so much water upon them."

DR. HAMMOND on the power of the keys,
 Ch. IV. § 104.

of it to themselves.—By this means, you will hear their objections, and know where Satan has the most advantage over them, or what it is that resists the truth; and so may be the more able, effectually to convince them.—We can here answer their objections, drive them to a stand, urge them to discover their resolutions for the future, and to promise to use the means for reformation. Again; in private, we may speak in a much PLAINER manner than we can in publick. The plainest preacher, can hardly speak plain enough in the pulpit, to make many understand. I have often been surpris'd to find how grossly ignorant many are who have been my hearers several years; who are as unable to answer some of the plainest questions as if they had never heard the gospel in their lives: Now in publick we cannot use such homely expressions, nor so many repetitions as their dulness requires; but in private we may.—In publick our speeches are long; we quite over-run their understandings and their memories; so that they are confounded and unable to follow us; one thing drives out another, so that they know not what we have been saying: but in private we may take our work *gradatim*, and take our hearers with us as we go. By their answers to our questions we may see how far they go with us, and what we have next to do.—In publick, by our length, and speaking

ALONE, we lose their attention ; but when they are interlocutors we can easily cause them to attend.—I conclude therefore, that publick preaching alone will not be sufficient, nor effectual for the conversion of so many as this method. Long may you study and preach to little purpose, if you neglect this duty.

2. This work of private instruction, if well managed, will be the means of the most ORDERLY building up those that are converted, and establishing them in the faith.

It hazards the whole work, or at least very much hinders it, when we do it not in a proper order. How can you build if you do not lay a good foundation ? It is owing to the neglect of this, that there are so many deluded novices in religion ; and that so many are labouring in vain ; ‘ still learning, without coming to the knowledge of the truth ; *’ like those that would read before they have learned the letters. This makes so many fall away, or to be ‘ shaken by every wind of doctrine.’ These fundamentals are what must lead men to further truths ; these they must build upon ; these must actuate all their graces, and animate all their duties ; these must fortify them against particular temptations. He that knows these well,

* 2 Tim. iii. 7.

knows as much as is necessary to make him happy. He that knows these best, is the most understanding christian. He that knows not these, knows nothing. The most godly people, therefore, in your congregation will find it worth their while to be thus instructed. If you would edify and well establish them, be diligent in this work.

3. This method of private instruction will tend to make our preaching better understood and regarded.

When you have acquainted persons with the Principles, they will more easily perceive what you are aiming at; it will prepare their minds and open the way to their hearts; whereas without this you may lose the most of your labour; and the more pains you take in accurate preparations, the less good you will do.

4. By this means you will become familiar with your people; which is no inconsiderable advantage.

The want of this is a great impediment to the success of our labours. By distance and strangeness, abundance of mistakes between ministers and people are occasioned. Besides, familiarity tends to beget those affections which may open their ears to further teaching. When we are familiar with them they will be encouraged to use freedom in

opening their doubts to us, for our resolution of them: But when a minister knows not his people, or is as strange to them as if he did not know them, it must be a great hinderance to his doing them any good.—By this familiarity we shall be better acquainted with each person's temper and spiritual state, and so shall know better how to watch over them, how to preach to, and discourse with them; how to lament for, or rejoice over them; and how to pray to God on their behalf.—We shall hereby be the better enabled to help them against temptations, and prevent their falling into any hurtful errors; of which they are in great danger while their pastors are strangers to them, and seducers are very familiar with them.—Once more; this familiarity with our people will better satisfy us in the administration of the Lord's supper; as we shall hereby better know who are fit, and who are unfit for it. Whereas many will question a minister, who examines his people in order to this ordinance, by what authority he does it, and will not submit to such an examination, the same work will be done in such a COURSE as this, in an unexceptionable manner.

5. This method of private instruction will better inform the people concerning the nature of the ministerial office, or awaken them to a better attention to it.

It is common for men to think that our work is nothing more than to preach well, to baptize, administer the Lord's supper, and visit the sick; they are therefore willing to submit to no more; and thro' a common neglect, ministers are become such strangers to their own calling, that they think of doing nothing more. They have hundreds of people to whom they never spoke a word personally for their salvation. Nay, the omission of personal instruction is grown so frequent, even among pious and able men, that the disgrace of it is abated, and a man may be guilty of it without any dishonour or observation.—Shew the world then, by your practice, what the nature of our office is; and I hope that you will see the time, when neglect of personal oversight will be taken for as scandalous an omission, as preaching but one part of the day would now be esteemed.—In overthrowing the errors of Popery many have run into the contrary extrem: lest they should seem to favour auricular confession, they have neglected all personal instruction. I am past doubt that the popish auricular confession is a sinful novelty; but I must say (tho' some will think it strange) that our neglect of personal instruction is much worse. Let us, by our practice, shew careless ministers, as well as our people, the importance and necessity of this duty.—Further; as this course will acquaint the people with

our duty towards them, it will also inform them of THEIRS towards us; and then they will be more likely to discharge it better. This I mention not for our own sakes only, but because their salvation is much concern'd in it. If they do not know what our office is, viz. that it is one great branch of it to admonish and instruct them with regard to their particular cases, it is no wonder if they neglect to apply to us for our help, to their own prejudice. The matter is now come to this pass, that if we exhort them to come for instruction, or begin to discourse with them about their souls, they question our authority, and look upon us as proud, pragmatical persons, who would bear rule over their consciences. They do in general discover no more wisdom nor gratitude, than if they were to quarrel with a person for quenching the fire when their houses were burning; or if, when one offered to save them from drowning, they should ask him by what authority he did it.—And what is it that has brought our people to this ignorance of their duty, but our neglect of ours? Where it is the custom (as among the PAPISTS) they are willing to confess all their sins to the priest; but among us they disdain to be questioned or instructed, because it is not the custom.—Let us then by our diligence in this work endeavour to make it become a common thing; and thus we shall facilitate the ministerial

terial service to the next generation. If we can but establish this custom, our successors in the ministry will reap the fruit of our labours, as their work will be easier to them; and thus we may be the means of saving many souls in ages to come, as well as in the present.*

6. Another considerable benefit attending private instruction, (especially by catechisms) is, that it will keep our people from much of that vanity, which now possesses their minds and takes up their time.

When workmen are employed in their shops, almost all their talk is vanity; and children are apt to learn foolish songs and idle stories, and thus furnish their minds with filth and rubbish, which occasions them to lose much time, and to be guilty of many idle thoughts and words. Now when they have a catechism to learn, and know that they must give an account of it, much of their time and thoughts will be better employed. It will particu-

* “ Perhaps you who find a people rude and ignorant
“ (like stones in the quarry, or trees unhewn) may not
“ bring the work to such perfection in your days as you
“ desire. Yet, as DAVID did for SOLOMON, you may,
“ by your pains in teaching and instructing, prepare
“ materials for another who shall rear the Temple.”
GURNAL, ubi supra.

larly find them, and heads of families, profitable employment for the Lord's Day.

7. As the method of instruction I am recommending is, by supposition, very extensive, we have reason to expect the most *extensive* benefits from it.

It has a more excellent design (and therefore we may hope it will have more important effects) than our accidental conferences with here and there a particular person. In such occasional discourses, I observe ministers satisfy themselves to have spoken some few good words, but seldom set themselves, in so plain and close a manner, to convince men of their sin and misery, and their need of mercy, as in this purposely appointed work, we shall have an opportunity of doing.

In short, so weighty and excellent is this duty, that the chief part of church-reformation is behind without it, and consists in it. We are apt to look upon a reformation as what is to be wrought immediately by God, without considering, that it is to be effected by our means; but this we have no warrant to do: in order to it, we must use our unwearied endeavours, and particularly must be diligent in catechising and personal instruction; for this is likely to do more towards effecting such a reformation as we have long prayed and hoped for, than every other means without it. Brethren, all that
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our forefathers have been doing for the good of the church, and for a true reformation, for so many years, was but to prepare the way for you to come in and do the work which they desired. They have opened you the door, and at a great expence of labours and sufferings, have removed many of your impediments:—And will you now stand still or loiter? God forbid! Have they spent so much time in fencing the vineyard, in weeding and pruning it, to make it ready for your hands, and will you now fail, who are sent to gather in the vintage?—In the name of God, take heed that you do not frustrate their labours, their prayers, and their hopes!—To what has been said let me add,

8. The diligent prosecution of this work will do some good to ministers themselves.

It will be the best cure for their idleness and loss of time, in unnecessary discourses, journies, or other recreations; and at the same time, will cut off that scandal which attends them.—Besides, it will tend to subdue our own corruptions, to increase our own graces, and consequently to procure much peace to our own consciences, and much comfort when our time and actions come to be review'd. This constant employment of our minds and tongues against sin, and in the cause of Christ and holiness, will do much more towards habituating us to overcome

our carnal inclinations, than all the austerities of Monks and Hermits, who addict themselves to unprofitable solitude, and 'hide their master's talents.' —Not to mention what an excellent means this will be, to take us (as well as our people) from vain controversies, and discourses upon lesser matters of religion, and thus to cure those unhappy contentions which too often prevail among ourselves.

Having thus consider'd the advantages that attend personal instruction, particularly catechising, I shall now

II. Point out the obligations ministers are under to the practice of it.

1. The necessity of this duty may be argued from the regard you owe to the glory of God in the fuller success of the gospel.

God is most honoured and pleased when most souls are saved; for he hath sworn that 'he hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but had rather that he return and live.*' How gladly then should you take this course which will most effectually promote this end!—O brethren! if we could generally set this work on foot in all the parishes of England, and prosecute it skilfully and zealously,

* Ezek. xviii. 23, 32. xxxiii. 11.

what a glory would it put upon the face of the nation, and what honour would redound to God thereby! If our common ignorance were thus banished, and our vanity and idleness turned into the study of the way of life, and every family employed in learning catechisms, and speaking of the words and works of God, what pleasure would God take in our cities and countries! He would dwell in our habitations and make them his delight.—If we increase the number or strength of the saints, we thereby increase the honour of the King of saints: Christ will be honoured in the fruits of his bloodshed. And the Spirit of grace will also be glorified in the fruit of his operations. And do not these ends require us to use the means with diligence?

2. I may urge this duty, from the general obligation we are ALL under to do good; and from the regards we owe to the welfare of our people.

Every christian is obliged to do all the good he can for the salvation of others; but every MINISTER is doubly obliged, because he is ‘separated to the gospel’ of Christ, and is to ‘give himself up wholly’ to that work.* It is needless to make any further question about our obligation, when we know in general that we are obliged to do all that is necessary for the conversion and salvation of our

* Rom. i. 1. 1 Tim. iv. 15.

people, and that this work (as has been already shew'd) is needful to these ends. Of these surely we cannot doubt: let us not then any longer neglect so reasonable and necessary a duty.—If the saving of SOULS,—of your NEIGHBOURS' souls,—of MANY souls, from everlasting misery be worth your labour, up, and be doing! If you would be the fathers of many new born unto God, if you would 'see the travail of your souls' with comfort, and be able to say at last "Here am I and the children that thou hast given me," be diligent in this blessed work. If it would rejoice you to present your converts 'blameless and spotless to Christ,' and to see them among the saints in glory, praising the Lamb before his throne, be glad of this singular opportunity that is offered you. 'What is your hope and joy and crown of rejoicing?' Are not your saved people 'in the presence of Christ Jesus at his coming? Yea doubtless they are your glory and your joy.*' If you are the ministers of Christ indeed, you will long for 'the perfecting of his body, and the gathering in of his elect.' Your hearts will be set upon it, and you will 'travail as in birth for them till Christ be formed in them; †' and will take all opportunities [that are likely to promote this great end] as the sun

* 1 Theff. ii. 19, 20.

† Gal. iv. 19.

shine days in a rainy harvest, in which it is unreasonable and inexcusable to be idle. Nay, if you have but a spark of christian compassion in you, it will appear worth your utmost labour to ‘ save souls ‘ from death and to cover a multitude of sins.’ — O remember when you are talking with the unconverted, that there is an opportunity in your hands to save a soul ! to ‘ rejoice the angels in heaven !’ to rejoice Christ himself ! and to increase the family of God ! — There is not a sinner whose case you should not so far compassionate as to be willing to relieve him at a much dearer rate than [by the labour I have been recommending.] — Can you see sinners as the wounded man by the way, and unmercifully pass by ? Can you hear them cry to you as the man of Macedonia to PAUL in his vision, “ Come and help us,” and yet refuse your help ? Are you intrusted with an hospital, where one languishes, and another groans, crying out “ Oh help me ! pity me for the Lord’s sake !” and where a third is raging mad, and would destroy himself and you, and yet will you still sit idle ? — If it is said of him that relieveth not men’s bodies, how much more may it be said of them that relieve not men’s SOULS, ‘ If you see your brother have need and shut up ‘ the bowels of your compassion from him, how ‘ dwelleth the love of God in you ?*’ You are not

* 1 John iii. 17.

such hard-hearted men—such monsters, but you will pity the naked, the imprisoned, or those that are tormented with grievous pain or sickness: and will you not pity an hard-hearted sinner, who must be excluded the presence of the Lord, (if a thorough, speedy repentance prevent it not) and lie under his remediless wrath?—What shall I call the heart of that man who will not pity such an one? The heart of an Infidel! an heart of stone! a very rock or adamant! Surely if he believed the misery of the impenitent, it would be impossible for him not to pity them.—Can you tell men, in the pulpit, that they shall certainly be damned except they repent, and yet have no pity on them when you have so proclaimed their danger? And if you do pity them, will you not do thus much for their salvation? What if you heard sinners cry after you in the streets—“O sir! have pity on me, and afford me your advice! I am afraid of the everlasting wrath of God! I know I must shortly leave this world, and I fear lest I shall be miserable in the next!”—What if they came to your study door and cried—“Oh pity us! Oh help us, lest we should be tormented in the flames of hell”—and would not leave you till you had told them how to escape the wrath of God,—could you find in your hearts to drive them away without advice? I am confident you could not.—Why such persons, alas!
who

who do not thus cry for help, are the most miserable. The hardened sinner, who cares least for your advice, needs it most. He that has not so much life as to feel that he is dead, nor so much light as to see his danger, nor so much sense as to pity himself, this is the man that is most to be pitied. O how can you walk and talk and be merry with such people, when you know their case? Methinks when you look them in the face, and think of their future misery, you should break forth into tears (as the Prophet did when he looked upon Hazeal) and then fall on with the most importunate exhortations!—When you come to visit them in their last sickness, will it not wound your hearts to see them ready to depart into misery, without your having ever dealt seriously with them for their recovery?—O then, for the Lord's sake, and for the sake of such poor souls, have pity on them! Bestir yourselves, and spare no pains that may conduce to their salvation!

3. Our obligation to this kind of instruction may be made to appear both from scripture examples and precepts.

We have Christ's own example, who used this interlocutory preaching both to his disciples and to the Jews; and we have the examples of the Apostles who did the like. Indeed this was their ordinary

nary way of preaching: and when they made a speech of any length, the people and they discoursed it out in the conclusion.

Thus PETER preached to the Jews; (Acts ii.) and to Cornelius and his friends; (Acts x.) Thus PHILIP preached to the Eunuch; (Acts ix.) and thus PAUL preached to the jailor; (Acts xvi.) Thus, as he tells us,* he ‘preached privately to those of
‘reputation, lest he should have run and labour’d
‘in vain.’ That earnest charge of his to TIMOTHY, no doubt, includes it: ‘I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, &c.
‘preach the word, be instant in season, and out of
‘season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-
‘suffering and doctrine.†’—[Some other passages to the present purpose were quoted in another place: vid. p. 41.] It would be needless tediousness to recite any more to those who know them so well.—But I must further tell you,

4. This ministerial fidelity is necessary to your own welfare, as well as your people’s.

You can no more be saved without that fidelity which belongs to you as ministers, than your people can without that which belongs to them as christians. If you care not for OTHERS, at least care for YOURSELVES. Oh! what a dreadful thing

* Gal. ii. 2.

† 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2.

is it to answer for the neglect of such a charge as ours! What sin more heinous than the betraying of souls! That threatening (to which we have so often referr'd) is enough surely to make us tremble; 'If thou warn not the wicked, &c. their blood will I require at thy hands.' I am afraid, nay, I am past doubt, that the day is near, when unfaithful ministers will wish they had never known their charge: but that they had been employed in the meanest occupations, instead of being pastors of Christ's flock; when besides all the rest of their sins, they shall have the blood of so many souls to answer for. Oh brethren! our death, as well as our people's, is near at hand; and certainly death is as terrible to an unfaithful pastor as to any.—When we see that we must die, and there is no remedy;—that no wit, nor learning, nor popular applause, can avert the stroke or delay the time; but that, whether willing or unwilling, our souls must be gone into that world we never saw, where our persons, and worldly circumstances will not be respected—Oh! then for a clear conscience, that can say, "I have not lived to myself, but to Christ; I spared not my pains; I 'hid not my talent;' I concealed not men's misery, nor the way of their recovery; 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness."

‘righteousness!’*” Let us be diligent in doing good to others and to ourselves, that we may end our days with this glorious triumph. Let us take time while we may have it; and ‘work while it is day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work.’ If you would prepare for a comfortable death, and a glorious reward, ‘gird up the loins of your minds, and quit yourselves like men.’ If you would be ‘blessed with those that die in the Lord,’ labour now, that you may ‘rest from your labours’ then; and do such ‘works’ as you would wish to ‘follow you.’

C H A P. VI.

Of Church Discipline. †

THE next part of our over-sight is the use of CHURCH DISCIPLINE. This consists (after private reproofs, which were considered above‡) of

* 2 Tim. iv. 7. † Ch. II. p. 52, & 59.

† N. B. The author, in treating this subject, goes on the supposition that discipline is to be extended to all that are in what he calls a church-state: i. e. not only those who are admitted to the Lord’s table, but those who have acknowledged their relation to the pastor as his charge, by giving him their names; after having regularly “passed from an infant to an adult state, by confirmation;”

of the following particulars :—Publickly reproofing offenders—exhorting them to repentance—praying for them—restoring the penitent—and excluding the impenitent.

I. The first part of church discipline to be considered is publick reproof.

In order to conduct this in the most useful manner these things must be observed.

1. The accusations of none (not even the best in the church) should be taken without proof.

A minister should never make himself a party, before he has sufficient evidence of the case. It is better to let many vicious persons go unpunished and without censure, when we want full evidence against them, than to censure one unjustly : which we may easily do if we go upon bold presumptions alone : and that will bring upon a pastor the scandal of partiality and unrighteous dealing, which

firmation ;” the nature and the grounds of which rite he has considered at large, in a treatise called “ Confirmation and Restauration.” (See his works, Vol. IV. p. 254.) However, in this Abridgment, what was peculiar to the author’s idea of a church is generally omitted, and this chapter is, for the most part, accommodated to any mode of government which christian churches have commonly adopted.

will

will make all his reproofs and censures become contemptible.

2. Let there be therefore a private meeting of chosen persons (the officers, and some delegates of the church on their behalf) to have the hearing of all such cases, before they are made publick. They may meet together once a month, at some certain place, that [among other ends] they may be ready to receive what charge shall be brought against any member of the church; that it may be consider'd whether it be just, and that the offender may be dealt with there first. If the fault be not of a publick heinous nature, and the party shall there profess repentance, that may suffice. But if it be otherwise, and the person remain impenitent, he must 'be reprov'd before all.'

3. Great caution and much prudence must be exercised in such proceedings as these, lest we do more harm than good. But let it be such christian prudence as orders duties aright, and directs them to their proper ends, and not such carnal prudence as shall enervate or exclude them. It may therefore be proper for young ministers, to consult with others, for the more cautious proceeding in such work.

4. In the performance of it, we should always deal humbly, even when we deal most sharply; that
that

that we may make it appear it is not from any lordly disposition, nor an act of revenge, but a necessary duty, which we cannot in conscience avoid. It will therefore be proper publicly to disclaim all animosities, and shew the people the commands of God obliging us to what we do.

II. With the duty of publick reproof, must be joined an exhortation of the person to repentance, and to a publick profession of it for the satisfaction of the church.

As the church is bound to avoid communion with scandalous impenitent sinners, so when they have had evidence of their sin, they must also see some evidence of their repentance ; for we cannot know them to be penitent without evidence. And what evidence is the church capable of, but their profession of repentance first, and their actual reformation afterwards. Both which must be expected and demanded of them. Both in our publick reproofs and exhortations we should be very cautious of giving offence : in order to avoid which, we should proceed in some such manner as this :

“ Friends and brethren, SIN is so evil and dangerous a thing, that God has commanded us to
 ‘ exhort one another daily, lest any be hardened
 ‘ thro’ the deceitfulness of it :*’ and that we do not

* Heb. iii. 13.

‘ hate our brother in our heart, but in any wise
 ‘ rebuke our neighbour and not suffer sin upon him.†’
 Our Lord exhorts us, ‘ if our brother offend us, to
 ‘ tell him of his fault ; and if he will not hear us,
 ‘ to take two or three’ persons with us to reprove
 him ; ‘ and if he will not hear them, to tell the
 ‘ church ; and if he will not hear the church, to
 ‘ esteem him as an heathen or publican.‡’ Those
 ‘ that sin,’ we are commanded to ‘ rebuke before
 ‘ all, that others also may fear,||’ and ‘ if they re-
 ‘ pent not, to avoid them, and not so much as eat
 ‘ with them.§’ Accordingly, having heard of the
 scandalous practice of N. — of this church, and
 having received sufficient proof that he hath com-
 mitted the odious sin of ***, We have seriously
 dealt with him in private to bring him to repen-
 tance : but to the grief of our hearts perceive that
 he still remains impenitent, (or lives in the same
 sin.) We therefore judge it our necessary duty to
 use this further remedy which Christ hath com-
 manded us to try.—And I do earnestly beseech
 him for the sake of his own soul, and require it of
 him, as a messenger of Jesus Christ, (as he will
 answer the contrary at the bar of God) to remain
 no longer stout and impenitent, but unfeignedly to

† Lev. xix. 17. ‡ Matt. xviii. 15—17. ¶ 1 Tim.
 v. 20. § 2 Theff. iii. 6, 12, 14. 1 Cor. v. 11, 13.

confess

confess and lament his sin before God and this congregation. This desire I here publish, not out of any ill will to his person, (as the Lord knows) but in obedience to Christ, and in love to his soul, wishing that, if possible, he may be saved from his sin, from the power of Satan, and the everlasting wrath of God; and that he may be speedily reconciled to him, and his church." To this purpose should our publick admonition proceed: and in some cases, where the sinner esteems his sin to be small, it will be necessary to set it in its proper light, and especially to quote some texts of scripture which aggravate and threaten it.

III. To our reproofs and exhortations may properly be added the Prayers of the church.

We should pray both for those that have been reprov'd, and those (some of them at least) that have been reject'd, that they may repent and be restor'd. We are commanded 'to pray always, and in all things; for all men, and in all places;' so great a business as this therefore, should not be done without it. We should earnestly join together in prayer to God that he would open the sinner's eyes; that he would soften his heart, and save him from impenitency and eternal death. That we have not his request or consent, is no reason against it; for that is his very disease, and the malignity of
of

of it. If the person even refuses to be present to receive our admonition, it will be proper to desire the prayers of the congregation for him. And let us be very earnest in praying for him, that the congregation may be provoked to join with us. Who knows but God may hear such prayers, and that they may be more effectual than our exhortations? However, the people will thereby perceive that we do not make light of sin, and that we do not preach to them in meer custom or form.—When the sinner is thus admonished and prayed for, if it please the Lord to open his eyes and give him repentance, our next duty is,

IV. To proceed for his full recovery: where these things must be observed.

We must not discourage him by too much severity, nor yet by too much haste and lenity palliate the offence, and sink the ideas of discipline.—We must urge him to be serious in his humiliation, till he be truly sensible of his sin: for it is not a vain formality that we are to expect, but the recovering and saving of the soul.—We should bring him to beg the communion and prayers of the church; and to promise that he will most carefully avoid the sin into which he has fallen, for the time to come.—After this we must assure him of the riches of God's love, and the sufficiency of Christ's blood, to pardon his sin: and that, if his repentance

tance be sincere, we are authorized as the messengers of the Lord, to assure him that he is pardoned.—We should then charge him to persevere, and perform his promises; to avoid temptations, and continue begging mercy, and strengthening grace.—Hereupon we should charge the church, that they imitate Christ in forgiving, and that they retain the person in (or receive him again into) communion; that they never reproach him with his sin, but forgive and forget as Christ does. We have no warrant to rip up matters that are worn out of memory, or to make that publick again which has ceased to be so.—After this we should give God thanks for his recovery so far, and pray for his confirmation and future preservation.—The next part of discipline is

V. Rejecting from the churches communion those who, after sufficient trial, remain impenitent.

Exclusion from church-communion is of divers kinds and degrees, of which I shall not so far digress, as here to treat. That which is most commonly to be practised among us, is only to forbid an offender communion with us, or to inflict a temporal exclusion, called suspension, till it shall please the Lord to give him repentance [or till he shall discover very evident marks of impenitence.] We have, indeed, no express directions in scripture how

long we should stay to try whether the sinner be so impenitent as to be necessarily and entirely excluded: we must therefore follow the general directions, with such diversity as the case and character of the person, and former proceeding shall require; this being left to the discretion of the church; who must always continue to pray for, and exercise patience towards the offender, till he manifest himself obstinate in his sin. Where a person has openly sinned but once or twice, a profession of repentance may suffice: but if he be accustomed to sin, and has often broken his promises of amendment, then we must require an actual reformation. He that will refuse either to reform, or to make a profession of repentance, must be considered as living in the sin; for a heinous sin, but once committed, is morally continued in till it be repented of; and a meer forbearing of the act is not sufficient.—[If the church, after having waited a proper time, cannot discern in the person any signs of genuine repentance,] they must then proceed to excommunication. The minister must pronounce him unworthy of communion, and authoritatively charge the people in the name of the Lord, to avoid communion with such a person; and must deny him those ordinances and privileges which do not belong to him, whereof he is the administrator. And as far as this act of the pastor is not contrary to the word of
Go^d,

God, the people are in duty bound to fall in with it.—However, it will be proper to pray for the repentance and restoration even of the excommunicate: and, if God should give them repentance, they are gladly to be received into the communion of the church again.—So much for the nature of church-discipline: and sure I am, if well understood, much of the pastoral work and authority consists in it.

There are many, I know, who would set open the doors of the church, would pluck up the hedge, and lay the vineyard common to the wilderness. Nay, (which is very amazing) some who are esteemed godly divines, reproach, as a sect, those faithful pastors who will not give the sacrament to all the parish, and who maintain discipline in their churches, under the name of Sacramentarians and Disciplinarians; as the impure used to reproach the diligent by the name of Puritans. [But surely their censures are very ill grounded.] Was not Christ himself the leader of these Disciplinarians? He instituted discipline, and commanded the particular acts of it. ‘If thy brother’ (says he) ‘shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault: if he will not hear thee, then take with thee two or three more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: but if he neglect to hear them, tell it to the

‘CHURCH : but if he neglect to hear the church
 ‘let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a
 ‘publican.’ He adds, ‘Verily I say unto you, what-
 ‘soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in
 ‘heaven ; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth
 ‘shall be loosed in heaven.*’ Christ made his mini-
 sters the rulers of his church, and put the keys of
 the kingdom into their hands ; and he requires the
 people to ‘submit to them, and obey them in the
 ‘Lord.†’

Agreeable to these scriptures, was the practice of
 the ancient church, for many years after Christ ; in
 which discipline was exercised much more vigo-
 rously than among any of us, even in the heat of
 heathen persecutions, as well as under christian
 magistrates, (till selfishness and formality caused
 them to be remiss in this and other duties together)
 as may be seen in the ancient canons and CYPRI-
 AN’s epistles. Discipline was not then taken to be
 a useless thing ; † nor would it appear such now, if

* Matt. xviii. 15—18. † Heb. xiii. 17.

‡ *Disciplina est custos spei, retinaculum fidei, dux iti-
 neris salutaris, fomes ac nutrimentum bonæ indolis, ma-
 gistra virtutis ; facit in Christo manere semper, ac jugitur
 Deo vivere, ad promissa cœlestia et divina præmia per-
 venire : Hanc et sectari salubre est, et adversari ac ne-
 gligere lethale.*

CYPR. de Discip. p. 265. See CALVIN’s Instit. Lib.
 IV. cap. 12. § 1. 2.

it were shewed in its strength and beauty, by a vigorous practice: for you will never make men know what it is by meer talking of it; it being, like the government of Common-wealths, little known till learned by experience.—I know that when the church began to be tainted with vain inventions, the word DISCIPLINE changed its signification for various of their own rules of life, and austere impositions: but it is for the ancient and truly christian discipline alone that I am contending. There is no room to doubt whether this be our duty, nor whether we are unfaithful as to the performance of it. It is certainly no less our duty because our brethren of late have made so little conscience of it.—And what are the hinderances that now keep the ministers of England from the discharge of it? I hear what some say, and see more.

I. Some object “that we shall be guilty of defaming men, by thus publishing their crimes.” I answer in the words of BERNARD, “Cum carpuntur vitia, et inde scandalum oritur, ipse sibi scandalum causa est, qui fecit quod argui debet; non ille qui arguit. Non ergo timeas contra charitatem esse, si unius scandalum multorum recompenfaveris pace. Melius est enim ut pereat unus quam unitas.*” Many of us who would

* Bernard sup. Cantic.

be ashamed to omit preaching or praying half so much, have not consider'd what we do in wilfully neglecting this duty. We draw down the guilt of men's crimes upon our own heads, when we do not use God's means for the cure of them.*

2. Others will say "that there is little likelihood that publick personal reprehension should do any good to offenders, because they will be but enraged by the shame." I answer in the words of PHILO a Jew, "We must endeavour as far as we
 "are able to save those from their sins who will
 "certainly perish by them: imitating good physicians, who when they cannot save a sick man,
 "do yet willingly try all means for cure, lest they
 "seem to want success, thro' their own negligence.†" I further answer, it ill becomes the ignorant creature to implead the ordinances of God as useless. God can render his own ordinances successful, or else he would never have appointed them. Besides, church-discipline seems to be well calculated for usefulness. It tends to the shaming of sin, and the humbling of the sinner;—to manifest the holiness of Christ, of his doctrine, and his

* Qui non corrigit refecanda committit. GREG.

Si quid me scis fecisse incite aut improbe, si id non
 accusas, tu ipse objurgandus es. PLAUT.

† Philo de sacrif. Abel et Cain.

church

church before all the world.—What method should be taken with offenders if not this? Must they be given up as hopeless? That were cruel: and other means are supposed to have been used without success.—The church of Christ has found this method to be successful, even in times of persecution, when (if ever) carnal reason would have told them to forbear it, for fear of driving away their converts.—But besides all that has been said, let it be remember'd, that the principal use of this publick discipline, is not for the offender himself, but for the church. It tends greatly to deter others from the like crimes, and so to keep our churches and worship pure.*

3. Some will say “That this method will but restrain men as hypocrites and not convert them.” I answer, Who knows how God may bless his ordinances?—It is true repentance to which offenders are exhorted, and which they profess: whether they truly profess it or not, who can tell but God? However if it only restrains persons, that is a benefit not to be contemned. It is of some importance that sin be disgraced; and so far the church acquit themselves. But the grand objection against discipline, as far as I can learn, is

* *Vitia transmittit ad posteros, qui præsens culpis ignoscit.*—Bonis nocet qui malis parcit. SENECA.

4. The difficulty of the work, and the trouble or suffering you are likely to bring upon yourselves by it. "We cannot (say you) publicly reprehend one sinner, but he will highly resent it, and bear us malice for it. We can prevail with very few to make a publick profession of repentance; and if we excommunicate them, that will enrage them the more. If we were to deal with all the obstinate sinners in the parish, in the manner you advise, it would be dangerous living among them; or we should be so hated, that our labours would become quite unprofitable to them. Duty therefore ceases to be duty, because the hurt that would follow would be greater than the good." But are not these reasons as valid against professing and defending Christianity in some times and places, as now against discipline? Christ has told us 'that he came 'not to send peace;' and that 'the world will hate 'us.'—Many of his servants have met with more difficulty in doing their duty than we can expect; which yet did not prevent their faithful discharge of it. If we did our duty faithfully as ministers, we should now find much the same lot among professed christians, as our predecessors did among infidels — But if you cannot suffer for Christ, why did you 'put your hands to his plough?' You ought 'first to have sat down and counted the cost.' — This makes the ministerial work so unfaithfully done,

done, because it is so carnally undertaken. Many enter upon it as a life of ease and honour from men, and therefore they resolve to attain their ends, whether right or wrong.—As for your making yourselves incapable of doing men any good, if you thus publicly admonish them; I answer, that reason is as valid against plain preaching, or private reproof, or any other duty for which wicked men will hate us. As has been already observed, God will bless his own ordinances to do good, or else he would not have appointed them. By this means you may possibly do good to the offender, and even to the excommunicate: I am sure it is God's means; and the last means we can use; it were therefore perverse to neglect it. However, other persons, both within and without the church, may receive good by it, tho' the offender himself receive none: and God will certainly have the honour when his church is thus manifestly distinguished from the world.—But let me tell you, there is not such 'a lion in the way' as you may imagine; nor is discipline so useless a thing. I bless God, upon the small (and too late) trial I have made of it myself, I can say by experience it is not vain; nor are the hazards of it such as may excuse our neglect.—To the last objection many have added

5. "That it is a vain thing to attempt the use of discipline in the church, unless it were established

by secular power, and all the people were forced under a penalty, to submit to it;—that without the help of the civil magistrate it is not likely that we should do any good, since every man has liberty to despise our censures, and to absent himself when he should appear before the church.” Here let me ask, How did the church of Christ subsist before the days of CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, without the help of the civil magistrate? And how was discipline exercised for three hundred years together, when the prince did not so much as give protection or toleration to christians, but even persecuted them to death? Yet then was the church in its best state, and its discipline the most pure and powerful. Are the keys of Christ’s church so unfit and useless, that they will not open and shut without the magistrate’s help! If they have contracted any rust, we may thank ourselves, who have let them lie so long without use. But let me add, that too much interposition of the civil magistrate with our discipline, would do more hurt than good: it would but corrupt it by the mixture, and make it become a meer human thing. Your government is all to work upon the Conscience; and the sword cannot reach that. It is not a desirable thing to have repentance so obscured by meer forced confessions, that you cannot know when persons mean as they speak. I confess, if (since I have exercised discipline)

pline) the sword had interposed and forced men to those publick confessions of sin and professions of repentance, to which I have persuaded them by the light of God's word, it would have left me (and I believe the church too) very much dissatisfied with them ; imagining they only complied with it because they were forced.—I am the less sorry that the magistrate doth so little interpose, on account of that blind, confused zeal which so much prevails amongst us. Persons of every party are so confident that they are in the right, and lay such a stress upon many opinions of their own, as if life or death depended upon them ; making a great outcry against whatever are called errors by their own party, without knowing what they are, or how to confute them, or which are tolerable in the church, and which intolerable : If the sword were in such envious, angry hands, there would be little quiet to the church. This may possibly make the magistrate think fit to let us fight it out with our naked fists, and not to put swords into our hands till we are more sober, and know better how to use them. As long as he does not prevent us from exercising that kind of discipline which has now been recommended, I fear not but, by the blessing of God, a prudent, resolute, unanimous ministry will, in general, be able to bring persons to submit to it, so as to answer very important purposes.

I shall conclude this subject with earnestly requesting my brethren in the ministry speedily and faithfully to put in execution, at least, all the unquestionable part of the discipline for which I have been contending.

1. Consider how sinful the neglect of it is, and how dangerous with respect to yourselves. It is indeed a sad case that good men, under so much liberty, should settle themselves so long in the constant neglect of so great a duty. In our preaching to our people, we make it a bad sign to live in the wilful, continued omission of any known duty : and shall we do so year after year, and even all our days ?—We plainly manifest sloth and laziness herein, if not unfaithfulness in the work of Christ. I speak from experience : laziness pleaded hard against this duty, and long kept me from it. It is indeed a troublesome and painful work, and calls for some self-denial, as it will expose us to the displeasure of the wicked. But dare we prefer our carnal ease or the love of wicked men before our duty to Christ our master ? Can such slothful servants look for a good reward ?

2. The neglect of discipline has a strong tendency to the deluding of souls ; by making men think that they are christians when they are not, because they are not, by God's ordinance, separated from such as are ; and by making scandalous
sinners

sinners think their sin tolerable because it is so tolerated by the pastors of the church. We hereby corrupt Christianity itself in the eyes of the world, and do our part to make them believe, that to be a christian is only to be of such or such an opinion, and that the christian religion requires holiness no more than the false religions of the world. If the holy and unholy are all permitted to be sheep of the same fold, without the use of Christ's means to distinguish them, we do our part to defame Christ by it, and make it to appear as if this were according to his institutions.

3. By the neglect of discipline you encourage separation. If you will not by this means distinguish between 'the precious and the vile,' the people will do it by withdrawing from you; which many honest christians will think they are necessitated to do. Nor can you wonder, if you keep a number of scandalous sinners in your churches without ever reprovng them, that some timorous souls should run out of them, as out of an edifice which they apprehend ready to fall. I have known many who have separated meerly on this account.

4. By this neglect we do much to bring the wrath of God upon ourselves and our congregations, and so to blast the fruit of our labours. If 'the angel of the church of THYATIRA*' was

* Rev. ii. 20—23.

134 *Of the motives to pastoral fidelity.* Part II.
reproved for suffering seducers in it, and those who joined with them were so severely threatened, surely we deserve reproof on the same ground, for suffering open, scandalous, impenitent finners among us, and have reason to fear the execution of this threatening upon our churches.

But against all that I have said in behalf of discipline you will plead, "Our people are not ready for it: they will not yet bear it." But is not the meaning of this, that you will not bear the trouble and hatred which it will occasion? I beseech you, in order that you may make a comfortable account to the 'chief shepherd,' and that you may not be found 'unfaithful in the house of God,' that you do not shrink from duty because of the trouble to the flesh, that may attend it. Remember for your encouragement, that the most costly duties are usually the most comfortable: and you may be sure that Christ will bear the cost.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Motives to pastoral fidelity in general, suggested in the text.

THE FIRST thing proposed has now been fully handled, which was to point out and recommend the several parts of the ministerial office: we therefore proceed to the SECOND; which is

“ 10

Ch. VII. *The nature of our office requires it.* 135

“to consider the motives suggested in the text, to a diligent performance of them.” The Lord grant that they may work upon us all according to their truth and importance !

I. The nature of our Office obliges us to ‘take heed to all the flock:’ we are stiled **OVERSEERS.**

And for what else are we overseers ?* To be a bishop or pastor is not to be set up as an idol for the people to bow to ; or to be (what the apostle calls the **CRETIANS**) ‘evil beasts, slow bellies ; †’ to live to our fleshly delight and ease ; but it is to be the guide of sinners to salvation. It is a sad thing that men should undertake a calling of which they know not the nature ; which, with too many, is evidently the case. Do those persons know and consider what they have undertaken, who live in ease and pleasure ? who have time to take their superfluous recreations, and spend it in loitering or in vain discourses, when so much work lies upon their hands ? Brethren, do you consider where you stand, and what you have taken upon you ? You have, under Christ, undertaken a band of his soldiers

* *Episcopus est nomen quod plus oneris quam honoris significat.* Polyd. Virg. p 240.

† *Tit. i. 12.*

‘against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places:’ you must lead them on in the sharpest conflicts; you must acquaint them with the enemy’s stratagems and assaults; you must watch yourselves, and keep them watching. If you miscarry, they and you may perish. You have a subtile enemy; and therefore you must be wise: you have a vigilant enemy, therefore you must be vigilant: you have a malicious, violent, and unwearied enemy; and therefore you must be resolute, couragious, and unwearied. You are in a crowd of enemies, encompassed with them on every side; so that if you do not take particular heed to every one of them, you will quickly fall.—And oh! what a world of WORK have you to do! Had you but ONE ignorant person to teach, tho’ willing to learn, what a tedious task would it be! How much more difficult then would it be if that person were as unwilling as ignorant! But to have such multitudes of these as most of us have, will find us work indeed! How much wickedness have we sometimes to contend against in one soul! and what a number of such wicked persons have we to deal with! What deep rooting have their sins taken, and under what disadvantage must truth come to them! What strangers are they to the heavenly message we bring them! They frequently know not what you say, tho’ you speak to them in the plainest

plainest language. And when you think you have done them some good, you leave your seed among the 'fowls of the air.' Wicked men are at hand to contradict all that you have said; who will cavil at and slander you that they may disgrace your message, and that they may deride and scorn them away from Christ: thus they quickly extinguish the good beginnings which you hoped you had seen. They use indeed weaker reasons than yours; but such as come with more advantage, being taken from things which they see and feel, and which are befriended by the flesh: besides, they are more familiarly and importunately urged. You speak but once to a sinner for ten or twenty times that the messengers of Satan do. Moreover, how easily do the 'cares and businesses of the world choak and devour the seed' which you had sown, and how easily will a frozen carnal heart (had it no external enemies) extinguish those sparks, which you have been long in kindling! Yea, for want of fuel and further help, they will go out of themselves. Among what abundance of distempers, lusts, and passions do you cast your words, where they are likely to meet with but a poor entertainment! And when you think your work doth happily succeed, seeing men under trouble, confessing their sins, promising reformation, and living as new creatures and zealous converts, they will often prove
unfound;

unfound ; to have been but superficially changed ; to have taken up new opinions, and new company, without a new heart. O how many persons (after some considerable change in them has taken place) are deceived by the profits, the honours, or the pleasures of the world, and ‘ again entangled in their former lusts’ ! Nay, how soon do even the graces of the saints themselves languish, if you neglect them ; and how easily are they drawn into shameful ways, to the dishonour of the gospel, as well as their own loss and sorrow ! O brethren, what a field of labour is before us ! there is not a person you can see, but may find you work !—You see what the work of a minister is, and what a life he hath to lead. Exert yourselves then with all your might. In order to quicken you the more let me beg you to attend to the following considerations.

1. Consider the office of an OVERSEER was your own voluntary undertaking. No man is forced to be an overseer of the church : does not common honesty then require you to be true to your trust ?—

2. Consider also the HONOUR that is connected with your office as an encouragement to labour. A great honour indeed it is, to be the ‘ ambassadors of God,’ and the instruments of men’s conversion and salvation ; to ‘ save souls from death ‘ and cover a multitude of sins.’—For ministers to strive for precedency, and fill the world with
wide

wide contentions about the dignity and superiority of their office, shews that they forget the nature and work of that office they strive about. The honour is but the appendix to the work. If ministers would faithfully and humbly lay out themselves for Christ and his church, without thinking of titles and reputation, they should then have honour whether they would or not : whereas by gaping after it they lose it.

3. Consider that you have many PRIVILEGES belonging to your office, which should engage you to diligence in it. It is no small thing that you are maintained by other men's labours. This is for your work, that you may not be taken off from it, but that (as PAUL requires) you may 'give yourselves wholly to these things,*' and not be forced to neglect men's souls, while you are providing for your own bodies. Either do the work, or take not the maintenance.—Besides, it ought to be considered as a great privilege to be bred up to learning, while many others are brought up at the plough and cart ; to be furnished with so much delightful knowledge, when the world lies in ignorance ; and to converse with learned men about sublime and glorious things, while many others are conversant with none but the most vulgar and illiterate.—But especially,

* 1 Tim. iv. 15.

what an excellent privilege is it, to live in studying and preaching Christ ! to be continually searching into his mysteries, or feeding on them ! to be daily employed in contemplating the blessed nature, works, and ways of God ! Others are glad of the leisure of the Lord's day, and now and then an hour besides when they can lay hold of it ; but we may keep a continual sabbath. We may almost do nothing else but study and talk of God and glory ; engage in acts of prayer and praise, and drink in sacred and saving truths. Our employment is all sublime and spiritual. Whether we are alone, or in company, our business is for another world. O that our hearts were but more disposed for this work ! what a blessed joyful life should we then live ! How sweet would the study be to us ! how pleasant the pulpit ! and what delight would our conferences yield ! What excellent helps do our libraries afford ; where we have such a variety of wise silent companions, whenever we please ! Surely all these, and more such privileges attending the ministry, bespeak our unwearied diligence in the work. Once more

4. [Consider the interest which all the faithful servants of Christ have in their master's regards.] You are related to Christ as well as to the flock, and he is related to you. If therefore you are faithful in your work, you are not only advanced,
but

but secur'd by the relation. You are 'the stewards
 ' of his mysteries,' and the rulers of his household ;
 and he that intrusted you with his work will main-
 tain you in it. But then 'it is required of a
 ' steward that a man be found faithful.' Be true
 to him, and never doubt of his being true to you.
 Do you feed his flock ? He will sooner feed you as
 he did ELIJAH, than forsake you. In the midst
 of enemies, he will 'give you a tongue and wis-
 ' dom which none shall resist.' If you willingly
 put your hand to his plough, he will wither the
 hand that is stretched out against you. His faith-
 ful ministers have always had large experience of
 his care. He who knows that he serves a God
 who will never suffer any man to be a loser by him,
 needs not fear what hazards he runs in his cause :
 and he who knows that he is seeking a prize which,
 if obtained, will infinitely exceed his cost, may
 boldly engage his whole estate on it, and 'sell all
 ' he has to purchase so rich a pearl.' The

II. Motive to fidelity, which our text suggests,
 is taken from the person by whom ministers
 are invested with their office, viz. the Holy
 Ghost : — 'the flock over which the Holy
 ' Ghost hath made you overseers.'

This divine agent is said to make bishops or pas-
 tors, not meerly because he has determined in his
 word

142 *From the person investing us with it, Part II.*

word that there shall be such an office—what the work and power shall be—and what sort of men shall receive it; but also because he qualifies men for the office,—because he directs those that ordain them to discern their qualifications,—and because he directs them and the people themselves, in fixing them over a particular charge. These were done, in the first ages of christianity, in an extraordinary manner by inspiration. But, when men are rightly called, they are made overseers of the church by the Holy Ghost, i. e. by the ordinary influences of the same Spirit, now as well as then. What an obligation then is laid upon us by our call! If our commission be from heaven, it is not to be disobeyed. When PAUL was called by the voice of Christ to preach the gospel, he ‘was not disobedient to the heavenly vision.’ When the apostles were called by our Lord, from their secular employments, they immediately ‘left their friends and houses, and trade, and all, and followed him.’ Tho’ our call be not so immediate or extraordinary, it is from the same Spirit, and therefore ought to be as readily obeyed. It is not a safe course to imitate JONAH, in turning our backs upon the commands of God. If we neglect our work, he has a spur to quicken us. If we run from it, he has messengers enow to overtake us, to bring us back and make us do it;

it : and certainly it is better to do it at first than at last. The

- III. Motive in the text to diligence in our work, is taken from the dignity of the object, viz. 'the church of God.'

It is that church for which the world is upheld ; which is sanctified by the Holy Ghost ; which is united to Christ ; and which is his mystical body. —That church with which angels are present ; and on which they attend as 'ministring spirits ; whose 'very little ones have their angels beholding the 'face of God in heaven.' O what a charge is it that we have undertaken ! And shall we be unfaithful to it ? Have we the stewardship of God's own family, and shall we neglect it ? Have we the conduct of those saints who are to live for ever with God in glory, and shall we omit our duty to them ? God forbid ! Are the souls of men thought meet by God to see his face, and live for ever in his presence ? and are they not worthy of your utmost cost and labour ? Do not think so meanly of the church of God, as if it deserved not your highest regards. Were you the keepers of swine or sheep, you would scarcely let them go, and say they were not worth looking after ; especially if they were your own : dare you then neglect the souls of men, even the church of God ?—Remember Christ
' walks

144 *The price paid for the church of God* Part II.

‘ walks among them : the praises of the most
‘ high God are in the midst of them. They are
‘ a chosen generation ; a sanctified, peculiar people ;
‘ a royal priesthood, an holy nation ; to shew forth
‘ the praises of him that called them.’ What an
honour is it to be one of them tho’ but a ‘ door-
‘ keeper in the house of the Lord !’ Surely then to
be the Priest of these priests, and the Ruler of these
kings, is such an honour, is such a noble employ-
ment as multiplies your obligations to diligence and
fidelity.

IV. The last motive mentioned in the text to
‘ take heed to the flock, and feed the
‘ church of God,’ is, the PRICE that was paid
for it.

It is spoken of as ‘ purchased by HIS blood :’ i. e.
by the blood of CHRIST, who (by the way) is here
expressly called GOD. God the Son did purchase
the church with his own blood. What an argument
is here to quicken the negligent, and to condemn
those that will not be quickened ! What ! shall we
despise the blood of Christ ? Shall we think it was
shed for such as are not worthy our care ? —The
guilt of negligent pastors is certainly great, since,
as much as in them lies, they make the blood of
Christ to be shed in vain. They would lose him
those

those souls, whom he has so dearly bought.—
Whenever we feel ourselves grow dull and careless, let us imagine we heard the blessed Saviour arguing with us to this effect : “ Did I die for those souls, and wilt not thou look after them ? Were they worth my blood, and are they not worth thy care ? Did I come down from heaven to earth ‘ to seek ‘ and to save them that were lost,’ and wilt not thou go to the next door or street or village to seek them ? How small is thy labour or condescension in comparison with mine ? I debased myself to this ; but it is thy honour to be so employed. Have I done and suffered so much for the salvation of men, and was I willing to make thee a co-worker with me, and wilt thou refuse the little that lies upon thy hands ?

Every time we look upon our congregations, let us believing remember that they are the purchase of Christ’s blood ; and let us regard them accordingly. Let us often think in what confusion a negligent minister will be at the last day, to have the blood of the son of God pleaded against him ; and to hear Christ say “ Thou didst make light of the purchase of my blood ; and canst thou now hope to be saved by it thyself ? ”—O brethren ! since Christ will bring his blood to plead [at God’s righteous bar] let it now effectually plead with us to do our
H duty,

146 *That our congregations are large,* Part II.
duty, lest it should then plead against us to our
damnation!

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the OBJECTIONS to the course of ministerial duty
recommended; particularly personal instruction.*

IT is a hard case that so good a master as ours,
in so good a work, should have servants so bad
as to plead against their duty when they should
practise it: especially that GOOD men should be
so backward to it as to need many words to excite
them to the diligent performance of it. Yet alas!
this is too common a case.—I have no great fear
of any opposition from conscience, or unbiaſſed
reason; but only from unwillingness, and from
reason biaſſed by the flesh. [This will suggest
many objections; the principal of which shall now
be consider'd and answer'd; which was the THIRD
thing propos'd.]

I. Perhaps some will object to what is said about
personal instruction, “That their congrega-
tions are so large that it is impossible for them
to KNOW all their hearers; much more to
take heed to every individual.”

But let me ask such persons,—Was it necessary
for you to take upon you such a charge? If not,
you

Ch. VIII. *is no excuse for neglecting individuals.* 147

you excuse one sin by another. How durst you undertake what you knew yourselves unable to perform? If it was in a manner necessary, might you not have procur'd some assistance? Have you not, or could not you get a maintenance sufficient for yourselves and another to help you? What tho' it will not serve to support you in fulness, is it not more reasonable that you should pinch your flesh and families, than undertake a work you cannot do, and neglect the souls of so many of your flock? With me it is an unquestionable thing (tho' it will seem hard to some) that it is your duty, if you can, to live upon part of your salary, and allow the rest to a competent assistant. Do not many families in your parish live on less than you would then have? Have not many able ministers been glad of less, with liberty to preach the gospel? Can your parishioners endure damnation better than you can poverty? What do you call yourselves ministers of the gospel, and yet esteem the souls of men so little, as that you had rather they should eternally perish, than that you and your families should live in a low condition? Ought you not rather to beg your bread than hazard the salvation of one soul? If you have but 'food and raiment, you ought therewith to be content.' What! would you have more than is sufficient to enable you for the work of God? 'A man's life consisteth not in the abun-

‘dance of things which he possesses.*’ If your cloathing be warm, and your food wholesome, you may be as well supported by it, to do God’s work, as if you enjoyed the greatest affluence. He that has these has but a poor excuse for hazarding men’s souls, that he may enjoy more of this world’s good. Remember how strongly our blessed master recommends self-denial to all his servants. They that will not exercise it, are so far from being his ministers, that they are not his true disciples.—If your circumstances are such that proper assistance cannot be procur’d, then you should undertake your charge with limitation. But do not omit the work of personal oversight entirely, nor refuse dealing particularly with any, because you cannot do it with all: take this course with as many as you are able, and put your godly neighbours, especially parents and masters of families upon doing the more. Again

II. Some may object that “The course recommended will require too much time, and will not allow so much as is necessary for ministers (young men especially) to follow their studies, and improve their own abilities.”

I answer, the persons whom I am persuading to this work, are supposed to understand the substance of the christian religion, and to be able to teach

* Luke xii. 15.

others :

others : and the addition of less necessary things, is not to be preferred to the communication of what are fundamentally necessary. I highly value common knowledge, and would not encourage any to set light by it ; but I value the saving of souls more. That which is immediately necessary ought to be done whatever else is left undone. It is a very desirable thing for a physician to be well studied in his art ; but if he would be enquiring even into the most useful subjects when he should be looking to his patients ; and should tell them that he has not time to give them advice, because he must follow his own studies, I should esteem that man a preposterous student, who thus preferred the means to the very end itself : indeed I should think such a physician to be but a civil kind of a murderer ; [nor can such a minister be look'd upon in a better light.] Men's souls may be saved without your knowing whether God did predetermine the creature in all its acts : whether the understanding necessarily determines the will, &c. &c. Get well to Heaven, and help your people thither, and you shall know all these things in a moment, and a thousand more, of which now, by all your studies, you cannot gain a certain knowledge. This is the most certain and expeditious way to the attainment of it.—But consider further,

If, by the diligent practice of the ministerial duties, you are prevented from acquiring an ex-

tenfive knowledge, you will hereby improve more in that which is most excellent. If you know not so many things as others, you will know the most important matters better than they. And a little of this kind of knowledge, is worth all the other knowledge in the world. When I am looking heaven-ward, gazing towards the inaccessible light, and aspiring after the knowledge of God, and find my soul so dark and distant, and consider how little I know of God, and how much he is out of my reach, I find this the most killing and grievous ignorance. Methinks I could willingly exchange all the other knowledge I have, for one glimpse more of God and the life to come. Now by frequent serious conversation about everlasting things, by diligently instructing and catechising your people, you will gain more of this kind of knowledge, than can be gained by any other means; and thus you will really grow wiser than those that spend their time in any other way whatever. As Theology is a practical science, the knowledge of it thrives best in a practical course. Laying out here, is a means of gathering in; an hearty endeavour to communicate and do good is one of the greatest helps to our own proficiency. So that by this means you are likely to become more able pastors of the church, than private studies alone can make you. Particularly it will be an excellent means to help you in preaching;

preaching ; for when you are well acquainted with your people's cases, you will know what to preach upon : an hour's conversation, will furnish you with as much matter as an hour's study. As he will be the best physician and lawyer, so he also will be the best divine, who adds practice and experience proportionable to his studies : whereas that man will prove an useless drone, who refuses God's service all his life, under a pretence of preparing for it ; and lets men's souls pass on to perdition, while he pretends to be studying how to recover them, or getting more ability to help and save them.

However let me add, that tho' I esteem religious knowledge the chief, I would have you to acquire other knowledge too. The other sciences may be very useful, and indeed, subservient to this : and you may have competent time for both. Lose none, upon vain recreations and amusements ; trifle not away a minute ; consume none in needless sleep ; do what you do with all your might ; and then see what time you may command. If you set apart two days in a week for the work of personal instruction, you may find time enough for your common studies out of all the rest. Duties are to be taken together : none are to be neglected that can be performed, but the greatest should always be preferred. But if there were such a case of neces-

fitly, that we could not read or study for ourselves and instruct the ignorant too, I would throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the perdition of one soul : at least I know that this would be my duty.

III. It will be objected by many “ that this course will destroy our health, by continually spending our spirits, without allowing time for necessary recreations.”

I answer, we may do our duty, and have time for necessary recreations too. An hour or half an hour’s walk before meat, is as much recreation as is necessary for the weaker sort of students. I have reason to know something of this by long experience. Tho’ I have a body which has languished under great weaknesses many years, and which requires me to take as much exercise as almost any person in the world, yet I have found the above proportion sufficient. It is undoubtedly our duty to use as much exercise as is necessary for the preservation of our health ; so far our work requires it ; otherwise, for one day’s work we should lose the opportunity of many : and this may be done very consistently with all the duties I have been recommending.

As for those men that limit not their recreations to stated hours ; who must have them, not to fit
them

them for their work, but to please their voluptuous humour, such sensualists have need to study the nature of christianity better; to learn the danger of ‘living after the flesh,’ and to get more mortification and self-denial before they preach to others. If you must have your pleasures, you should not have put yourselves into a calling which requires you to make God and his service your pleasure, and which restrains you so much from carnal gratifications. Do you not know that the christian warfare consisteth in the combat between the flesh and the spirit? That the very difference between a christian and a wicked man is, that the one ‘lives after the spirit, mortifying the deeds of the body,’ and the other ‘lives after the flesh?’ And that to overcome the flesh is the principal part of that victory, on which the crown of life depends? If notwithstanding this you must have your pleasures, then for shame give over preaching of the gospel and the profession of christianity, and profess yourselves to be what you are; for as you ‘sow to the flesh, so of the flesh shall you receive the wages of corruption.’ Does such an one as PAUL say, ‘I keep under my body and bring it into subjection lest, that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be cast away?’ And

* 1 Cor. iv. 27.

have not such sinners as WE need to do so too? Shall WE pamper our bodies, when PAUL kept his under? Did he bring it into subjection lest after all his preaching he should be cast away? And have not WE much MORE cause to fear it? Some pleasure is undoubtedly lawful, namely such as tends to fit us for our work. But for a man to be so far in love with his pleasures as, for the sake of them, to waste his precious time, and neglect the work of God for men's salvation, (especially to plead for this as necessary, and to justify himself in it) is a degree of wickedness inconsistent with the fidelity of a common christian; much more with that of a Christian Minister. Such wretches as are 'lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God,' are more fit to be cast out of christian communion, than to be the chief in the church: 'from such' we are commanded 'to turn away.*'

Recreations for a student, must be especially for the exercise of his Body, since he has continually before him a variety of delights to the Mind: and they must be used (as whetting is by the Mower) only as far as is necessary to his work.

Let it be further consider'd; The business I am recommending is not of such a nature as is likely

* 2 Tim. iii. 5.

much to impair our health. It is true, it must be serious ; but it will not so much spend our spirits, as excite and revive them. Men can talk all the day long about other matters, without any prejudice to their health : why then may not we talk with men about their salvation without any great detriment to ours ? I only mean on the supposition that we have a tolerable measure of health and strength.—[But supposing the worst consequence, let me ask,] What have we our time and strength for but to lay them out for God ? What is a candle made for but to be burnt ? Burnt and wasted we must be ; and is it not more reasonable that it should be in lighting men to heaven, and in working for God, than in living to the flesh ? How little difference is there between the pleasure of a long life and a short one, when both are at an end ! What comfort will it be to you at death, that you lengthened your life by shortening your work ? Our life is to be estimated according to the end and business of it ; not according to the meer duration. He that works much, lives much. What Seneca said of a drone, [may be applied to an indolent minister] “ *ibi jacet, non ibi vivit ; et diu fuit, non diu vixit.*” Will it not comfort us more at death to review a short time faithfully spent, than a long life unfaithfully ?

As for visits and civilities, if they can answer greater ends than our ministerial employments, you may break the sabbath, or forbear preaching for them, and may thus excuse yourselves from private instruction. But if not, how dare you make them a pretence to neglect so great a duty? Must God wait on your friends? What tho' they are Gentlemen or Lords, must they be served before him? Or is their displeasure or censure more to be feared than HIS? It will be but a poor excuse at the last day for neglecting men's salvation, "that such a gentleman, or such a friend would have taken it ill had you not waited on them." "If you yet seek to please men, you are no longer the servants of Christ.*" He that dares to waste his time in compliments does little consider what he has to do with it. Oh that I could but improve my time according to my conviction of the importance of it! He that hath looked death in the face as often as I have done, will know how to value it. I profess I am astonished at those ministers that can find time to hunt, or shoot, or bowl, or use other recreations two or three hours, yea days together!—that can sit an hour at once in vain discourse, and spend whole days in complimental visits, or journeys to the same purpose! Good Lord! what do

* Gal. i. 10.

such men think on? when so many souls about them cry for their help, and when the smallest parish has work enough to employ all their diligence, night and day! If you have no sense of the worth of souls; of the value of that blood which was shed for them, of the glory set before them; and of the misery to which they are exposed, then you are no Christians; and therefore very unfit to be Ministers: if you HAVE, how dare you, like idle gossips, chat and trifle away your time, when so many and such great works call for it?—O precious time! how swiftly does it pass away! how soon will it be gone! What are the forty years of my life that are past? Were every day as long as a month, methinks it were too short for the work of a day. Have we not lost time enough in the days of our vanity that we have any NOW to lose? Never do I come to a dying man, who is not utterly stupid, but he better sees the worth of time than others generally do. O then, if they could call time back again, how loud would they call! What would they give for it! Can WE then afford to trifle it away? Is it possible that a man of any true compassion and honesty, or any concern about his ministerial duty, or any sense of the strictness of his account, should have time to spare for idleness and vanity? May a physician in the time of

4 the

the plague take any more relaxation than is necessary for his life and health, when so many are expecting his help in a case of life or death? If his pleasure is not worth men's lives, certainly yours is not worth men's souls.

Do not reply, "This is an hard saying, who can bear it? And that God does not require ministers to make drudges of themselves." Surely those men are not likely to honour God, and promote his service, who have such base thoughts of it; nor can they delight in holiness who account it a slavish work. Our Lord says, 'he that denieth not himself, and taketh not up his cross to follow him, cannot be his disciple.*' But these men count it a slavery to labour hard in his vineyard at a time when they have all accommodations and encouragements. If they had seen the diligence of Christ in doing good, when he neglected his meat to talk with one woman, † and when he was so zealous in preaching as to 'have no time to eat bread, ‡' they would have been of the same mind with his carnal 'friends who went to lay hold of him, and said he 'is besides himself.' If they had seen him all day in preaching and healing, and 'all night in prayer 'to God,' they would have told him that he made a slave of himself, and that God did not require so

* Mat. x. 38. † John iv. 31—34. ‡ Mark iii. 20, 21.

much ado. I cannot but advise such men to search their own hearts, and enquire whether they unfeignedly believe that word they preach. If you do Sirs, how can you think any labour too much for such weighty ends? If you do not, say so; and get you out of the vineyard: go with the prodigal to keep swine, and don't undertake the feeding of Christ's flock.

Do you not know that it is your own benefit you grudge at? The more you do, the more you receive: the more you lay out, the more you have coming in. The exercise of grace increases it. And is it a slavery to be more with God, and to receive more from him, than other men? It is the chief solace of a gracious soul to be doing good, and receiving good by doing it.—Besides, hereby we are preparing for fuller receivings hereafter. We put out our talents to usury, and by improving them, shall make five become ten. They who esteem the service of God as slavery, justify the prophane who look upon all diligent godliness in that light; and hereby aggravate their sin: and while they thus debase the work of the Lord they do but debase themselves, and prepare for a greater abasement at last.

IV. Perhaps some may suggest “that if we make such severe laws for ministers, the church will
will

will soon be left without them, as few parents will choose such a burden for their children, and many persons will be discouraged from undertaking it."

I answer, the carnal and self-seeking may be discouraged, but not those that thirst after the 'winning of souls,' who are devoted to the service of God and have 'taken up the cross to follow the Lamb.'—Christ would not forbear telling the world of the absolute necessity of self-denial for fear of discouraging men from his service, but on the contrary declares that he will have none but such as will submit to it, and that those who will not come on these terms may go their way, and see whether he wants their service more than they want his protection and favour.—These laws which you call severe, are not ours, but what Christ has made and imposed. If I should conceal or mis-interpret them, that would not relax them, nor excuse you. He who made them knew why he did it, and will expect the performance of them.—And he will take care for a supply of pastors. He has the fulness 'of the Spirit,' and therefore can give men hearts to do the duty he has imposed. He that has undertaken the work of our redemption, will not lose all his labour, for want of instruments to carry on his work. He will provide his people with 'pastors
' after

‘ after his own heart, who shall feed them with
‘ knowledge ;*’ who will ‘ seek not theirs, but
‘ them ; and willingly spend and be spent for their
‘ sake.’ What do you think that Christ can have
no servants, if such as you (with ‘ DEMAS) for-
fake him and turn to the present world ? If you
dislike his service you may seek a better where you
can find it, and boast of your gain in the conclu-
sion ; but don’t threaten him with the loss. Look
to yourselves as well as you can, and tell me at
the hour of Death, or at the Judgement-day, who
had the better bargain ; whether Christ had more
need of you, or you of him. It shall not serve
your turn to run out of the vineyard, on pretence
that you cannot do the work : he can follow you
and overtake you, as he did JONAS, with such a
storm as shall lay you ‘ in the belly of hell.’ To-
tally to cast off duty because you cannot endure to
be faithful in the performance of it, will prove
but a poor excuse at last.

V. But the strongest objection of all seems to
be “ that few people will submit to be so
freely dealt with by their ministers, but will
make a scorn at our motion.”

It cannot be denied, that too many people are
obstinate in their wickedness ; that ‘ simple ones

* Jer. iii. 15.

‘love simplicity, that scornors delight in scorning, and that fools hate knowledge.*’ But I wish it were not too much owing to ministers, that a great part of our people are so obstinate and contemptuous. If we did but shine and burn before them as we ought; were our sermons and our lives more convincing; did we set ourselves to do all the good we could do; were we more humble and meek, more loving and charitable; and did we let them see that we do but little esteem any worldly things in comparison with their salvation, much more might be done than is done; the mouths of many would be stopped, and the wicked would be more tractable and calm than they are.—However, the worse they are, the more are they to be pitied, and the more diligent should we be for their recovery. Their wilfulness will not excuse us from our duty. If we do not offer them our help how do we know who will refuse it? Offering it is our part; accepting is theirs. If we offer it not, we leave them excusable, because then they do not refuse it; but we leave ourselves without excuse. If they refuse our help when it is offer’d, we have done our part and deliver’d our own souls. But if some refuse it, others will accept it; and the success, with regard to them, may be such as to reward all our labour, tho’ it were much more. All are not

* Prov. i. 22.

Ch. VIII. *freely dealt with, an insufficient excuse.* 163
wrought upon by publick preaching ; but we must not therefore give it over as unprofitable. In a word, there is nothing from God or from right reason to make us backward to any part of our work ; tho' from the world the flesh and the devil, we shall have much, and perhaps more than we yet expect. But if, against all temptations and difficulties, we have recourse to God, and look on his great obligations on one side, and the hopeful effects and rewards on the other, we shall find but little cause to draw back or faint.*

VI. But

* The author, in his preface to the 2d Edition of the Reformed Pastor, has a remarkable passage concerning his own experience on this head, which it may not be amiss here to transcribe ; especially as it shews what an illustrious example he was of that diligence which he recommends to others. “ I find (says he) that we never took the rightest course to demolish the kingdom of darkness till now. I wonder at myself that I was kept from so clear and excellent a duty so long. But the case was with me as I suppose it is with others : I was convinced of my duty ; but my apprehensions of it were too small, and of the difficulties of it too great. I thought that the people would have scorned it ; and that only a few (who had least need) would have submitted to it. The work seemed strange to me ; I was for staying till the people were better prepared for it ; and thought my strength would never go thro' with it : thus was I detained in delays, which I beseech the Lord of mercy to forgive. Whereas upon trial, I find the difficulties

VI. But to all that I have said to recommend personal instruction many will answer, " You build too much on PAUL's teaching from house to house, and other passages of the same kind : those times, when the churches were first planting, required more diligence than ours : shew us some passage of scripture which requires from us all that you have prescribed ; and especially which obliges us to set apart two days in the week for it.*" I reply

I. I do not make it a minister's duty absolutely to go up and down from house to house to each

culties to be nothing to what I imagined ; and I experience the benefits and comforts of the work to be such, that I would not wish to have neglected it, for all the riches in the world. We spend Monday and Tuesday (from the morning almost to night) in the work ; taking about fifteen or sixteen families in a week, that we may go thro' the parish (in which there are above eight hundred) in a year. And I cannot say that one family hath yet refused to come to me ; or that many persons have shifted it off. And with regard to most of them that come, I find more outward signs of success [from this private discourse with them] than from all my preaching to them."

* This is taken from the author's Appendix to the 2d. Edition, in which he answers many other objections, which are either too weak to bear repeating, or too peculiar to need it.

person

person in the parish, or of his charge ; nay, I would not so much as advise you to this without necessity ; but first call the people to come to you at your own house, or at the Vestry, or wherever you please, so that you will but give them that personal instruction, on a proper enquiry into their states, which their circumstances require. And then go to those that will not come to you, if they will consent to it, and if you are able. For my own part, I cannot go from house to house without the apparent hazard of my life. And I think it more for the people's benefit to accustom them to attend their pastor, (and it is much more for his) than for him to hunt up and down after them, scarcely knowing where or when. But men's obstinacy may make that necessary which is inconvenient.

2. It is not on these texts in question, or any other, that I wholly ground this duty : Tho' supposing there were no more than the general command [on which we have been insisting] of ' taking heed ' to ALL the flock,' surely this were sufficient to convince you that you should take as particular care of every individual as you can.—Must I turn to my Bible to shew a Preacher where it is written that a man's soul is of more worth than a world ? Or that both we and all we have are God's ? Or that it is inhuman cruelty to let souls go to hell for fear

we

we and our families should live somewhat the harder? In a word, the question is, Whether you are not bound to do the best you can to save the souls of all your people? Do this and I desire no more. But do you think in your conscience that you do the best you can, if you neglect to exhort, instruct, and catechise them?

3. To say the present times require less diligence than the days of the apostles, favours of a man lockt up in a study and unacquainted with the world. Good Lord! Are there such multitudes round about us who are ignorant of the first principles of religion? Are there so many thousands drowned in presumption, security, and sensuality? So many drunkards, worldlings, haters, and scoffers of an holy life? So many dull, ignorant, scandalous professors? So many troublers, seducers, and dividers of the church? And yet is the happiness of our times so great that we may excuse ourselves from personal instruction because it is unnecessary? Look more without, and I warrant you that you will not see cause to spare your pains for want of work. What conscientious minister finds not work enough to do from one end of the year to the other, tho' he has not an hundred souls to take care of? It is true there are more professors of christianity in our day than in the apostle's: but are the ungodly the less miserable for that profession, or the more so?

4. As

Ch. IX. *Prudence must determine circumstances.* 167

4. As to the objection that relates to the proportion of time to be allotted for this work, &c. I answer, What if God only bids us to 'pray without ceasing,' will you approve of those who neglect it because they are not commanded to pray morning and night, or in the family? Set times are as needful for the constant performance of this duty, as for your private or family duties; your lectures or your studies. When you have shewed me a written precept for these, or for preaching twice on the Lord's day, then I will shew you more than one for the things in question. However, I presume not to impose an unnecessary task on any, but leave it to your prudence to discern and determine the seasons and other circumstances of your duty.

C H A P. IX.

*Miscellaneous Directions respecting the whole ministerial work.**

[T]HE next thing proposed, to which we now proceed, was, FOURTHLY, to give some miscellaneous directions for the more comfortable,

* N. B. "The sins of ministers," which the author had pointed out in a distinct series of particulars, are introduced in this; as many of the thoughts in both necessarily coincided. These directions stood in different parts of the original work, but it seemed most natural to place them together here.

acceptable,

168 *What subjects to be most insisted on.* Part II.
acceptable, and useful discharge of the pastoral office in all its branches.]

I. Through the whole course of your ministry insist most, upon the greatest, most certain, and most necessary things.

If we can but teach Christ to our people, we teach them all. Get them well to heaven, and they will have knowledge enough. The plainest, and most commonly acknowledged truths, are what men live most upon; these are the great instruments in destroying sin, and in raising the heart to God. We should always have our people's necessities in our eye. To remember that 'One thing is needful,' will take us off from needless ornaments, and unprofitable controversies. Many other things are desirable to be known, but these **MUST** be known, or else our people are undone for ever. Necessity should be the great disposer of a minister's studies and labours. If we were sufficient for every thing, we might fall upon every thing, and take in order the whole Encyclopedia. But life is short and we are dull. Eternal things are necessary, and the souls which depends on our teaching are precious. —I confess that necessity has been the conductor of my studies, and my life. It chuses what books I shall read, and when, and how long. It chuses my text and makes my sermon, both for matter
and

and manner, as far as I can keep out my own corruptions. Tho' I know that the constant expectation of death has been a great cause of this with regard to myself, yet I see no reason why the most healthful man should not make sure of the necessaries first; considering the shortness and uncertainty of all men's lives. Who can, either in study, preaching, or life, be employed about foreign matters, when he knows that this or that **MUST** be done? As the soldier says, "**Non diu disputandum, sed celeriter et fortiter dimicandum ubi urget necessitas,**" so much more may we as our business is more important. Doubtless this is the best way to redeem time, to spend it only on necessary things: and I think it is the way to be most profitable to others; tho' not always to be most pleasing and applauded; because thro' men's frailty, that is too true which Seneca complains of "**Nova potius miramur quam magna.**"

A preacher must be often upon the same things, because the matters of necessity are few. This we should not avoid to satisfy such as look for novelties, tho' we should cloath the same necessaries with a grateful variety, in the manner of our delivering them. Necessaries are common and obvious; for superfluities we may waste our time and labour, and often to no purpose. The great volumes and

tedious controversies that so much trouble us and waste our time, are usually made up more of opinion than necessary truths.*—You would choose those authors to read for yourselves, which tell you what you know not, and treat of the most necessary things in the clearest manner, tho' it be in the most barbarous language, rather than those which most learnedly, and in the most elegant grateful language, tell you that which is false and vain, and magno conatu nihil dicere?† And surely you should act on the same principle in teaching other men, as in studying for yourself. They are commonly empty, ignorant men, destitute of the matter and substance of true learning, who are over curious about words and ornaments; who affect to be esteemed what they are not, having no other way to procure that esteem: whereas the oldest, most experienced, and most learned men, abound in substantial verities, usually deliver'd in the plainest dress. Which brings me to add

* *Necessitas brevibus clauditur terminis; Opinio nullis.* MARSIL. FICINUS.

† *Sunt qui scire volunt eo fine tantum ut sciant, et turpis curiositas est: et sunt qui scire volunt ut scientiam suam vendant; et turpis quæstus est: sunt qui scire volunt ut sciantur ipsi, et turpis vanitas est: sed sunt qui scire volunt ut ædificentur; et prudentia est: et sunt quoque qui scire volunt ut ædificent; et CHARITAS est.*

BERNARD, *Serm. in Cant.* 26.

II. All

II. All our teaching should be as PLAIN and evident as we can make it.

This best suits a teacher's ends. He that would be understood must make it his business to be understood, by speaking to the capacities of his hearers. Truth loves the light, and is most beautiful when most naked. He is an enemy that hides the truth; and he is an hypocrite, who does this under a pretence of revealing it. Highly ornamented sermons (like painted glass in windows, which keeps out the light) are too often the marks of hypocrisy. If you would not teach men, what do you in the pulpit? If you would, why do you not speak so as to be understood?—For a man purposely to cloud his matter in strange words, and hide his mind from the people whom he pretends to instruct, is the way to make fools admire his profound learning, but wise men, his folly, pride, and hypocrisy.—Some persons purposely conceal their sentiments, thro' a pretence of necessity, because of men's prejudices, and the unpreparedness of common understandings to receive the truth. But truth overcomes prejudice by meer light of evidence. There is no better way to make a good cause prevail, than to make it as plain and as thoroughly understood as we can; this will properly dispose an unprepared mind.—He that is not able to deliver his matter plainly to others

¹72. *Different cases require different treatment.* Part II.
(I mean as plainly as the nature of it will bear, and supposing them to have capacities for understanding it) shews that he has not well digested it himself.

III. We should always suit our instructions, and our behaviour, to the capacities and circumstances of those with whom we have to do.

Our work must be carried on prudently, orderly, and by degrees. Milk must go before strong meat. The foundation must be laid before we can build upon it. Children must not be dealt with as men at age. A person must be brought into a state of grace before we can expect from him the works of grace. The stewards of God's household must 'give to each their portion in due season.*' We must not go beyond the capacities of our people, nor teach them the perfection, who have not learnt the principles.—There must be a prudent mixture of severity and mildness, both in our preaching and discipline: each must be predominant according to the quality of the person or the matter we have in hand. If there be no severity our reproofs will be despised; if it be all severity, we shall be esteem'd usurpers of dominion.

IV. Every part of our work must be managed with great HUMILITY.

* Luke, xii. 42.

Pride is one of the most heinous, and yet one of our most palpable sins. It discovers itself in many by their dress: it chooses their cloth and their fashion, and dresses their hair and their habit according to the taste. And I wish this were all, or the worst: but alas how frequently does it go with us to our studies! How often does it choose our subject, and how much oftener our words and ornaments! Sometimes it puts in toys and trifles under a pretence of laudable embellishments, and often pollutes instead of polishing. It makes us speak to our people what they don't understand, [merely to display our learning.] It takes off the edge of a discourse under a pretence of filing off the roughness and superfluity. If we have a plain and cutting passage, it throws it away as too rustical or ungrateful. Now tho' our matter be of God, if our dressing and manner and end be from Satan (as is the case when pride has the ordering of it) we have no great reason to expect success.—Yet thus does pride make many a man's sermon. And when they have composed the discourse, it goes with them into the pulpit, it forms their tone, it animates their delivery, it takes them off from what would be displeasing, and directs them in the pursuit of vain applause. In short, instead of seeking God's glory, and denying themselves, it makes them, both in studying and preaching, to seek themselves and deny

God. When they should ask "What shall I say and how shall I say it to please God best, and do most good?" Pride makes them ask, "What shall I say, and how shall I deliver it, to be thought a learned, able preacher, and to be applauded by all that hear me?" When the sermon is done, pride goes home with them, and makes them more eager to know whether they were applauded, than whether they did any good to the souls of men. Were it not for shame, they could willingly ask people how they liked them, to extort their commendations. If they perceive that they are highly thought of, they rejoice as having attained their end: If not, they are displeased, as having lost the prize.

But this is not all; some ministers are so set upon a popular air, and having the highest place in the esteem of men, that they envy the abilities and names of their brethren who are preferred to them; as if all were taken from their praise, that is given to another's, and as if God had bestow'd his gifts upon them as the meer ornaments of their persons, that they might walk as men of reputation in the world; and as if all the gifts of other ministers were to be trodden down and vilified, if they should stand in the way of their honour. Strange! that one workman should malign another, because he helps him to do his master's work! Yet how common

mon is this heinous crime among men of ability and eminence in the church! They will secretly blot the reputation of such as oppose their own, and will at least raise suspicions, where they cannot fasten accusations. Nay, some go so far as to be unwilling that any ministers abler than themselves should come into their pulpits, lest they should be applauded above themselves. It is a surprising thing that any man who has the least fear of God, should so envy his gifts in others, as that he had rather his carnal hearers should remain unconverted, than that they should be converted by another person who may be preferred to himself. Yet this sin does so prevail, that it is difficult to get two ministers to live together in love and quietness, unanimously to carry on the work of God: Unless one of them be greatly inferiour to the other, and content to be so esteemed, and to be governed by him, they are contending for precedency, envying each other's interest, and behaving with strangeness and jealousy towards one another, to the shame of their profession, and the injury of the congregation. Nay, so great is the pride of some ministers, that when they might have an equal assistant, to further the work of God, they had rather take all the burden upon themselves, tho' more than they can bear, than that any should share with them in their honour, or lest they should diminish their own interest in the people.—It is owing

to pride that many ministers make so little proficiency : they are too proud to learn. It is thro' pride also that men so magnify their own opinions and are as censorious of any that differ from them in lesser things, as if their sentiments were the rules of the churches faith. While we cry down papal infallibility, too many of us would be Popes ourselves and would have every thing determined by our judgments, as if we were infallible. And so high are our spirits, that when any reprove or contradict us, (tho' they have sufficient reason to do it,) we are commonly impatient both of the matter and the manner. We love the man that will say as we say, and promote our reputation, tho' in other respects he be less worthy our esteem : but he is ungrateful to us, who differs from us, and contradicts us and who plainly tell us of our faults ; especially in relation to our publick performances. Many, thro' their pride, imagine that all those despise them who do not admire all they say, and submit to their judgments in the most palpable mistakes : thus have they dishonour'd themselves by idolizing their honour, and publickly proclaimed their own shame. From pride proceed all the envy, contention and unpeaceableness of ministers, which are the hinderances to all reformation : all would lead, but few will follow or concur. Yea, hence proceed schisms and apostacies

Ch. IX. *The sinfulness and danger of it.* 177

stacies, as did former persecutions, arrogant usurpations and impositions. In short, it is pride at the root that nourishes all our other sins, and this virtually contains them all.

Give me leave brethren, to expostulate with you and my own heart with regard to this sin, that we may see the evil of it and be reformed.—Pride is the sin of devils; the first born of hell; it is that wherein the devil's image does principally consist. It is an intolerable evil in a man that is so much engaged against him as we are. Pride ill becomes those that are to lead men in such an humble way to heaven. We had need to take care, lest when we have brought others thither, the gate should prove too strait for ourselves. God, who thrust out a proud angel, will not there entertain a proud preacher as such.—The very design of the gospel tends to self-abasement. The work of grace is begun and carried on in humiliation. Humility is not the meer ornament of a christian, but it is an essential part of the new creature. All that will be Christ's disciples must 'come to him and learn;' their lesson is, to be 'meek and lowly in heart.*' How many admirable precepts and examples has our Lord and master given us to this end! Can we once conceive of him as washing and wiping his

* Matt. xxviii. 29.

servants feet, and yet be haughty and domineering? Shall he converse with the meanest, and shall we avoid them as contemptible, and think none but the rich and honourable fit for our society? Many of us are oftener found in the houses of gentlemen, than in the poor cottages of such as most need our help; as if we had taken the charge only of the souls of the rich. Methinks we should remember our title as **MINISTERS**, which, tho' the popish priests disdain, we do not. We should not speak proudly or disrespectfully to any, but should carry ourselves meekly and courteously to all, remembering that we are obliged to be 'the servants of all.' We should 'not be strange to the poorest and meanest, of the 'flock,' but should 'condescend to men of low 'estate' as our equals in Christ. Familiarity improved to holy ends is necessary, and may do abundance of good; and surely a kind winning carriage is a very cheap way of doing it. We should so teach others, as to be ready to learn of any; thus we may both teach and learn at once:* not proudly venting our

* We may say of ministers in general what **AUGUSTINE** said of the aged of them; "Etsi magis decet docere quam discere, magis tamen decet discere quam ignorare."

"Ab omnibus libenter discere quod tu nescis: quia humilitas commune tibi facere potest, quod natura cuique proprium

our own conceits, and disdaining all that any way contradict them, as if we (having attain'd the height of knowledge) were destined to the chair, and all other men were to sit at our feet.

Alas, bretheren ! what is it that we have to be so proud of ?—Of our bodies ? They are made of the same materials as the meanest of our fellow creatures. Is it of our graces ? The more we are proud of them, the less have we to be proud of, since much of the nature of grace is in humility. Is it of our learning and abilities ? Surely, if we have any knowledge at all, we must know much reason to be humble. If we know more than others, we must know more reason to be humble than they do. But how little is it that the most learned know, in comparison with what they are ignorant of ! And to know how ignorant we are, and how far things are beyond our reach, one would imagine, could be no great cause of pride.—It is our very business to preach humility ; it is therefore very unfit that we should be proud. Must we study and preach humility, and must we not possess and practice it ? A proud preacher of humility, is at least a self-condemning man. And I beseech you to con-

proprium fecit, sapienter omnibus eris, si ab omnibus discere volueris : qui ab omnibus accipiunt, omnibus ditiores sunt. HUGO.

sider, whether it will save us to speak well of the grace we do not possess; whether sincerity can consist with allowed pride, and whether we can be saved without humility, any more than without temperance or chastity.

Consider further, brethren, I beseech you, what baits there are in the ministerial office, to entice to vanity, and what temptations to pride lie in our way, that you may be more upon your guard against it. What a snare may it prove, to have the fame of godly men, and of learned zealous preachers! How pleasing is it to have the people crowd to hear us, and to be able to command their judgments and affections! Especially to be renowned thro' the land for the highest spiritual excellencies! To have the people plead for us as their felicity, and call us the pillars of the church of God, and their fathers, 'the chariots and horsemen of 'Israel!'—Alas! brethren, a little grace will serve to make you join with the forwardest of those men that have these inducements and encouragements. Nay pride may do it without any special grace.*

O there-

* [A Jesuit, who had been employed twenty years in the missions of Canada, owned privately to his friend that, while he did not believe in the being of a God, he had faced death twenty times for the sake of the religion which

Ch. IX. *Seriousness and reverence recommended.* 181

O therefore be jealous of yourselves, and in all your studies be sure to study humility. ‘He that exalteth himself shall be brought low: whereas he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*’ I commonly observe, that almost all men, both good and bad, loathe the proud, and love the humble; so far does pride defeat its own ends.—We have cause to be the more jealous of ourselves because pride is a vice which is most deeply rooted in us, and with as much difficulty as any extirpated from the soul. Again

V. In every part of our work, we should be serious, affectionate, zealous, and reverent.

The importance of our matter condemns coldness and sleepy dulness. Our spirits should be well awakened, that we may be fit to awaken others. If our words be not sharp and piercing, they will hardly be felt by stony hearts. To speak slightly and coldly about heavenly things, is as bad as to

which he preached to the savages with great success. His friend, hereupon, represented to him the inconsistency of his zeal: “Ah!” replied the missionary, “you have no idea of the pleasure which is felt in commanding the attention of twenty thousand people, and in persuading them to what we believe not ourselves.”
D’ALEMBERT’S Account of the Jesuits.]

* Luke, xiv. 11.

182 *All our work should be done reverently*, Part II.
 say nothing of them.—All our work must be managed reverently, as becomes them that believe the presence of God; not treating holy things as if they were common. The more of God appears in our duties, the more authority will they have with men. Reverence is that affection of the soul which proceeds from deep apprehensions of God, and denotes that the mind is much conversant with him. To manifest irreverence about the things of God, is so far to manifest hypocrisy, and that the heart agrees not with the tongue. I know not how it is with other persons; but the most reverent preacher, who speaks as if he saw the face of God, does more affect my heart, tho' with common words, than an irreverent man with the most accurate preparations, tho' he bawl it out with ever so much seeming earnestness. If reverence be not equal to fervency, it has but little effect. Of all preaching in the world I hate that most, which tends to make the hearers laugh, or to affect their minds with such levity as stage-plays do, instead of affecting them with an holy reverence of the name of God.* We should suppose (as it were) when we draw near him in holy things, that we saw the throne of God, and the millions of glorious angels attending him,

* *Docente in ecclesiâ te, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur: Lacrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sunt.*

JEROM.

that

that we may be awed with his majesty, lest we profane his service and take his name in vain.

VI. All our work should be done spiritually; as by men possessed of the Holy Ghost, and actuated by him.

We should be men that 'favour the things of the spirit.' There is in some men's preaching a spiritual strain which spiritual hearers can discern and relish: whereas in others, this sacred tincture is so wanting, that even when they speak of spiritual things, the manner is such as if they were common matters. Our evidence and ornaments ought to be spiritual: rather borrowed from the scriptures (with a cautious subservient use of human writings) than from the authority of ARISTOTLE, or any other men. 'The wisdom of the world' must not be magnified against 'the wisdom of God.' Philosophy must be taught to stoop and serve, while faith bears the principal sway. The great scholars in ARISTOTLE's school, must take heed of glorying too much in their master, and despising those who are beneath them, lest they themselves prove lower in the school of Christ, and 'least in the kingdom of God,' while they would appear great in the eyes of men. As wise a man as any of them would 'glory in nothing but in 'the cross of Christ, and determined to know nothing but him 'crucified.'

‘crucified.’* The most learned men should think of this. — Let all writers have their due esteem, but compare none of them with the word of God. We will not refuse their service, but we must abhor them as competitors. God is the best teacher of his own nature and will. It is the sign of a dis-temper’d heart, when a person loses the relish for scripture excellency. There is in a spiritual heart a connaturality to the word of God, because this was the means of his regeneration. The word is that seal which made all the holy impressions that are in the hearts of true believers, and stamp the image of God upon them; they must therefore love that word as long as they live.

VII. The whole of our ministry must be carried on in a tender love to our people.

We must let them see that nothing pleases us but what profits them; that what does them good, does us good, and that nothing troubles us more than their hurt. “Bishops (as JEROM says) are “not lords, but fathers;” and therefore must be affected towards their people as their children: yea the tenderest love of the mother should not surpass theirs. We must even ‘travail in birth for

* Deus primo collegit indoctos: post modum philosophos, et non per oratores docuit piscatores, sed per piscatores, subegit oratores. GREG. M. Moral. L. 33.

‘them

‘ them till Christ be formed in them.’ We should convince them that we care for no outward thing, not money, nor liberty, nor credit, nor life itself, in comparison with their salvation. When your people see that you unfeignedly love them, they will hear any thing, and bear any thing.* We ourselves should put up with a blow given us in love, sooner than with a hard word given us in anger and malice. Most men judge of advice, as they judge of the affection of him who gives it. O therefore see to it that you feel a tender love to your people in your breasts, and let them feel it in your speeches, and see it in your conduct. Let them see that you ‘ spend and are spent for their sakes,’ that all you do, is not for any ends of your own, but for them. To this end, works of charity will be necessary, as far as your circumstances allow. [But more of this under the next particular.]

Be sure that your love be not carnal, flowing from pride, and that you do not appear as one that is a suitor for himself, rather than for Christ; who loves because he is beloved, or pretends it, that he may be. Take heed that you do not connive at men’s sins under a pretence of love; for that were

* Dilige et dic quodcunque voles. AUG.

to contradict the very nature and ends of it.* Friendship must be cemented by piety. A wicked man can be no true friend. If you befriend the sins of the wicked, you shew that you are such yourselves. By favouring their sin you discover your enmity to God; and then how can you 'love your brother.' If you be their best friends, help them against their worst enemies. Pretend not to love them if you favour their sins, and do not seek their salvation. Do not think all sharpness inconsistent with love: parents will correct their children, and God himself, will 'chasten every son that he loveth.†' Next to this let me add

VIII. Take care that your worldly and fleshly interests, do not too much prevail against the interest of Christ and the good of souls.

Never be guilty of temporizing for the sake of gain. It is one of the greatest reproaches upon the ministry, that so many of us do so much suit themselves to the party that is most likely to suit their ends, and promote their worldly advantage. This often occasions our enemies to say, that reputation and preferment are our religion and our reward.

* *Amici vitia si feras, facis tua.* SENECA.

† *Melius est cum severitate diligere, quam cum lenitate decipere.* AUG.

Never

Ch. IX. *Works of charity strongly recommended.* 187

Never let a regard to your worldly interest prevent your discharge of any part of your duty, even tho' the most disagreeable to your people, and tho' it should hinder them from paying their dues. I find alas! that money is too strong an argument for some ministers to answer, who can proclaim 'the love of it to be the root of all evil,' and can make long orations on the danger of covetousness. If it was so heinous a sin in SIMON MAGUS to offer to BUY the gifts of God with money, what must it be to SELL his gifts, his cause, and the souls of men for money! and what reason have such to fear, lest 'their money perish with them!' Further,

Be sure that your concern about your temporal interest, does not prevent your Works of Charity. Bare WORDS will hardly convince men that you have any love to them. Works of charity do most powerfully remove men's prejudices, and open their ears to the words of piety. If they see that you are addicted to DO GOOD, they will more easily believe that you ARE good, and that it is good to which you would persuade them. Go to the poor to see what they want, and at once shew your compassion to soul and body. Buy them catechisms and other small books that are likely to do them good. Stretch your purse to the utmost of your power, and do all the good you can. I would
put

put no one upon extreams: It is doubtless every man's duty to 'provide for those of his own house.' But ministers should educate their children as other persons in low circumstances do, that they may be able to get their own livings in some honest trade or employment, without other great provisions. You are bound to educate them so as they may be capable of doing the most service for God; but not to leave them rich. You should not forbear necessary works of charity, meerly to make a larger provision for them.—A truly charitable self-denying heart, that hath devoted itself and all it hath to God, would be the best judge of due proportions; would see which way of expence is likely to do God the greatest service, and would chearfully take that.—Tho' I would not have men lie under strong temptations to incontinency, yet I confess it seems hard that they can do no more to mortify the flesh, that they may live in a single, freer condition, and have none of these temptations from wives and children, to hinder them from promoting the ends of their ministry by works of charity. It is pity that in a better cause, we no more imitate the PAPISTS in wisdom and self-denial, where it might be done.*

But

* The author has considered this point more particularly in another place, (See his Works Vol. I. p. 382.) tho' his advice was, in this instance, contradicted by his example.

—But if ministers must marry, they should marry such as can maintain themselves and their children, and so devote as much as they can of the churches means, to the churches service. But in this case, flesh and blood make even good men so partial, that they sometimes look upon duties (and duties of very great importance) to be extreams. The flesh will tell us that we must have a competency: and many pious men's competency is but little below the rich man's rates. If they be not cloathed with the best, and 'fare not sumptuously every day,' they have not a competency. Bretheren, think not of being rich. Seek not great things for yourselves or your posterity. A man that preaches an immortal crown of glory, must not seek much after transitory vanity. He that teaches others the contempt of riches, must himself contemn them, and shew it by his life. He that recommends self-denial and mortification, must practise these himself in the eyes of the world, if he would have his doctrine prosper. All christians, with all they have, are consecrated to their 'master's use:' but Ministers, as they are doubly devoted to God, are doubly obliged to honour him with their substance. That man who has any thing in the world so dear to example. There are, however, in the chapter refer'd to, many hints, in relation to matrimony, less liable to dispute than the passage in question.

him that he cannot spare it for Christ if he calls for it, is no true christian. What if you impoverish yourselves to do others good, will it be loss or gain? If you believe that God is your safest purse-bearer, and that to expend in his service is the greatest usury, shew your people that you do believe it. Do not take it as an undoing to 'make
' to you friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness
' and to lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,'
tho' you leave yourselves but little on earth.

O what abundance of good might ministers do, if they would but live in a contempt of the world; the riches, and glories of it, and expend all they have for their master's use! This would unlock more hearts for the reception of their doctrine than all their oratory will do. Without this, singularity in religion will seem but hypocrisy, and perhaps is nothing more.—Tho' we need not do as the Papists, who betake themselves to monasteries, and cast away all their property, yet we must have nothing but what we have FOR GOD.—The world perhaps will expect more from us than we have; but if we cannot answer the expectations of the unreasonable, let us do what we can to answer the expectations of God, and to satisfy conscience and good men. Those that have a large income must increase their charity in proportion. If you are
not

not able to do many acts of charity, shew that you are willing, if you had ability, by doing that sort of good you can.

IX. Let me recommend to you the cultivation and exercise of PATIENCE as a necessary concomitant of your work.

We must bear with many abuses and injuries from those for whom we are doing good. When we have studied for them and prayed for them; when we have exhorted and beseeched them with all condescension; when we have given them all we are able; have spent ourselves for them, and tendered them as if they had been our children, we must expect that many will requite us with scorn, hatred, and contempt; that they will cast our kindness in our faces with disdain, and take us for their 'enemies because we tell them the truth;' and that 'the more we love them, the less shall we be loved.' All this must be patiently endured, and still we must unweariedly hold out in doing them good; 'in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if peradventure God will give them repentance.' Tho' they scornfully reject our teaching, and bid us look to ourselves, still we must persevere. We have to deal with distracted men, who will fly in the face of their physician;
but

but we must not therefore neglect the cure. He is very unfit to be a physician who will be driven away from a frantick patient by foul words. It is not to be expected that fools should make us as grateful returns for our care over them as wise men. —But alas! how sadly do most ministers come off in this part of their trial! When sinners reproach and slander them for their love, what heart-rifings will there be! How will the remnants of the old ADAM (pride and passion) struggle against the meekness and patience of the ‘new man!’

X. In all our work we should be as **PEACEABLE** as we can: We should studiously promote union and communion among ourselves, and the unity and peace of the churches committed to our care.

We must be sensible how necessary this is to the prosperity of the whole church; the strengthening of the common cause; the good of the particular members of our flock, and the further enlargement of the kingdom of Christ. Ministers therefore should feel very sensibly when the church is wounded, and should be so far from being leaders in divisions, that they should consider it as an important part of their work to prevent and heal them. They should not only hearken to motions for unity, but should study

Ch. IX. *Too seldom found among ministers.* 193

day and night to find out means to close breaches ; and should also propose and prosecute them. Instead of quarrelling with our brethren, we should combine against the common enemy.

Most ministers will speak for unity and peace ; but how seldom do we see them addicted to promote it ! Too commonly they are jealous of it, and are even the instruments of division. The Papists have so long abused the name of Catholick Church, that in opposition to them, many either put it out of their creed, or only retain the name, while they understand not, or consider not the nature of the thing, and behave not as members of that body. Of the multitude that say they are of the catholick church, it is rare to meet with men of a catholick spirit. They do not duly regard the WHOLE church, but look upon their own party as if that were the whole. Most of them will pray hard for the prosperity of their sect, and rejoice and give thanks when it goes well with them, thinking that the happiness of the rest consists only in turning to them : but if any other party suffer, they little regard it ; as if it were no loss at all to the church ; nay, because they are not of their mind, they wish for, and are glad to hear of their fall, imagining that is the way to the churches rising. If they differ not among themselves, they are but little troubled at
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differing from others, tho' it be from almost all the christian world. The peace of their party they take for the peace of the church; no wonder therefore if they are concerned to carry it no further.—Few grow zealous of peace, till they grow old, or have much experience of men's spirits and principles, and see better the true state of the church and the several differences in it: and then they begin to write their IRENICON'S, to leave behind them when they are dead, as witnesses against a wilful, self-conceited, unpeaceable world. Many of these are extant at this day.* It often brings a man under a suspicion either of favouring some heresy, and of needing an indulgence to his own errors; or of having abated his zeal for the truth, if he does but attempt a pacificatory work: as if there were no zeal necessary for the great fundamental truths, and for the unity and peace of the church, but only for parties, and for some particular doctrines.

We have as sad divisions among us in ENGLAND, as most nations have known: but is the difference between the several denominations of Protestants so great that we might not come to an agreement? Were we but heartily willing, I know

* See especially HALL'S excellent treatise called "The Peace-maker," and his "Pax Terris," which deserve to be transcribed upon all our hearts.

we might. I have conversed with some moderate men of all parties, and I perceive by their concessions, that an union were an easy work. If we could not in every point agree, we might easily lessen our differences, and hold communion upon our agreement in the main; determining on the safest way for managing our few and small differences, without the danger or trouble of the church. To the shame of all our faces be it spoken that this is not done. Let each party flatter themselves as they please, this will be recorded to the shame of the ministers of ENGLAND as long as the gospel abides in the world.

We confess the worth of peace; we read and preach on those texts, that command us to 'follow peace with all men,' &c. and yet we sit still and neglect it as if it was not worth looking after; and too many will censure and reproach any that endeavour it, as if holiness and peace were so fallen out that there were no reconciling them; when yet we have found by long experience that concord is a sure friend to piety, and that piety always tends to concord. We have seen to our sorrow, that where the servants of God should have lived together as of one heart and voice, promoting each other's faith and holiness, and rejoicing together in the hope of future glory, they have, on the con-

trary, lived in mutual jealousies, drowned holy love in bitter contentions, and studied to disgrace and undermine one another, and to encrease their own parties, by right or by wrong.

This sin of discord among ministers is accompanied with many heinous aggravations. We have seen how errors and heresies breed by it, as discord is bred and fed by them. Nor have we ourselves only scorched in this flame, but we have also drawn our people into it, so that they are fallen into several parties, and have turned much of their ancient piety into vain opinions, disputes, and animosities. And (which is worst of all) the common ignorant people take notice of it, and not only deride us, but become hardened against religion. If we go about to persuade them to be religious, they see so many parties, that they know not which to join with, and think that it is as well to belong to none at all as to join any, since they know not which is the right. Many poor carnal wretches think themselves in the better case, while they hold to their old formalities, and we hold to nothing. Did we but agree among ourselves in the main, and do as much of God's work as we could in concurrent unanimity, our words would have some authority with them, and we should be in a greater capacity to do them good. But if our tongues and
hearts

hearts be divided, no wonder if our work prove more like a BABEL than the temple of God. It is not strange that the people should despise us, if we despise one another. Some ministers, by their bitter opprobrious speeches of others, have more effectually done the devil's service, under the name of orthodoxy and zeal for the truth, than the malignant scorers of godliness could possibly have done. The matter is come to that pass, that there are few men of note, of any party, but who are so publicly reproached by the other parties, that the ignorant and wicked rabble, who should be converted by them, have learnt to be orthodox, and to vilify and scorn them. Mistake me not: I do not slight orthodoxy or jeer at the name, but only expose the pretences of devilish zeal in pious, or seemingly pious men. I know that many of these reverend calumniators think that they laudably discover that soundness in the faith, and that zeal for the truth, which others want: but I will resolve the case in the words of the Holy Ghost: 'Who
' is a wise man, and endowed with knowledge
' among you? Let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness and wisdom.
' But if you have bitter envying or strife in your
' hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth;
' this wisdom descendeth not from above, but is

' earthly, sensual and devilish ; for where envying
 ' and strife is, there is confusion and every evil
 ' work. The wisdom that is from above is first
 ' pure, and then peaceable, gentle and easy to be
 ' entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without
 ' partiality, and without hypocrisy ; and the fruit
 ' of righteousness is sown in peace for them that
 ' make peace.* I beseech you read these words again
 and again, and study them well.

The most common cause of our divisions and unpeaceableness, is, men's high esteem of their own opinions. This works various ways : e. g. by setting them upon seeking after novelties. Some are as busy in their enquiries after new doctrines as if the scriptures were not perfect, and are for making new articles of faith, and finding out new ways to heaven. The body of Popery came in at this door.—Pride occasions divisions likewise, by putting a higher rate upon some truths than the church of Christ had ever done : by making that to be of absolute certainty, and of necessity to salvation, which had not before been received, or but as a doubtful point, and of a lower nature, which some were for, and some were against, without any great mutual censure : but especially, when the pride of men's hearts makes them so over-value their own conceptions,

* James iii. 13—18.

and to be so confident that they are in the right, as to expect all others to be of their mind, and so censorious as to condemn all that differ from their party. Every sect is usually confident in their own way, and hereupon arise such breaches in affection and communion as there are.—And it usually happens that this confidence does but betray men's ignorance, and shew that many make that up in passion which they want in reason; zealously condemning what they little understand. It is far easier to say that another man is erroneous and rail at him as a deceiver, than to give a just account of our own belief. And I have observed it is the trick of some that can scarce give a reason for any controverted part of their creed (nor it may be of the fundamentals) to reproach those that differ from them as unsound, in order to get the name of orthodox divines. Many ministers take up their opinions only in compliance with their several parties; looking more WHO believes them, than WHAT they believe, or on what grounds; and too many take up even the truth itself in a faction. And therefore they must speak against those that they hear speak against their party. How many hot disputes have I heard, which the disputants have been forced to manifest they understood not! Nay, they will often drive all to damnatory conclusions, when they understand not one another's meaning, and are unable, if you call upon them for it, to give a defi-

inition of the [terms they use.]—Thus do we proceed, in a contentious zeal, to censure our brethren, and divide the church.

I entreat of you brethren, [carefully to avoid this evil disposition, and to] be very tender of the unity and peace, not only of your own parties, but of the whole catholick church.—To this end, keep close to the ancient simplicity of the christian faith, the foundation and centre of catholick unity. Do not easily introduce any novelties into the church either in faith or practice. Some have already introduced such phrases, at least, even about the great points of faith, that there may be reason to reduce them to the primitive patterns.

A great stir is made in the world about the test of a true christian church, with which we may hold communion. And indeed the true cause of our continued unhappy divisions, is the want of discerning the centre of our unity, and the terms on which we may unite: which is a great pity, since this was once so easy a matter, till the ancient test was thought insufficient. The faith of the Papists is too large for all men to agree upon, or indeed for themselves, if it were not enforced with arguments drawn from the fire and the halter. And many Protestants do too much imitate them in the tedious length of their subscribed confessions,
and

and new impositions. We may talk of peace as long as we live, but we shall never obtain it till we return to the apostolical simplicity. We must abhor the arrogance of them that frame new engines to wrack and tear the church of God, under pretence of obviating errors and maintaining the truth. We must let no man's writings, or the judgment of any party, be made the test of truth. If we thrust into it all the canons of former councils about matters of order, discipline, and ceremonies, or gather up all the opinions of the Fathers for the three or four first ages, none of these will ever serve to found a catholick union upon. The Scripture-sufficiency must be maintained, and nothing beyond it imposed on any. If Papists, or others, call upon us for the standard of our religion, we must shew them the BIBLE rather than any confessions of churches, or writings of men: more lines would meet in this centre than are likely to meet in any other.—I know it is said “that a man may subscribe the scripture and the ancient creeds, and yet maintain heresies:” To which I answer, so he may another test which you yourselves shall contrive; and while you make a snare to catch hereticks, instead of a test for the churches communion, you will miss your end: the heretick, by the slipperiness of his conscience, will get through, and the tender christian may possibly

be ensnared. Two things are necessary to obviate heresies, viz. the law, and the good execution of it. God hath made the former, which, both for sense and phrase, is sufficient: let us but do our part in the due execution of it, and we shall do all that belongs to us.

This I would recommend to all my brethren, as necessary to the churches peace; that you learn to distinguish between certainties and uncertainties; between necessaries and unnecessaries; between catholic truths and private opinions; and lay the stress upon the former instead of the latter. Unite in necessary truths, and tolerate tolerable failings. Bear with one another in things that may be borne with, and do not make larger creeds or more necessaries than God has done. In order to this, learn to see the true state of controversies, and reduce them to the point where the difference lies, instead of making them greater than they are.— Lay not too great stress upon controverted opinions, which have good men, and especially which have whole churches on both sides; much less on such controversies as are ultimately resolved into philosophical uncertainties; as some unprofitable disputes about Free-will; the manner of the Spirit's operation on the mind; the divine decrees, &c. &c. But especially lay not any stress upon controversies which

which are of no importance; which, if they were anatomized, would appear to be merely verbal: of which sort (I speak confidently upon certain knowledge) are many that now make a great noise in the world, and rend the church; tho' the eager contenders do not discern, and will not believe it. —He that shall live in that happy day when God will heal his broken churches, will see all that I am pleading for reduced to practice. Moderation will take place of dividing zeal; the scripture-sufficiency will be maintained; and all human confessions and comments will be valued only as subservient helps. Till that time come, we cannot expect healing truths will be entertain'd, since there are not healing spirits in the leaders of the church; but when the work is to be done, the workmen will be fitted for it; and blessed will be the agents in so glorious a cause!

But because the love of unity and truth, of peace and purity, should go together, we must avoid both the extreams, both in doctrine and discipline. —One extream in Doctrine is making new additions: [this we have already considered.] The other is, hindering the progress of knowledge: this we commonly run into by avoiding the former. It must be considered therefore, how far we may improve, and not be culpable innovators. And (I.)

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our knowledge must encrease extensively : we must endeavour to know more truths, tho' we must not feign more. Much of scripture will remain unknown to us when we have done our best. Tho' we shall find out no more articles of faith which must be explicitly believed by all that will be saved, yet we may find out the sense of more particular texts, and some doctrinal truths, not contrary to the former, but such as befriend them and are connected with them. And we may find out more the order of truths, and how they stand in respect to one another ; and so we may see more of the true method of theology than we did, which will give us a great light into the thing itself. (2.) Our knowledge must also grow subjectively and intensively. And this is the principal growth to be sought after. We should endeavour to know the same great and necessary truths with a sounder and clearer understanding than we did ; by getting more and stronger evidences of them, and a clearer and deeper apprehension of the same evidence : For one that is strong in knowledge sees the same truth as in the day-light, which the weak see but as in the twilight. To all this must be added, the fuller improvement of the truth received, to its proper ends.

With respect to church-communion also we should carefully avoid extreams, and endeavour to preserve
purity

purity as well as peace. As on the one hand [we should discourage] the unnecessary separation of proud men, either because the churches do not fall in with their opinion, or because they are not so reformed in discipline as they would have them, or so strict as they should be; so on the other hand we should guard against the neglect or relaxation of discipline, to the corrupting of the church, the encouragement of wickedness, and the confounding of the kingdom of Christ with that of Satan.

XI. In order to promote unity and concord in the churches, and to further each other in the work of the Lord, let me beseech you to maintain Meetings for communion among yourselves.

Do not grow strange to one another, but incorporate and hold all christian correspondence. Distance breeds strangeness, and fomenting dividing flames and jealousies, which communion will prevent or cure. It is the chief plot of our enemies to divide us in order to weaken us: let us not conspire with them. Cherish not heart-burnings, nor continue uncharitable distances. If dividing has weakened you, uniting must recover your authority and strength. Get together then and consult for peace. If you have any dislike to any of your brethren, or to their conduct, manifest it by a free debate with them.

them. If you will but keep together you may come to a better understanding of each other, or at least correct yourselves. The scripture commands all christians to be *of one mind,* and to preserve *the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,* and obliges ministers to *be one even as Christ and the Father are one.** You cannot be ignorant that the unity of ministers is their honour, as well as their duty, and that much of their strength with the people lies in it; nor, that constant communion and correspondence is necessary in order to it.— Ministerial communion is as much a duty as christian communion: the church has always thought so and practised accordingly.

Indeed ministers have need of one another, and must improve the gifts of God in one another. If you are humble men you will think that you have need of the advice and assistance of your brethren. The self-sufficient are the most deficient: the proud are commonly empty men. There are many young, raw ministers who especially need the help that such communion may afford them, and the advice of more grave experienced men, for carrying on the work of their ministry. And many others are so humble and sensible of their deficiencies, that they would be loath to be deprived of it. That may sometimes be spoken by a man of inferiour parts which came not into the minds of wiser men:

* John xvii. 21.

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few ministers are so weak that they may not sometimes improve those that are wiser than themselves. And those that are endowed with greater parts will have an opportunity to do greater good with them [at such associations] than they could otherwise do. If you are above advice or any help to yourselves [that will not excuse your absence, for] your brethren have the more need of you by how much the less you have of them.

But remember these assemblies are not merely for your own benefit and mutual edification, (tho' that is an important end) but the church and the common good require them. You owe duty to your neighbour churches, as well as ministers; and by carrying on lectures, disputations or conferences, you will have an opportunity of consulting for the common good and of promoting your common work. Do not shew yourselves contemners or neglecters of such a necessary business.

Let none draw back that accord in the substantial of faith and godliness. Yea tho' some should think themselves necessitated to separate in publick worship from the rest, methinks if they be christians indeed, they should be willing to hold as much communion with them as they can, and to consult how to manage their differences to the least disadvantage to the christian cause, and the common truths which
they

they all profess to own and prefer. Tho' they cannot change their minds about those opinions which hinder their union, it might reasonably be expected of every party among us which profess themselves christians, that they should value the Whole before a Part, and therefore not so perversely seek to promote their own parties as to hinder the common good of the church. And methinks a little humility should make men ashamed of that common conceit of unquiet spirits, that the welfare of the churches depends upon [the propagation of] their opinions. If they are indeed a living part of the body, the hurt of the whole will be so much their own, that they cannot desire it for the sake of any party or opinion whatever. If that evil spirit 'whose name is Legion' has such power over the hearts of any that they will quarrel at the pacificatory endeavours of others who hunger after the healing of the church, and rather hinder them than help them on, I must say that how diligently soever they may preach, and how pious soever they may seem to be, if this way tends to their everlasting peace, and if they be not preparing sorrow for themselves, then I am a stranger to the way of peace.

It is past doubt that differing brethren may well join in recommending to the ignorant people the
truths

truths that they are agreed in. Bishop USHER made a motion for this in IRELAND even to the Papists themselves. “ But (says he) thro’ the jealousies which distractions in matters of religion have bred amongst us, the motion had small effect, and so between us both, the poor people are still kept in miserable ignorance, knowing the grounds neither of the one religion nor the other. *. [This is very much the case] among us in England. It is rare to find any, tho’ differing only in the point of Infant-baptism, that will calmly, and without fraudulent designs of secretly promoting their own opinions by it, entertain and prosecute such a motion for the common good : as if they had rather christianity should be thrust out of the world, or kept under, than [that their own notions should not be propagated.] Well, let any person or party pretend what they will of zeal and holiness, I will ever take the “ Dividatur” for an ill sign. The true mother abhors the division of the child : † and the true christian prefers the common interest of christianity to that of a faction or opinion, and would not have the whole building endangered rather than that one peg should be driven

* Sermon before King James at Wanstead, on the unity of the church.

† 1 Kings iii. 26.

in otherwise than as he would have it.—Do not then neglect these brotherly meetings for the ends that have been mentioned, nor yet attend them unprofitably, but improve them to your mutual edification, and for the effectual carrying on the [good of the churches.]

Don't ask why you cannot do your duty to God and your people at home without travelling many miles to a meeting of ministers; nor plead that you have business of your own to do, when you should be doing the work of God; nor under a pretence of loving to live privately, prefer your own ease to God's service.—Some of those indeed that excuse themselves are careless and scandalous men: we should have no desire of their company, nor admit it, but upon their repentance and reformation.—Some are empty men, and are afraid their weakness should be known: but they cannot conceal it by their solitude, whereas they might do much to heal it by communion with their brethren.—As for those that are averse to associating with us because we are not of their party, [let it be considered that] by such communication they might give or receive better information; or at least carry on so much of God's work in unity as we are agreed in. Let us resolve, by the grace of God, to adhere to more catholick principles and practices, and to have
com-

communion with all godly christians that will have communion with us. But some object to attending these associations,

1. Because they say "a few men commonly do all, and the rest do but follow them." I answer, There is no one in our associations that pretends to any authority over his brethren; either civil coercive power, or ecclesiastical directive power. You cannot say then that any one does either force the rest, or awe them by any pretended commission from Christ. If any have so much power as you speak of, it seems to be but the power of Truth in them, and such as light hath against darkness. And perhaps those that you call the leaders of the rest, find themselves to need the help of those whom you say they lead, more than you do theirs. But if you do indeed think that these leading ministers mislead the rest, there is the more need of the presence of such as you who discern it, and who may do much to undeceive them.

2. I hear many say, "Under pretence of associating, you will but fall into a multitude of factions: not two counties can agree upon the same terms; and why should we join with any of them till there be a greater likelihood of union among themselves?" — An unreasonable and self-condemning objection.

objection. Are they more divided who associate than you who are single and go every man his own way? But wherein does this diversity consist which you complain of? I see none so great [as should prevent communion.] The truth is, this objection is commonly made by men that place the unity of the church in what God never placed it in. We must not be one because we subscribe not the same form of words, and agree not in every circumstance or expression; nor shall we ever be one while unity is placed in such indifferent things. There are no greater dividers of the church in the world than those that over-do it in pretending to unity, and lay the unity of the church upon that which will not bear it. There is no possibility of bringing all to be of every formalist's opinion, and to use every gesture or form of words that he shall impose. Unnecessary impositions will occasion contention; whereas where all are left to their liberty I never hear of contention or offence. In the present case we do not intend, by our associating, to tie one another to new forms and ceremonies, nor to make new terms of union for the churches: all parties may join with us without deserting their principles.—But you will ask

3. “Then what need have we to subscribe to articles of agreement?” I answer, The articles* we

* The Author here refers to the Articles subscribed by the ministers in Worcestershire, mentioned in the Preface to this Abridgment.

subscribe

subscribe are Scripture articles : we require no more than that all should agree to perform those duties which the word of God commands, or to unite in those circumstances of duty which, (tho' the scripture has not particularly determined them) may be discerned from its general rules, and with respect to which an agreement may further us in our work. The reason why we subscribe to these articles is, that we may hereby awaken ourselves to those duties which we have too generally neglected, and bind ourselves faster to the observance of them. He that is resolved to do his duty is willing to be as much obliged to it as may be: when it must be done the strongest bonds are the surest. If it be no more than your duty already, what reason have you to refuse subscribing it, unless you are unwilling to perform it?—If you object

4. “ That some associations subscribe to such things as you cannot in conscience agree to,” I desire you would see that you can plead scripture as well as conscience against it. If it be but about indifferent circumstances (tho' I would have nothing indifferent imposed) I must tell you that the union and communion of the churches is not indifferent, and that therefore you must not obstruct it on account of such things as you acknowledge to be indifferent. But if the things be evil which are required
of

214 *How to attend associations with advantage.* Part II.
of you, propose the reasons of your dissent, and beg
leave to except those articles with which you are
dissatisfied, without unnecessarily withdrawing from
your brethren's communion: of which, no doubt,
if they be peaceable men, they will readily admit.
But if they would force you to subscribe against
your judgment, or else hold no communion with
you, then **THEY** exclude you, and you do not ex-
clude yourselves. But I hope no associations among
us will be guilty of such a practice.—[In order to
render these meetings useful, observe the following
DIRECTIONS.]

Friends! especially quarrel not upon points of
precedency, or reputation, or any interest of your
own. No man will have settled peace in his mind,
or be peaceable in his place, that proudly envies
the precedency of others, and secretly grudges at
them that seem to cloud his parts and name. One
or other will ever be an eye-sore to such men.
There is too much of the Devil's image in this
sin, for an humble servant of Christ to entertain.—
Be not too sensible of injuries, nor make too great
a matter of every offensive word or deed. At least
do not let it interrupt your concord in God's work:
that were to wrong Christ and his church because
another has wronged you. If you be of this im-
patient humour you will never be quiet: for we are
all

Ch. IX. *We should do good wherever we can.* 215

all faulty, and cannot live together without wronging one another. And these proud, over tender men are often hurt by their own conceits: like a man that has a fore, who thinks that it smarts the more when he imagines some body hits it. They will often think that a man jeers them or means them ill, when it never came into his thoughts.—Till this SELF be taken down, we shall every man have a private interest of his own, which will lead us all into separate ways, and spoil the peace and welfare of the church. While every man is for himself and his own reputation, and ‘all mind their own things,’ no wonder if they ‘mind not the things of Christ.’

XII. [Do not confine your ministerial labours to your own flock, but be ready to do good where ever you have an opportunity for it.]

If we are heartily devoted to the work of the Lord, let us compassionate the congregations about us that are unprovided for, and endeavour to help them to able ministers. In the mean time, we should step out now and then to their assistance, when the business of our own particular charge will give us leave.—A lecture in the more ignorant places, purposely for the work of conversion, carried on by the most lively, affectionate preachers, might

216 *We should keep up constant desires* · Part II.
might be very useful where constant means are wanting.

XIII. In your whole ministerial work keep up constant desires and expectations of success.

If your hearts be not set on the end of your labours, and if you do not long to see the conversion and edification of your hearers, and you do not study and preach in hope, you are not likely to see much success. It is a sign of a false self-seeking heart, when a person is contented to be still doing, without seeing any fruit of his labour. And I have observed that God seldom blesses any man's work so much as his whose heart is set upon the success of it.—Let it be the property of a JUDAS to have more regard to the bag than to the business: leave it to such worldings as he to be satisfied, if they have their salary, and the esteem of the people: but let all that preach for Christ and the salvation of men, be dissatisfied till they have the thing they preach for. He never had the right ends of a preacher in view, who is indifferent whether he obtains them or not; who is not grieved when he misses them, and rejoiced when he can see the desired issue. When a man only studies what to say, and how to spend the hour with commendation, without looking any more after it, but to know what the people

ple

ple think of his abilities, and thus holds on from year to year, I must needs think that he preaches for himself; that he drives on a private trade of his own; and that when he preaches Christ, he preaches not FOR Christ, how excellently soever he may seem to do it.—I know that a faithful minister may have comfort when he wants success: ‘tho’ ‘ISRAEL be not gathered, our reward is with the ‘Lord.’ Our acceptance is not according to our fruit, but according to our labour. But then he who longs not for the success of his labours, can have none of this comfort, because he is not a faithful labourer. This is only for them whose hearts are set upon the end, and grieved if they miss it. This is not the full comfort that we must desire, but only what may quiet us, if (notwithstanding our utmost care) we fail of the rest. What if God will accept the physician tho’ the patient die? He must still work in compassion, and do his utmost to save his life. We labour not for our own reward, but for other men’s salvation.—I confess for my part, that I wonder at some ancient reverend men, who have lived thirty, or forty, or fifty years with an unprofitable people, where they have been scarcely able to discern any fruit of their labours, that they can with so much patience continue there. I should not be easily satisfied to spend my days in

218 *In all we must depend upon Christ.* Part II.
such a manner ; but should suspect that it was the will of God I should go some where else, that another person might come there, better suited to them, and more useful among them. Once more

XIV. Our whole work must be carried on under a deep sense of our own insufficiency, and in a pious, believing dependance upon CHRIST.

We must go to him for light, and life, and strength, who sends us on our work. When we feel our faith weak, and our hearts grown dull, and unsuitable to so great a work as that we have to do, we must have recourse to the Lord, and pray that we may not go to persuade others to believe, with an unbelieving heart of our own: or to plead with sinners about everlasting life and death, while we have but a faint belief and feeling of these things ourselves ; but that, as he has sent us forth to his work, he would furnish us with a spirit suitable to it.—[Further, we must not only pray for ourselves, but we must often pray in behalf all our hearers.] Prayer must carry on our work as well as preaching. He preaches not heartily to his people, who will not often pray for them. If we prevail not with God to give them faith and repentance, we are unlikely to prevail with them to believe and repent. PAUL gives us his example in this respect, who

Ch. X. *Humiliation for past sins required.* 219

who tells us that he prayed for his hearers ‘night and day exceedingly.*’ Since our own hearts and those of our people are so far out of order as they be, if we prevail not with God to help and mend them, we are likely to make but unsuccessful work.

C H A P. X.

The Conclusion of the work ; being a particular Application of the whole.

REVEREND and dear brethren, [having taken a survey of our duty and of our sins] let us now humble our souls before the Lord for our past negligence, and implore his assistance for the time to come. Indeed we cannot expect the latter without the former. If God will help us in our future duty, he will certainly first humble us for our past sin. He that has not so much sense of his faults as unfeignedly to lament them, will hardly have sufficient to make him reform them.—Shall we deny, or excuse, or extenuate our sins while we call our people to such free confessions? It is too common with us to expect that from them which we do little or nothing of ourselves. Too many labour for other men’s souls while they seem to forget that they have any of their own to re-

* 1 Theff. ii 10.

gard. They act as if their part lay only in calling for repentance, and the hearer's in repenting : theirs in crying down sin, and the people's in forsaking it : theirs in preaching duty, and the hearer's in performing it. If we did but study half so much to affect and mend our own hearts, as we do to affect and mend those of our people, it would not be with many of us as it is. It is much too little that we do for their humiliation, but I fear it is much less that we do for our own. It is a sad thing that so many of us have preached our hearers asleep ; but it is worse still if we have studied and preached ourselves asleep ; and have talked so long against hardness of heart, till our hearts are grown hard under the noise of our own reproofs !—Is it not better to give God glory by a full and humble confession, than in tenderness of our own glory to seek for ‘ fig-leaves to cover our nakedness ?’ and to put God upon building that glory which we have denied him on the ruins of our own which we have preferred to his ?

It is certainly our duty to call to remembrance our manifold sins, especially those that are most obvious, and ‘ set them in order’ before God and our own faces, that he may ‘ cast them behind his ‘ back :’ to deal plainly and faithfully with ourselves,

seives, in a free confession, that he who is 'faith-
'ful and just may forgive us our sins; and to judge
'ourselves that we may not be judged of the Lord:'
for they only (whether pastors or people) who 'con-
'fess and forsake their sins shall find mercy; he
'that hardeneth his neck shall fall into mischief.*'

—[We shou'd not refrain from confessing our sins
even in PUBLICK :] truly humble ministers, I doubt
not, will rather be provoked more solemnly in the
face of their several congregations to lament their
guilt, and promise reformation. Sins openly com-
mitted are more dishonourable to us when we hide
them than when we confess them. It is the Sin,
and not the confession of it that is our dishonour.
We have committed them before the sun, so that
they cannot be hid: attempts to cloak them in-
crease the guilt and shame.—It will not be amiss
to look behind us and imitate the servants of God
in ancient times, in their confessions. We find in
scripture that the Guides of the church did confess
their own sins as well as those of the people. See
the example of EZRA; he confessed the sins of the
priests, 'casting himself down before the house of
'God.†' So did the Levites:‡ So did DANIEL.§
And God expressly required 'the Priests, the Mini-
'sters of the Lord to weep' || as well as others.

* Prov. xxviii. 13. † Ezra ix. 6, 7, 10. ‡ Neh.
ix. 32—34. § Dan. ix. 20. || Joel ii. 15—17.

I think if we consider well the duties that have been explained and recommended, and at the same time, the manner in which we have performed them, we cannot doubt whether we have CAUSE for humiliation. He that reads this one exhortation of PAUL from whence the text is taken, and compares his life with it, is stupid and hardened indeed if he be not laid in the dust before God, bewailing his great omissions; and forced to fly to the blood of Christ, and his pardoning grace. O! What cause have we all to bleed before the Lord, that we have been ministers so many years, and yet have done so little (especially by private conference) for the saving of men's souls! Had we done our duty, who knows how many souls might have been brought to Christ, and how much happier we might have been in our parishes? And why did we not do it? Many impediments were doubtless in our way; but if the greatest had not been in ourselves,—in our darkness and dulness, our indisposition to duty, and our divisions among ourselves, much more might have been done for God than has yet been done. We have sinned, and have no just excuse for our sin. The sin is great because our duties were great: We should therefore be afraid of excusing ourselves too much.—

“ The Lord of mercy forgive us, and all his ministers, and lay not any of our ministerial negligence

Ch. X. *and to quicken us in our future work.* 223

gence to our charge! Oh that he would cover all our unfaithfulness, and by 'the blood of the everlasting covenant' wash away our guilt of the blood of souls! That 'when the chief shepherd shall appear, we may stand before him in peace,' and may not be condemned for 'scattering of his flock.'

And now, brethren, what have we to do for the time to come, but to deny our lazy contradicting flesh, and rouse up ourselves to the great business in which we are employed? 'The harvest is great, the labourers are too few'—the loiterers and contentious hinderers are many—The souls of men are precious—The misery of sinners is great—The everlasting torments to which they are near is greater—The joy to which we ought to help them is inconceivable—The beauty and glory of the church is desirable—Our difficulties and dangers are many and great—The comfort that attends a faithful stewardship is greater—But that which attends a full success is inexpressible—And the honour conferred upon us who are called to be 'co-workers with God,' and to subserve the blood-shed of Christ for the salvation of men, is illustrious beyond comparison—'The fields now seem white for harvest;' for the preparations that have been made for us are great—The season for working is now more warm and calm

than most ages have been—We have carelessly loiter'd in our work too long—The present time is passing away: while we are trifling, men are dying, and passing in haste to the eternal world!—And is there nothing in all this to awaken us to our duty, and to engage us to speedy and unwearied diligence? Is it possible for a man to be too careful and laborious under all these motives and engagements?

Were but our souls clearly and deeply impressed [with these considerations,] and with the very important truths we preach, especially those that relate to a future world, O what a change would it make in our sermons and in our private discourse! If we did but know what it is for the soul to pass out of the flesh, to go before a righteous God, and enter on a state of unchangeable joy or torment, and with what amazing thoughts dying men apprehend these things, how differently would such matters be discoursed of! Oh the gravity, the seriousness, the incessant diligence these things require! I know not what others think of them; but for my own part, I am ashamed of my stupidity, and wonder at myself that I deal no more with my own and other men's souls, as becomes one that looks for 'the great day of the Lord;'—that I can leave room for almost any other thoughts or words, and
that

that such astonishing matters do not wholly take me up! I seldom come out of the pulpit, but my conscience smites me that I have been no more serious and fervent. It accuses me not so much for want of elegance or human ornaments, nor for letting fall an unhandsome word; but it asks me—“How could'st thou speak of everlasting life and death with such an heart? How could'st thou preach about heaven and hell in so careless and sleepy a manner? Dost thou believe what thou sayest? Art thou in earnest or in jest? How canst thou tell people that sin is so evil a thing, and that its consequences are so dreadful, without being more affected with it? Shouldst thou not weep over sinners, even till thy tears interrupt thy words? Shouldst thou not ‘cry aloud, and shew them their transgressions,’ and shouldst thou not intreat them to repent and believe, with the utmost importunity?” Such is the peal that conscience rings in my ears, and yet my drowsy soul will not be awakened. What a dreadful thing is a senseless, hardened heart!—“Lord save us from the plague of infidelity, and hardness of heart! or how shall we be fit instruments of saving others from it? and do that on OUR souls, which thou wouldst have us do on the souls of others!”—I am even confounded to think what difference there is between my apprehensions of the life to come in a

time of sickness and at other seasons.—O brethren, if you had conversed with death as often as I have done, and as often received the sentence in yourselves, you would have an unquiet conscience, if not a reformed life with regard to ministerial diligence. You would have something within you that would often ask you such questions as these : “ Is this all thy compassion for lost sinners? Wilt thou do no more ‘ to seek and save them ?’ Is there not such and such an one—are there not many round about thee, who are yet the visible sons of death? What hast thou said to them, or done for their recovery? Shall thousands die and go to hell before thou wilt speak one serious word to prevent it? Will they not there curse thee for ever that thou didst no more in time to save them?” Such cries of conscience are daily in my ears, tho’ the Lord knows I have too little obeyed them. I confess that I seldom hear the bell toll for one that is dead but conscience asks me, “ What hadst thou done for the saving of that soul before it left the body? There is one more gone into eternity ; what didst thou do to prepare him for it ?” —When you are laying a corps in the grave, how can you help reflecting with yourselves to this purpose : “ Here lies the body, but where is the soul? What did I do for it before it departed? It was part of my charge ; what account can I give of it ?” —O sirs ! is it a small matter to answer such questions

questions as these? It may seem so now; but the hour is coming when it will appear otherwise. ‘If our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our hearts’, and will condemn us more. We may plead the cause with conscience, and either bribe it, or endure its sentence; but God is not so easily dealt with, nor his sentence so easily borne. ‘Wherefore we receiving (and preaching) a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably, with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire.*’ Let me beseech you, brethren, on the behalf of Christ, for the sake of the church, and the immortal souls of men;—for your own souls sake, that you presently and effectually set about the work which I have been principally recommending. Harken to God and the calls of duty, if you would have peace of conscience. I know that carnal wit never wants words, nor a shew of reason to gainsay that truth and duty which it abhors: it is easier to cavil against duty than to perform it. But consider how the matter will appear on a death-bed, and what account you will give to God at the great day. Conscience will not own those reasons in a dying hour, which now it seems to admit. There

* Heb. xiii. ult.

228 *Aggravations of an unfaithful M.'s guilt.* Part II.
is not that comfort to be had for a departing soul in the view of neglected duty, as of a life wholly devoted to the service of God: and I am confident my arguments will appear strongest at last, whatever they may do now.

O think how dreadful and aggravated our final condemnation will be, if we live and die wilful neglecters of the great work we have undertaken!—Our parents that destined us to the ministry—our tutors that educated us for it—our learning and ministerial gifts—our voluntarily undertaking the care of souls—all the care of God for his church—all that Christ has done and suffer'd for it—all the precepts, promises and threatenings of the holy scriptures—all the examples of prophets, apostles, and preachers there recorded—and all the books in our studies that tell us of our duty, or any way assist us in it, will rise in judgment against us!—All the sermons that we have preached, to convince men of the danger of sin, of the torments of hell, and the joys of heaven; to quicken them in their duty, or to reprove their neglect—all the maintenance we take for our service—all the honour we receive from the people—and the ministerial privileges we enjoy—all the witness we have borne against the neglects of ministers—all the judgments and mercies

Ch. X. *The Author's apology for his plainness.* 229
mercies of God with which we have been acquainted—all the fervent prayers of God's people that have been offer'd on our account—and finally, all our vows, promises, and resolutions for diligence in our work, will at the last great day aggravate our condemnation, if we are found unfaithful in our master's service.

Thus have I shewn you [the nature and importance of your work, the obligations under which you are laid to perform it, and] what will be the consequence, if you do not set yourselves faithfully to it. Truly, brethren, if I did not apprehend the matter to be of exceeding great moment to yourselves, to your people, and to the honour of God, I would not have troubled you with so many words about it, nor have presumed to speak so sharply as I have done. But in an affair of life and death, men are apt to forget their reverence, courtesy, and compliments, commonly called good manners. For my part, I apprehend this to be one of the greatest and best works that I ever put my hand to in my whole life. I verily believe you will agree with me herein: and if you do, you will not think me too prolix, or too plain and severe. As for MYSELF, spare not; tread me as dirt in the streets; let me be as vile in your eyes as you please, so that

4

you

you will but hearken to God and reason, and do your duty, for the salvation of men. What am I but a servant of Christ? and what is my life worth, but to do him service? Whose favour can recompence for the ruins of the church? And who can be silent while souls are undone? Not I for my part, while God is my master, his word my rule, his work my business, and the success of it, for the saving of souls, my end. I know myself unworthy to be your monitor; but a monitor you must have; and it is better to hear of our sin and our duty from any body, than not at all. Receive the admonition, and you will see no cause, in the monitor's unworthiness, to repent of it: but remember, if you reject it, the unworthiest messenger may bear that witness against you that will shame and condemn you.—[I shall only add, as the Sum of all that has been said,]

Let us set before us the exhortation, and the example given us in our text and context, and learn our duty from thence. This one passage of scripture better deserves a whole year's study, than most things about which students are apt to spend their time. O brethren, write it on your study doors, or set it as your copy in capital letters continually before your eyes. Could we but learn two or three lines of it, what preachers should we be! Here we

are taught—Our general business; SERVING THE LORD—Our special work; TAKING HEED TO OURSELVES AND ALL THE FLOCK—The substance of our doctrine; REPENTANCE TOWARDS GOD, AND FAITH IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST—The places and manner of our teaching; PUBLICLY, AND FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE—The object and internal manner; WARNING EVERY ONE, NIGHT AND DAY, WITH ALL HUMILITY OF MIND, AND WITH TEARS—[The faithfulness and integrity that are requisite; I HAVE KEPT BACK NOTHING THAT WAS PROFITABLE UNTO YOU; I AM PURE FROM THE BLOOD OF ALL MEN, FOR I HAVE NOT SHUNNED TO DECLARE THE WHOLE COUNSEL OF GOD]—The innocence and self-denial to be used; I HAVE COVETED NO MAN'S SILVER OR GOLD—The patience and resolution to be exercised; NONE OF THESE THINGS MOVE ME, NEITHER COUNT I MY LIFE DEAR UNTO MYSELF, SO THAT I MIGHT FINISH MY COURSE WITH JOY, AND THE MINISTRY WHICH I HAVE RECEIVED OF THE LORD JESUS.—And once more, The motives to engage us to all this; THE HOLY GHOST HAS MADE US OVERSEERS; the church we feed is THE CHURCH OF GOD, WHICH HE HATH PURCHASED WITH HIS OWN BLOOD.

Write

Write this upon your hearts, and it will do yourselves and the church more good than twenty years study of those lower things which often employ your thoughts; which, tho' they get you greater applause in the world, yet, if separated from these, will make you 'but sounding brass, and tinkling cymbals.'

The END of the REFORMED PASTOR.



APPEN-

A P P E N D I X ;

Containing a few hints of advice to
STUDENTS* for the ministry, and to
TUTORS.

OF what great importance the character of the clergy is to the church and the salvation of men, thousands have found to their joy and happiness; and I fear thousands more, to their sorrow and destruction. Of what consequence, then, the disposition of CANDIDATES for the ministry is, needs not many words to shew. It is of unspeakable importance, whether they prove good or bad.

God who has instituted the sacred office, and who, by his Spirit, qualifies men for it, usually works according to their qualifications. As in the

* Many excellent thoughts, on the same subject, may be found in several other of our Author's writings, which, it is to be wished, he had thrown together in one Treatise. See particularly Vol. I. p. 254, & 714. et seq.

natural

natural world he operates according to the fitness of natural second causes, so in the moral world, according to the suitability of moral causes. Holiness, tho' in many respects it be a supernatural work, is usually wrought by holy means. Able and faithful ministers therefore, are very great blessings. They are the 'lights of the world, and 'the salt of the earth.' Never was the gospel well propagated or continued in any country but by their means. God uses them as his instruments for convincing, converting, edifying, comforting, and saving of souls. Herein they are co workers with Christ the great saviour of souls, and with the Holy Spirit, who regenerates and sanctifies them. How many thousands of happy spirits in heaven will for ever rejoice in the effects of their labours, and bless God for them! In a word, churches, states, and kingdoms are chiefly blessed and preserved by the faithful part of the ministry. They are the means of subduing 'sin which is the destruction of a people,' and promoting 'righteousness which exalteth a nation.'

On the other hand, unfaithful and wicked ministers are the worst, and most hurtful men. Tho' they may be furnished with the same notions and words as godly teachers are, (which is not usually the case) yet they will be greatly wanting in that
serious

serious delivery which is ordinarily necessary to make the hearers serious christians. That seldom reaches the heart of the hearer, which comes not from the heart of the speaker. Constant experience tells us how different is the success of reading or saying a pulpit lesson, in a dull, or meer affected manner; and of the judicious, serious explication, and application of well chosen matter, which the experienced preacher well understands, and which he utters from the feeling of his soul. Neither the love of a benefice, nor of applause, will make a man preach in that manner which the love of God, the lively belief of heaven and hell, and the desire of saving souls, will do. — If a stage-hypocrite should learn the art of preaching with an affected fervency and seeming zeal, yet art and paint will not reach the power and beauty of nature; nor will it hold out so long. Affectation usually betrays itself; and when it is discerned, the hypocrite is loathed. But if he should carry on his stage-affectation with plausible art, the rest of his ministerial work will not be discharged in a manner answerable to it: since it is from men that he expects his reward, in their sight only he appears in his borrowed glory; in his private conversation and conduct, he makes a different figure. He will not set himself to instruct the ignorant, to save
men

236 *Mischiefs done by ungodly ministers.*

men from their sins, and raise their minds to heaven, by praying with them, by holy discourse, and heavenly deportment: he will not be at much cost or labour to do any kind of real good.

But alas! by far the greatest part of unexperienced preachers have not so much as the hypocrite's seeming zeal and appearance of religion to cloak their sins, and profit their people. The misbehaviour of such, is likely to make them exceeding hurtful. By their ignorance, ambition, covetousness, and other sins, they render themselves contemptible in the eyes of many, and by that means render the church and all religion so too. A scandalous clergy will be a scorned clergy; and a scorned clergy will prepare for the scorning and destruction of true religion. Alas! what wretched work have hypocritical, unexperienced, proud, worldly, voluptuous, ignorant ministers been making in most christian nations, these fourteen hundred years!—Wo! wo! wo! to the church that hath such pastors! that hath wolves instead of shepherds! Wo to the land that hath such! Wo to the princes and states that follow such counsellors! Wo to the souls that are subverted by them! Alas! from a corrupt clergy have sprung the greatest calamities of the church in all places to this day!

And let it be remembered, the sins of such men will not prove less mischievous to THEMSELVES than to others.

others. Their guilt is aggravated by their perfidious violation of their baptismal and ordination vows, as well as by their nearness to God in their office; and they are 'condemned out of their own mouths.'
—Such persons are with greater difficulty brought to repentance than others; because by wit and study they have bended that doctrine to defend their sin, which should be used to bring them to repentance; or because pride will not suffer such persons as they are, employed in so holy an office, and possessed of such titles, learning and reputation, to suppose themselves in an unholy state; and whoever accuses them of sin or reproves them for it will be represented as an enemy to the church. Their ulcers are as a *noli me tangere*, and fret as a gangreen unremedied. Their profanation of holy things makes them worse, and more impenitent than other men; partly as they have more notoriously forfeited the grace of God which should work repentance in them, and have caused him in righteous judgment to forsake them; and partly as they have hardened their own hearts, by long abuse of that truth which should have sanctified them: for when persons have long 'imprisoned the truth in unrighteousness,' and long played (as hypocrites,) with what they professed to believe, custom will so harden them, that their knowledge will have little power on their hearts.

And

238 *Importance of being qualified so great that*

And now do I need say any more to shew young men designed for the ministry, of what importance it is that they be well qualified for it?—God can, and sometimes does turn wolves into faithful shepherds, and convert those, who while they were unconverted themselves, undertook to convert others; but this is not ordinarily to be expected. First notions lie deepest, and make way for others that are connected with them. False opinions, as well as true, are usually linked together; and the chain is not easily cast off or broken. Those that have received errors have also received their defensives. These are like the shell-fish, which carry their house about with them: they that have received them, have studied what to say for them, but not what can be said against them.—But supposing that you have ever so true notions in your heads, if they come not with power upon your HEARTS, and do not make you new, spiritual, and holy men, they will not qualify you to propagate faith and holiness. Now it is that you must get those eminent qualifications of knowledge and holiness, which you are afterwards to use; for how can you use what you have not? Tho' some prudent hearers will encourage such young men as they think are hopeful, yet most will judge of persons and things as they find them. The ignorant, dry, and lifeless orations of unexperienced preachers, will not be esteem'd by such as know what judgment and seriousness that sacred work requires. Few will
praise,

App. the M—y should be undertaken with caution. 239
praise, or feed on unfavoury food, meerly to flatter and praise the cook. Then when you find yourselves slighted, your resentment will rise against those that slight you because they are not contented with your unholy trifling: but all your enmity will turn against yourselves; and, like that of Satan against the members of Christ, will be but self-tormenting.

Let me then seriously caution all persons against being too hasty in resolving for the sacred ministry. I would not discourage pious, prudent desires and purposes: but I must say, that many parents, in this respect, prove greatly injurious to the church. I don't mean only worldly men, who look upon the ministry meerly as a trade to live by, and send their sons to the university in order to their worldly maintenance and preferment; but even honest godly parents, who ignorantly think it a good work to design their children for the ministry, and call it "devoting them to God," without duly considering whether they are likely to be fit for it or not. —When the children of such persons have been some years at the university, they think a living is their due; ordained they must be; what else have they studied for? It is now too late to change their purpose, when they have been at so many years
cost

240 *Qualifications absolutely necessary* App.
cost and labour to prepare for the ministry. They are too old, or too proud, or too idle, to go to any manual labour, and have not time, or opportunity to prepare for any other learned profession: so that there is no way left, but for a benefice to become church-mountebanks, or spiritual quacks, and undertake the pastoral charge of souls; tho' they scarcely know what souls are, for what they were made, or whither they are going; at least, how they must be conducted and prepared for their endless state. And bad as they are, they can find persons bad enough to recommend and ordain them.—How deplorable is the case of the poor people's souls over whom they are to preside!

In order to prevent any from intending the work of the ministry who are not qualified, I will briefly mention the necessary qualifications for it. — The work is so high, and miscarrying in it is of such dreadful consequence, that no one should be resolvedly devoted to the ministry who hath not the following endowments.

1. A good natural capacity: it should be somewhat above the ordinary degree. Grace supposes nature; and by sanctifying it, turns it the right way; but does not use to make wise teachers of natural drones, or weak-headed lads, who have not sense enough to learn.

2. A

2. A competent readiness of speech. One who cannot readily speak his mind in common things is not likely to have that fluent delivery which is necessary to a preacher.

3. One that is fit to be devoted to the ministry must be hopeful for godliness. He must be captivated by no gross sin. He must not only have a love to learning, but religion; to the word of God, and good company; to prayer and good books. He must shew some sense about the concerns of his soul, and regard for the life to come; that his conscience is under some effectual convictions of the evil of sin, and the excellence and necessity of a godly life.—The youth that hath not these qualifications, should not be devoted to the ministry. To devote an incapable, ungodly person to such an holy work, is worse than of old to have offer'd God the unclean for sacrifice. To do it under pretence of hoping that he may have grace hereafter, is a presumptuous profanation, and worse than to design a coward to be a soldier, or a wicked, unsuitable person for a partner in life, in hope that they may become fit afterwards.—If therefore your parents have been so unwise as to dedicate that to God which was unfit for his acceptance, it concerns you quickly to look better to yourselves, and not to run into the 'consuming fire.' You ought

to be conscious of your own condition. If you know that you want either natural capacity, or readiness of speech, or serious piety and heart-devotedness to God, do not meddle with that calling which requires all these.

Perhaps you will say, "What shall we do with ourselves? We have gone so far, that we are fit for nothing else." I answer, You are less fit for the ministry than for any thing. That which requires the highest qualifications, will most shame and condemn you if you want them. If you are not fit for Physick or Law, seek for something else. You had better become Servants, or turn to the basest employments, than to run into the sad case of HOPHNI and PHINEAS; or of NADAB and ABIHU; to the utter undoing of yourselves, and to the loss and danger of many others.—But remember, if your unfitness be your UNGODLINESS, whether you are ministers or not, you will be forever miserable, unless your hearts and lives be changed. When that is done, I would not discourage you; but (believe me) it is far better to be a cobbler or a chimney-sweeper, or to beg your bread, than to be an ungodly minister, tho' with the greatest preferments, riches, and applause.

Perhaps parents will say, "If we devote none to the ministry till godliness appears in them, few will
will

will be so devoted, since children seldom discover much favour of religion; and some turn out bad, who when young, promised exceeding well." I answer, Children cannot be expected to shew that understanding in religion which men may; but if they discover not a love to it, a conscientious regard to God's authority, and the life to come, and a dislike of ungodliness and sin, you have no reason to presume they will be fit for the ministry. You can judge but upon probabilities; if they prove bad after an hopeful profession, it will not be chargeable upon you. But we all know that an hopeful youth is a great preparation to an honest age.

Let me now drop a few hints of advice to such young men, as have ground to hope they are qualified for the sacred office.

- I. Be careful [as far as it depends upon yourselves] in the choice of your Tutors.

Choose not a teacher who prefers human wisdom to divine, or who is of a worldly, ambitious mind, or who is factious and uncharitable, or violent for any party; but one that bears a good report among the sober and impartial, as a person of a christian, catholick charity; who loves good men; who is willing to do good to all, and is desirous of maintaining unity and peace; one that will make it his

business to explain the Scripture, to teach you the will of God, and how you may please him and be saved.

II. Abhor sloth and idleness.

When you are at common schools, your master drives you on by fear, but when you are in an university, and are at riper age, you are trusted more with yourselves; so that if you will not be carried on with constant pleasure and the love of knowledge, the flesh will prefer its ease, and you will proceed so slowly as to arrive at no high degree of learning. Then when you have gone thro' your studies, and are called out to the use of your knowledge, your emptiness and ignorance will soon appear. It is not your canonical habit, nor seven, nor seventeen years spent in the University, nor the title of Master of Arts, or Doctor in Divinity, or Bishop, which will pass with men of sense for knowledge, diligence, humility, patience, and charity; nor that (without these) will do the work to which you are devoted. Believe it, the high and necessary accomplishments of a true divine, are not easily or speedily attained.

III. Fear and fly from sensuality and fleshly Lufts.

While

While your bodies are not fatigued with labours, nor your thoughts taken up with wants and cares ; while you are entirely at ease, and your studies are arbitrary, fleshly appetites have time and opportunity to solicit your fancies, to incline you to interrupt your business and think about matters of sensual delight ; either with what to please the palate in eating or drinking, or needless and hurtful recreations, or to read romances, play-books, and other corrupting vanities. Let me add, idle scholars are far more strongly haunted, than poor, labouring, and afflicted persons are, with temptations to filthy lusts. And if these should prevail, alas ! you are undone ! They will offend God, dispel his grace, wound and scare you consciences, destroy all spiritual affections and delights, and turn down your hearts from heaven and holiness to filth and folly. Beasts will not be fit for the pleasures or the work of saints. Away therefore from idleness. Pamper not the flesh with fulness or delights. Abhor all time-wasting needless recreations. Away especially from the baits of fleshly lust. Be no more indifferent or unresolved herein, than you would be about drinking poison, or wilfully going among thieves and murderers. Presume not on your own strength : he is safest that is furthest from danger. Gun-powder must not stand near the fire.

246 *Choose wise and godly companions.*

IV. Make a prudent choice of your companions ;
especially your bosom-friends.

Love and familiarity will give them great advantage over you. If they are wise, they will teach you wisdom. If they are holy and spiritual, they will be drawing you towards God, and settling your aversion from sin and love to holiness. But if they are worldly and ambitious, they will be filling your heads with ambitious and worldly projects. If they are ungodly hypocrites, having only the name of christians, they will be opposing or deriding serious godliness ; and will plead for the formalities of religion as better than spiritual devotion. If they be hardened sinners, they will try to make you such, by revilings, or plausible cavils against the things and persons that are contrary to their carnal inclinations and interests ; and by endeavouring to possess your minds with false opinions of God's people. Ill company is a dangerous snare : but wise and religious companions are great blessings : and tho' the merciful providence of God does usually choose them for us, it is only so as that we must be faithful choosers for ourselves.

V. Watch with great fear against ambition and worldly ends.

The

App. Watch against ambition, and self-confidence. 247

The roots of these mortal sins are bred in us, and lie very deep. They often live, and even reign, where they are little suspected: but wo to him that is conquered by them. ‘Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. The love of the world is enmity against God.’—How many, having escaped the temptations of sloth and sensuality, have been overcome by this! Alas! how does this stream carry down the most pregnant wits, into the gulf of perdition! Yea some, who seem’d very humble and mortified, while they had no great temptation, when wealth and honour have been set before them, have lost their virtue before they were aware. Worldly interest has so biased their understandings, that they have taken truth for error, and error for truth: duty for sin, and sin for duty.—If you be the servants of the flesh and the world, wo be to you when your masters turn you off, and you receive your wages!

VI. Another earnest warning which I must give you, and all young men, is to guard against an unhumbled understanding, rashly confident of its own apprehensions.

This is the offspring of ignorance and pride, and is one of the most common and pernicious maladies of mankind. Among a multitude of persons that

differ from each other, how few are not obstinately confident that they are in the right! even youths of twenty years of age. Oh dread this vice, and suspect your own understandings. Be humble; take time; try and hear before you judge. Labour for knowledge; but take not upon you to be sure where you are not; doubt and try till you are. Thoroughly study the nature and evidences of the christian faith and doctrine. Do not hasten too soon or too confidently over these hard controversies, as if your judgment of them at maturity would certainly have no change; but still suppose that greater light, by longer study, may cause you to alter your opinions about such matters of difficulty.

VII. With regard to your Studies, let me exhort you to begin with PRACTICAL DIVINITY.

First settle your souls in a safe condition for life and death, and take God and heaven for your hope and all. If you do not so, you are not christians indeed. But if you be here fixed by the grace of God, you will know what to choose and what to do. It will teach you to refer all worldly things to spiritual and heavenly ends, and to 'count all things but loss for Christ,' and for that 'one thing needful, which shall never be taken from you.'

This

This will save you from the greatest evils, and give your minds continual peace; even that 'peace of God which passeth all understanding.'—Deal not so foolishly as to waste many years in inferior arts and sciences, before you have studied how to please God and be saved. I unfeignedly thank God, that by sickness and his grace, he taught me early how to DIE; and by that means, how to LIVE: that he inclined me to study the holy scriptures, and many practical, spiritual, ENGLISH books, till I had somewhat settled the resolution and peace of my own soul, before I had gone far in human learning. I then found more leisure and capacity to take in subservient knowledge in its proper time and place. Indeed I had lost most of my studies of philosophy, and controversial divinity, if I had fallen on them too young; or else should have formed very crude notions about those things, which require a riper judgment.—Read such books as contain the essential principles of religion, and treat of them in the most plain, affectionate, and practical manner; tending to deep impression, renovation of the soul, and spiritual experience; without which you will want the essential qualifications for your future work. The art of theology, without the power, consisting of holy life, light, and love, is the very constitution of the hypocrite.

250 *We know nothing till we know God.*

Oh that all our students for the christian ministry would think of these things! What a poor business is it to spend their time in knowing a little of the works of God, and some of those names that the divided tongues of the nations have imposed on them, and not know the Lord himself, nor exalt him in their hearts, nor be acquainted with that one renewing work which would make them happy. They do but 'walk in a vain shew,' and spend their lives like dreaming men, while they so busy their wits and tongues about an abundance of names and notions, and are strangers to God and the life of saints. This they will acknowledge, if ever God awaken them by saving grace. They make themselves a world of business about nothing, while they are wilful strangers to the primitive, independent, necessary Being, who is 'all and in all.' Nothing can be rightly known, if God be not known, nor is any study managed to any great purpose while God is not studied. We know little of the creature, till we know it as it respects its Creator. Single letters and syllables uncomposed are nonsense. Such broken syllables are all creatures: as separated from God they signify nothing. He that overlooks the 'Alpha and Omega,' and sees not him in all, sees nothing at all. It is one thing to know the creatures as ARISTOTLE, and another to know them as a Christian.

App. How to enter on the M—y with advantage. 251
Christian. To see God in his works, and to love and converse with him, was the employment of man in his state of innocence; and this is so far from ceasing to be our duty now, that it was the work of Christ to bring us back to it. The most holy men are the most excellent students of God's works; nay none but the holy can rightly know or study them. 'His works are great, and sought out of all such persons, who have pleasure therein :*' not for themselves, but for him that made them. To see and admire, to reverence and adore, to love and delight in God as appearing to us in his works, and purposely to peruse them for these ends, this is the true and only philosophy: this is the right sanctification of your studies. Theology (when you are sufficiently acquainted with words and things, to understand the principles of it) must lay the foundation of all your studies, and must lead the way in them all.—Once more

VIII. Let me advise you not to begin the exercise of your ministry too boldly, in large or judicious auditories.

Overmuch confidence indicates pride, ignorance of your imperfections, of the greatness of your work,

* Psalm cxi. 2.

and the dreadful majesty of God. Settle at first (if you can) a competent time in the house of some ancient experienced pastor who has a small chapel in the country, and wants assistance. There you may learn as well as teach ; and learn, by his practice, what you must practise : and by preaching a few years to a small, ignorant people, where you need not fear critical judgments, you will acquire boldness of speech, and freedom of utterance, without that servile study of words, and committing your notes to memory, which will be tiresome, time-wasting and lifeless. Thus you will be better prepared for more publick places (if you should be called to them) than you are ever likely to be by continuing among scholars in the university, or by serving as chaplains in great men's houses.

[Having said thus much to Students for the ministry, especially on the importance of making practical divinity the principal subject of their studies, it will be natural here to suggest an hint to TUTORs who have the direction of them.] And I do in zeal for the good of the church, and their own success in their most necessary labours, propose it to the consideration of all pious Tutors, whether they should not as early and as diligently read to their pupils, or cause them to read, the principal parts of practical divinity, as any of the sciences ? And
whether

whether they should not go together from the very first? It is well that they hear sermons; but that is not enough. If they have need of private help in Philosophy, besides publick lectures, much more in Theology. I must presume to tell you (pardon the censure from one so unfit for it, considering the necessity of the case) that it is a grand error, and of dangerous consequence, in our christian Academies, that young men study the Creature before the Redeemer, and set themselves to Metaphysics and Mathematicks before Theology; since no one who has not the vitals of Theology is capable of going beyond a fool in Philosophy; and all that such persons do, is but 'doting about questions and opposition of science, falsely so called'.* If Tutors would make it their principal business to acquaint their pupils with the doctrine of life, and labour to set it home upon their hearts; and so conduct the rest of their instructions, that it may appear they are intended only as subservient to this, it might be the means of great happiness to the souls of men, the church of Christ, and the common weal. But when languages and philosophy ingross almost all their time and thought, and instead of reading philosophy like divines, they read divinity like philosophers, this it is that blasts so many in the bud, and pesters the church with un sanctified teachers. Hence

* 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

it is that we have so many worldlings to preach the invisible felicity, and so many carnal men to declare the mysteries of the spirit: I wish I might not add,—and so many Infidels to preach Christ, or so many Atheists to preach the living God.

Let tutors then begin and end with the things of God, reading God to their pupils in every thing. Let them speak daily to their hearts, about those things which must be wrought in their hearts, or they are undone. You are preparing them for the special service of God; and must they not first have the saving knowledge of him whom they are to serve? Oh! think with yourselves what a dreadful thing it will be to their own souls, and what a mischief to the church of God, if they come out from you with carnal hearts, to so spiritual and so great a work! If you should send but one half of them forth on a business for which they are unfit, what grievous work will they make in the church and in the world! Whereas if you are the means of their true conversion, not only they themselves, but many souls to whom they shall preach, will have occasion to bless you, and to bless God for your zeal and diligence; yea perhaps for one seasonable word. When once their hearts are suitably affected with the doctrine which they study and preach,
they

App. *to train up experimental preachers.* 255
they will both study and preach it more heartily,
than could otherwise be expected. Their own ex-
perience will direct them to the fittest subjects ; will
furnish them with the best matter ; and will quicken
them to set it home. And let me observe, that
the best of our hearers will feel and favour such ex-
perimental preachers ; who usually less regard others,
whatever may be their other accomplishments.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Besides a few in the pointing, the Reader is desired to
correct the following.

Page 2, Line 20 dele, persons. 4, 25 read respecter.
25, 25 yourselves. 48, 13 sensibility. 65, 13 OPINION-
ATED. 77, 12 dele, of the. 102, 21 read has. 145,
18 believingly. 158, 16 accommodations. 168, 25
chofes. 189, 12 Brethren. 216, 7 dele, you do not,
218, 20 read of all. 223, 15 torment.

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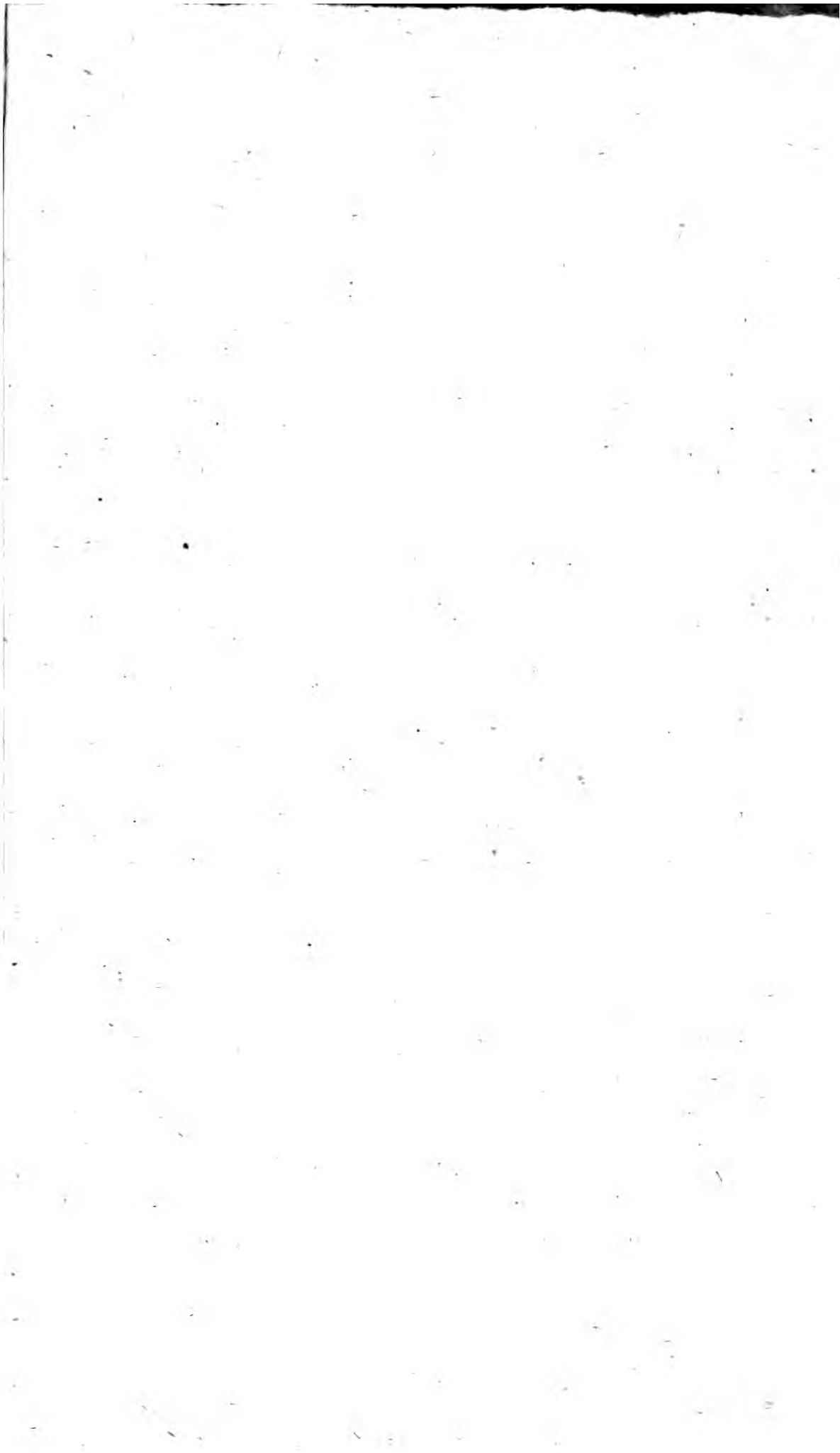
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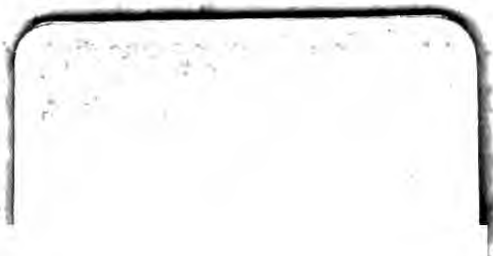


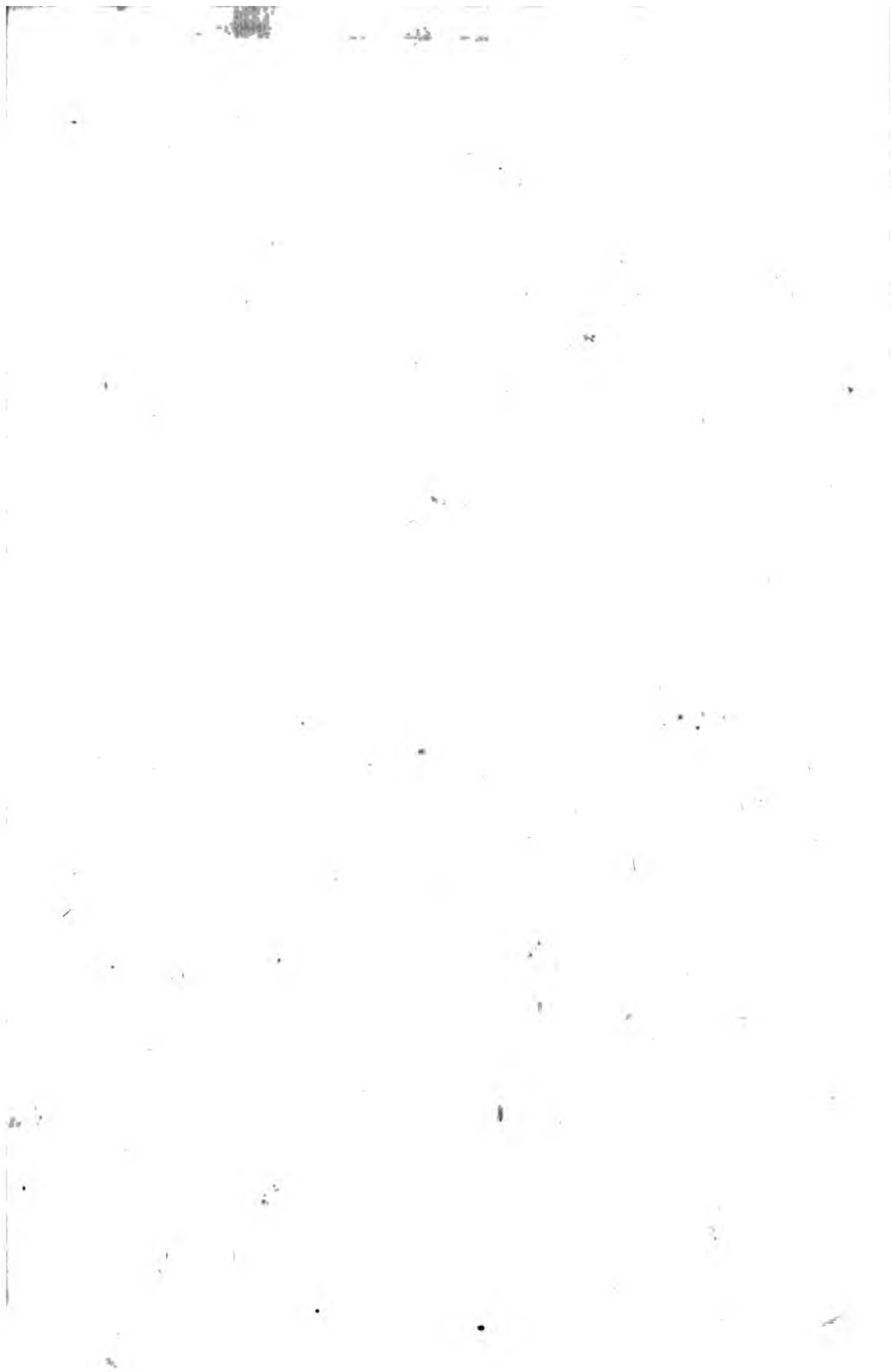


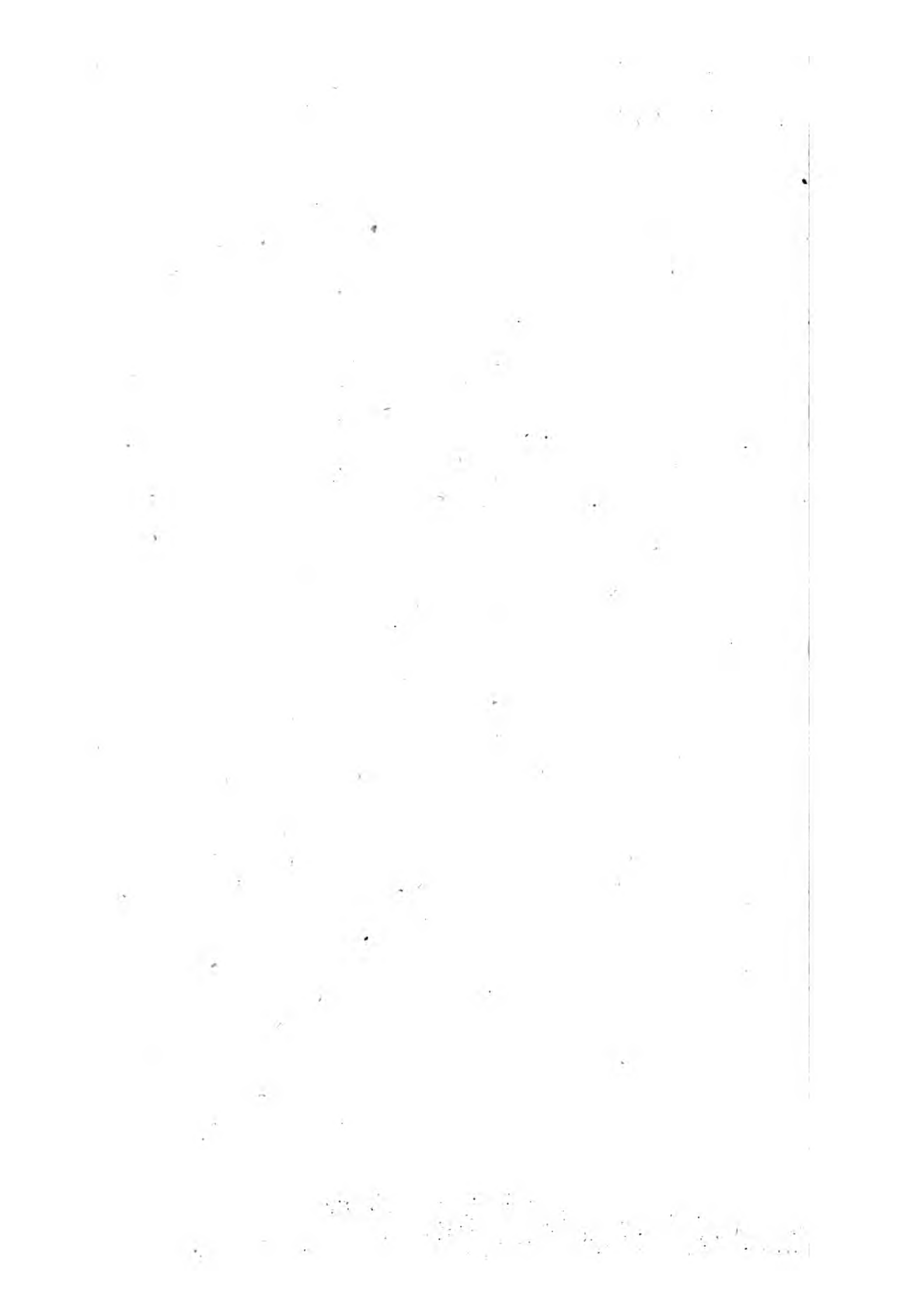


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John Evelyn Esq.

SCULPTURÆ;

OR, THE

HISTORY and ART

OF

CHALCOGRAPHY,

AND

Engraving in COPPER:

WITH

An ample Enumeration of the most renowned
MASTERS and their WORKS.

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Communicated by

His Highness PRINCE RUPERT

TO THE

AUTHOR of this TREATISE,

JOHN EVELYN, Esq;

The SECOND EDITION.

Containing some CORRECTIONS and ADDITIONS taken from the Margin of
the AUTHOR'S printed Copy; an Etching of his HEAD, by
Mr. WORLIDGE; an exact Copy of the MEZZOTINTO,
done by Prince Rupert, by Mr. HOUSTON;
a TRANSLATION of all the Greek
and Latin Passages; and

MEMOIRS OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

*Implevi eum Spiritu DEI, sapientia, et intelligentia, et scientia in omni opere,
ad excogitandum quicquid fabrefieri potest ex auro, et argento, et ære,
marmore, et gemmis, et diversitate lignorum.*

EXODUS, cap. xxxi, et cap. xxxv.

LONDON:

Printed for J. MURRAY, (Successor to Mr. SANDBY)
N^o. 32, FLEET-STREET.

M.DCC.LXIX.

W. K. K
book



TO
SIR JOHN EVELYN, BART.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

THIS NEW EDITION

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHALCOGRAPHY,

WRITTEN BY HIS LEARNED GRANDFATHER,

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ;

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT AND

VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

MARCH 4, 1755.

JOHN PAYNE.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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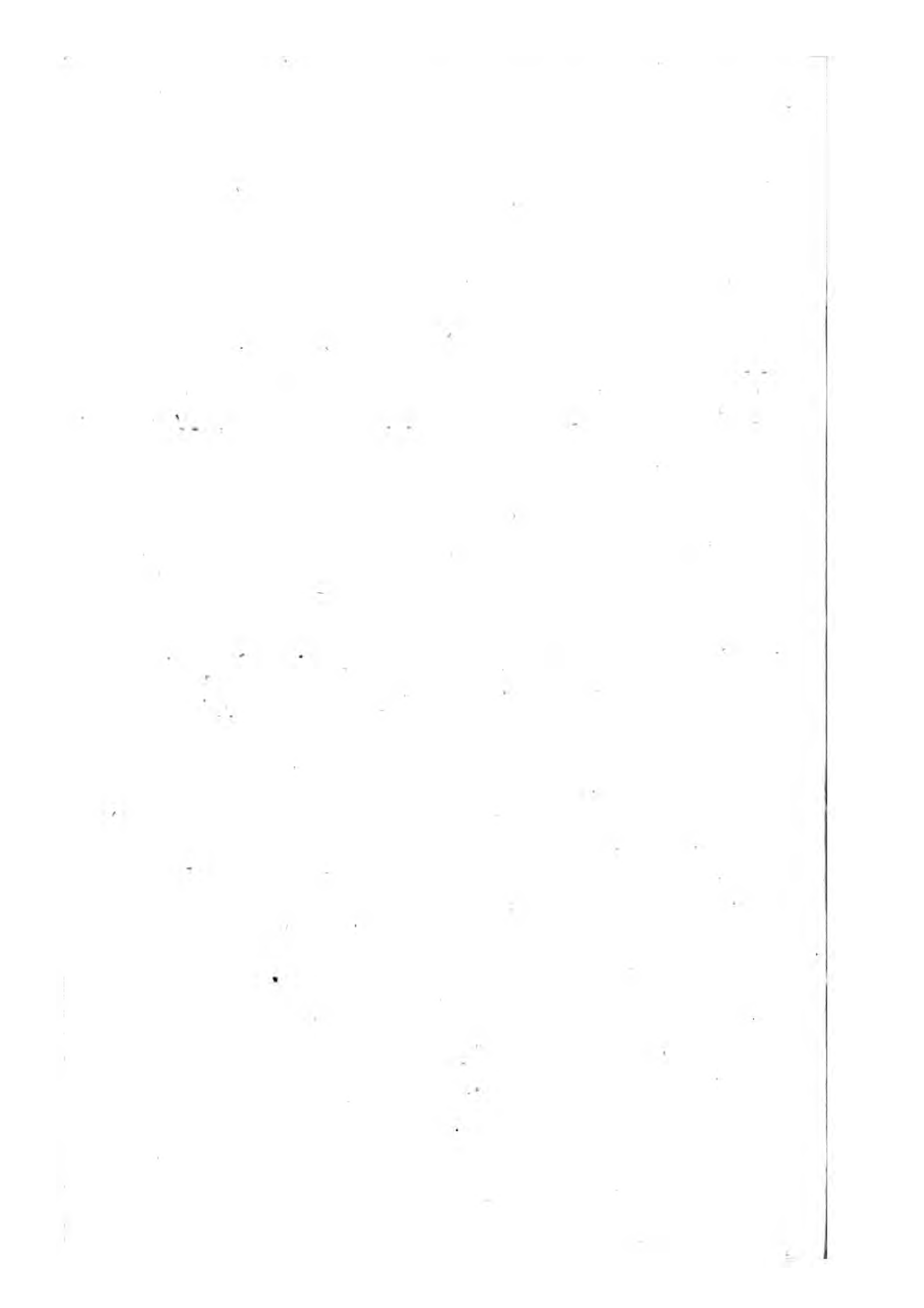
RECORDS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

THE
L I F E
O F

JOHN EVELYN, Esq;

Non solum de his omnibus conscripsit artibus ; sed amplius rei rusticæ, et militaris etiam, et medicinæ præcepta reliquit ; dignus vel ipso proposito, ut eum scisse omnia illa credamus.

QUINTILIAN.



T H E
L I F E

O F

JOHN EVELYN, Esq;

J O H N E V E L Y N, the author of the following curious and entertaining work, was born October the thirty first, one thousand six hundred and twenty, at Wotton in Surry, the seat of his father RICHARD EVELYN Esquire, delightfully situated in a winding and well-watered valley a few miles from Darking. This family, very ancient and honourable, flourished originally in Shropshire; and was first settled at Wotton, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH. Our author was initiated in the rudiments of literature, at the free-school of Lewes in Suffex; and was afterwards admitted, as a gentleman commoner, at Baliol College, in the university of Oxford, in one thousand six hundred and thirty se-

ven: and having profecuted his academical studies with diligence and applaufe for three years, he removed to the Middle Temple, in order to add a competent knowledge of the laws of his country to his former philological acquifitions. On the eruption of the civil war, he accompanied CHARLES the firft to Oxford; and there obtained the king's permission, under his own hand, to travel into foreign countries, for the improvement and completion of his education. A thirft of knowledge, of every kind, was the ruling paffion of our author. His mind was not unfurnished with fciences, and he was arrived at a proper age to make travelling an ufeful amufement: it was not, therefore, his defign, as it is that of too many of our young gentry and nobility, merely, in the admirable words of the fatyriſt,

————— to faunter Europe round,
 And gather every vice on chriſtian ground,
 See every court, hear ev'ry king declare
 His royal ſenſe of operas and the fair;

DUNCIAD, book iv. 311.

but accurately to obſerve the antiquities, arts, religion, laws, learning, manners and cuſtoms, of every country through which he might happen to paſs. An inſtance of which diligence and curioſity Mr. BOYLE hath recorded in his works, volume the ſecond, page 206, who received from our author, whom he conſulted on the occaſion, a valuable and exact account of the method, by which the magazines of ſnow are preſerved in Italy, for the uſe of the tables of the great and luxurious. During his ſtay at Rome, he informs us of an incident too remarkable to be omitted, as it may ſerve

serve to vindicate the memory of an unfortunate and imprudent man, who, however over-zealous for the ceremonies of the church, seems to have been falsely accused of a propensity to popery. “I was at Rome,” says our author, “in the company of divers of the English fathers, when the news of Archbishop Laud’s sufferings, and a copy of his sermon, came thither. They read the sermon, and commented upon it, with no small satisfaction and contempt; and looked on him, as one that was a great enemy to them, and stood in their way, whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him, was, his being popishly affected.”

OUR author’s early affection to and skill in the fine arts, appeared during his travels; for we find that he delineated on the spot, the prospects of several remarkable places that lie betwixt Rome and Naples; more particularly, “The three Taverns or the Forum of APPIUS,” mentioned in the twenty eighth chapter of the ACTS; “The Promontory of Anxur; A Prospect of Naples from Mount Vesuvius; A Prospect of Vesuvius, as it appears towards Naples; The mouth of Mount Vesuvius:” all these were engraved from our author’s sketches by HOARE, an artist of character at that time. Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, he particularly studied, CON AMORE, as the Italians speak; and he seems to have contracted an acquaintance with those persons, who were most eminent in each branch of these arts, which constitute the chief ornaments of human life. NANTEUIL, the famous French engraver, seems to have been his particular favourite;

who, besides drawing a portrait of him in black and white with Indian ink, engraved a print of him in M,DC,L, mentioned in the catalogue of his works published by FLORENT LE COMTE, in his Cabinet des singularites d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, et graveure, in three volumes, octavo, printed at Bruffels in M,DCC,II, under the following title: "Yvelin, dit le petit milord Anglois, ou le portrait grec; parcequ'il y a du grec au bas: ou est escrit aussi, meliora retinete. The Greek sentence is taken from ISOCRATES'S oration to Nicocles: Βουλου τας εικονας, της αρετης υπομνημα μαλλον, η του σωματος καταλιπειν. Let your pictures rather preserve the memory of your virtues, than of your person.

Mr. EVELYN returned to Paris, in one thousand six hundred and forty seven; and having letters recommendatory to Sir RICHARD BROWNE, his majesty's minister there, he made his addressees to his only daughter MARY, whom he soon after married, and by whom he became possessed of Sayes-Court near Deptford in Kent, where he resided after he returned to England, which happened about one thousand six hundred and fifty one; so that he spent the greatest part of seven years, being sometimes in England, in his travels. To this lady, the character of the celebrated ASPASIA might be applied: she was κάλη και σοφή "both beautiful and wise;" and added to her natural and acquired abilities, a gentle and tender temper.

SOMETIME before this period he had commenced author; and the following pieces seem to be the first productions of his pen: "Of Liberty and Servitude, 12mo. M,DC,XLIX," translated from the French, I am inclined to believe from

STEPHEN

JOHN EVELYN, Esq; vii

STEPHEN DE LA BOETIE, the intimate friend of MONTAGNE: "A Character of England, as it
" was lately presented to a Nobleman of France,
" with Reflections on Gallus Castratus, M,DC,LI.
" The State of France, 8vo. M,DC,LII. An
" Essay on the first book of LUCRETIUS, inter-
" preted and made into english verse, 8vo.
" M,DC,LVI." This translation was decorated by a
frontispiece, designed by his ingenious lady Mrs.
MARY EVELYN, and by a panegyric copy of
verses by Mr. WALLER; in which, after he has
observed that "we had now translations of almost
" all the classics, but that LUCRETIUS seemed
" too difficult to be happily rendered into english,"
he concludes as follows;

Lucretius, like a fort, did stand
Untouched, 'till your victorious hand
Did from his head this garland bear,
Which now upon your own you wear:
A garland, made of such new bays,
And fought in such untrodden ways,
As no man's temples e'er did crown,
Save this great author's and your own!

which conclusion alludes to those lines of LUCRETIUS himself;

—juvatque novos decerpere flores,
Unde prius nulli velarint tempora musæ.

To these translations he added, the year following, two others of utility to the public, which he seems always principally to have consulted: One was intitled, "The French Gardener; instructing how to cultivate all sorts of fruit-trees
" and herbs, for the garden. London M,DC,LVIII.

“ 8vo.” The other, “ The Golden book of St. Chrysoſtom, concerning the Education of Children. London M,DC,LIX. 12mo.”

THE confuſions and tumults of the civil war, ſo unpropitious to every muſe, confined our author to a cloſe retirement at his elegant ſeat of Sayes-court. Diſguſted with the melancholy view of public affairs, it was about this time he formed a project for a ſociety of learned men ; which, becauſe it exhibits an agreeable portrait of his philoſophic and contemplative mind, is here inſerted at large. It is addreſſed to the honourable Mr. ROBERT BOYLE, that other ornament of his age and nation.

* “ I propoſe the purchaſing of thirty or forty
 “ acres of land, in ſome healthy place, not above
 “ twenty five miles from London ; of which a
 “ good part ſhould be tall wood, and the reſt up-
 “ land paſtures, or downs ſweetly irrigated. If
 “ there were not already a houſe, which might be
 “ converted, &c. we would erect, upon the moſt
 “ convenient ſite of this, near the wood, our
 “ building, viz. one handſome pavillion, con-
 “ taining a refectory, library, withdrawing-room,
 “ and a cloſet ; this the firſt ſtory : for we ſup-
 “ poſe the kitchen, larders, cellars and offices,
 “ to be contrived in the half ſtory under ground.
 “ In the ſecond ſhould be a fair lodging chamber,
 “ a pallet-room, a gallery and a cloſet ; all which
 “ ſhould be well and very nobly furniſhed, for
 “ any worthy perſon that might deſire to ſtay any

* BOYLE'S Works, Vol. 2. p. 398.

“ time, and for the reputation of the college :
 “ the half story above, for servants, wardrobes,
 “ and like conveniences. To the entry fore front
 “ of this court, and at the other back front, a
 “ plot walled in, of a competent square for the
 “ common seraglio, disposed into a garden ; or it
 “ might be only carpet, kept curiously, and to
 “ serve for bowls, walking, or other recreations,
 “ &c. if the company please. Opposite to the
 “ house, towards the wood, should be erected a
 “ pretty chapel ; and, at equal distances, even
 “ within the flanking walls of the square, six a-
 “ partments or cells for the members of the soci-
 “ ety, and not contiguous to the pavillion ; each
 “ whereof should contain a small bed-chamber,
 “ an outward room, a closet, and a private gar-
 “ den, somewhat after the manner of the Carthu-
 “ sians. There should likewise be an elaboratory,
 “ with a repository for rarities and things of na-
 “ ture ; an aviary, dove-house, physic-garden,
 “ kitchen-garden, and a plantation of orchard-
 “ fruit, &c. all uniform buildings, but of single
 “ stories, or a little elevated. At convenient di-
 “ stance, towards the olitory garden, should be
 “ a stable for two or three horses, and a lodging
 “ for a servant or two. Lastly, a garden-house
 “ and conservatory for tender plants. The esti-
 “ mate amounts thus : the pavillion, four hundred
 “ pounds ; the chapel, one hundred and fifty
 “ pounds ; apartments, walls, and outhousing,
 “ six hundred pounds ; the purchase of the fee
 “ for thirty acres, at fifteen pounds per acre, eigh-
 “ teen years purchase, four hundred pounds : the
 “ total, fifteen hundred and fifty pounds ; sixteen
 “ hundred

“ hundred pounds will be the utmost. Three of the
 “ cells or apartments, that is, one moiety with
 “ the appurtenances, shall be at the disposal of
 “ one of the founders, and the other half at the
 “ others. If I and my wife take up two apart-
 “ ments (for we are to be decently asunder how-
 “ ever I stipulate, and her inclination will greatly
 “ suit with it) that shall be no impediment to the
 “ society, but a considerable advantage to the
 “ economic part; a third shall be for some wor-
 “ thy person: and to facilitate the rest, I offer to
 “ furnish the whole pavillion compleatly, to the
 “ value of five hundred pounds, in goods and
 “ moveables, if need be for seven years, till there
 “ shall be a public stock, &c. There shall be
 “ maintained at the public charge, only a chap-
 “ lain well qualified; an antient woman to dress
 “ the meat, wash, and do all such offices; a man
 “ to buy provision, keep the garden, horses, &c.
 “ a boy to assist him, and serve within. At one
 “ meal a day, of two dishes only, unless some
 “ little extraordinary upon particular days or oc-
 “ casions (then never exceeding three) of plain
 “ and wholesome meat; a small refection at night;
 “ wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl,
 “ candles, soap, oats, hay, fuel, &c. at four
 “ pounds per week; two hundred pounds per
 “ annum: wages, fifteen pounds; keeping the
 “ gardens, twenty pounds; the chaplain twenty
 “ pounds per annum. Laid up in the treasury
 “ one hundred and forty five pounds, to be em-
 “ ployed for books, instruments, drugs, trials,
 “ &c. The total four hundred pounds a year,
 “ comprehending

“ comprehending the keeping of two horses for
 “ the chariot, or the saddle, and two kine. So
 “ that two hundred pounds per annum, will be
 “ the utmost that the founders shall be at to main-
 “ tain the whole society, consisting of nine per-
 “ sons (the servants included;) though there
 “ should no others join capable to alleviate the
 “ expence: but, if any of those who desire to be
 “ of the society, be so well qualified as to sup-
 “ port their own particulars, and allow for their
 “ proportion, it will yet much diminish the
 “ charge; and of such there cannot want some
 “ at all times, as the apartments are empty. If
 “ either of the founders thinks expedient to alter
 “ his condition, or that any thing do HUMANI-
 “ TUS CONTINGERE; he may resign to another,
 “ or sell to his colleague, and dispose of it as he
 “ pleases; yet so as it still continue the institution.
 “ ORDERS. At six in summer, prayers in the
 “ chapel. To study ’till half an hour after ele-
 “ ven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire
 “ till four. Then call to conversation (if the
 “ weather invite) abroad, else in the refectory.
 “ This never omitted but in case of sickness.
 “ Prayers at seven. To bed at nine. In the
 “ winter the same; with some abatements for the
 “ hours, because the nights are tedious, and the
 “ evening’s conversation more agreeable. This
 “ in the refectory. All play interdicted, fans
 “ bowls, chess, &c. Every one to cultivate his
 “ own garden. One month in spring, a course
 “ in the elaboratory on vegetables, &c. In the
 “ winter, a month on other experiments. Every
 “ man

“ man to have a key of the laboratory, pavillion,
 “ library, repository, &c. Weekly fast. Com-
 “ munion once every fortnight, or month at least.
 “ No stranger easily admitted to visit any of the
 “ society, but upon certain days weekly ; and
 “ that only after dinner. Any of the society
 “ may have his commons to his apartment, if he
 “ will not meet in the refectory ; so it be not a-
 “ bove twice a week. Every Thursday shall be
 “ a music meeting at conversation hours. Every
 “ person of the society shall render some public
 “ account of his studies weekly, if thought fit ;
 “ and especially, shall be recommended the pro-
 “ motion of experimental knowledge, as the
 “ principal end of the institution. There shall
 “ be a decent habit and uniform used in the col-
 “ lege. One month in the year may be spent in
 “ London, or any of the universities ; or in a
 “ perambulation for the public benefit, &c. with
 “ what other orders shall be thought conveni-
 “ ent.”

THE moment any prospect appeared of the ex-
 illed king's restoration, our author, like a good
 patriot, quitted philosophy for politics ; and, at a
 very important juncture, published a pamphlet of
 great spirit, an account of which we shall give in
 the words of the authors of *BIOGRAPHIA BRIT-
 ANNICA*.

“ THE conduct of Mr. EVELYN in this cri-
 “ tical year, M,DC,LIX, which was in truth the
 “ most active in his whole life, is hardly taken
 “ notice of by any of those who have undertaken
 “ to preserve his memoirs ; and, therefore,
 “ we

“ we will endeavour to give the reader as much
 “ light into it as possible. After the death of
 “ OLIVER, and the deposition of RICHARD
 “ CROMWELL, there were many of the comman-
 “ ders in the army that shewed an inclination to
 “ reconcile themselves to the king; which dis-
 “ position of theirs was very much encouraged,
 “ by such as had his Majesty’s interest truly at
 “ heart. Among these, Mr. EVELYN had a
 “ particular eye upon Colonel HERBERT MOR-
 “ LEY,* an old experienced officer in the parlia-
 “ ment army, who had two stout regiments en-
 “ tirely at his devotion, was very much esteemed
 “ by his party, and had the general reputation of
 “ being a person of great probity and honour.
 “ It was a very dangerous step as things then
 “ stood, to make any advances to one in his situ-
 “ ation; yet Mr. EVELYN, considering how
 “ much it might be in that gentleman’s power
 “ to facilitate the king’s return, fairly ventured
 “ his life, by advising the Colonel freely to make
 “ his peace with and enter into the service of the
 “ king. The Colonel, as might well be expected,
 “ acted coldly and cautiously at first; but at last
 “ accepted Mr. EVELYN’s offer, and desired him
 “ to make use of his interest to procure a pardon
 “ for himself, and some of his relations and
 “ friends whom he named; promising, in return,
 “ to give all the assistance in his power to the

* BAKER’S Chronicle with Additions. London M,DC,XCVI. folio, p. 661.

“ royal cause. At the same time that Mr. EVE-
 “ LYN carried on this dangerous intercourse with
 “ Colonel MORLEY, he formed a resolution of
 “ publishing something that might take off the edge
 “ of that inveteracy, expressed by those who had
 “ been deepest in the parliament’s interest, against
 “ such as had always adhered to the king; and
 “ with this view he wrote a small treatise which
 “ had the desired effect, and was so generally
 “ well received, that it ran through three im-
 “ pressions that year: the title of this piece
 “ was,* An apology for the royal party, writ-
 ten in a letter to a person of the late council of
 state; with a touch at the pretended plea of the
 army. London, M,DC,LIX. in two sheets in
 4to.

“ BUT while Mr. EVELYN, and other gen-
 “ tlemen of his sentiments, were thus employed,
 “ those of the contrary party were not idle; and
 “ amongst these one MARCHMONT NEEDHAM,
 “ who first wrote with great bitterness for the
 “ king against the parliament, and afterwards
 “ with equal acrimony for the parliament a-
 “ gainst the king, was induced to pen that piece
 “ mentioned in the text, which was deservedly
 “ reckoned one of the most artful and dangerous
 “ contrivances, for impeding that healing spirit
 “ which began now to spread itself through the
 “ nation; and with that view was handed to the
 “ press by PRAISE-GOD-BAREBONE, one of the
 “ fiercest zealots in those times; the title of

* ATH. OXON. Vol. I. col. 942.

“ which

“ which at large runs thus,”* News from Brus-
 fells ; in a letter from a near attendant on his ma-
 jefty’s person, to a person of honour here, dated
 March 10th, M,DC,LIX. “ The design of this
 “ pretended letter, was to represent the character
 “ of king CHARLES the second in as bad a light
 “ as possible, in order to destroy the favourable
 “ impressions that many had received of his na-
 “ tural inclination to mildness and clemency. All
 “ the king’s friends were extremely alarmed at this
 “ attempt, and saw plainly that it would be at-
 “ tended with most pernicious consequences : but
 “ Mr. EVELYN, who had as quick a foresight as
 “ any of them, resolved to lose no time in fur-
 “ nishing an antidote against this poison ; and
 “ with great diligence and dexterity sent abroad,
 “ in a week’s time, a compleat answer, which bore
 “ the following title,” The late news or message
 from Brussells unmasked. London, M,DC,LIX.
 4to.

“ This was certainly a very seasonable and a
 “ very important service ; which, for his own
 “ safety, our author managed with such secrecy,
 “ that hardly any body knew from whom this
 “ pamphlet came. But how much soever he had
 “ reason to be pleased with the success of his pen
 “ upon this occasion, he could not help being
 “ extremely mortified at the change he perceived
 “ in his friend Colonel MORLEY’s behaviour,
 “ who of a sudden grew very silent and reserved,
 “ and at length plainly avoided any private con-

* KENNET’s Historical Register. p. 117.

“ conversation with Mr. EVELYN. In this situation
 “ our author had the courage to write him an ex-
 “ postulatory letter, which was in effect putting
 “ his life into his hands; and yet even this failed
 “ of procuring him the satisfaction he expected:
 “ however, he felt no inconvenience from it; for
 “ this alteration in Colonel MORLEY’S counte-
 “ nance towards him, was not at all the effects of
 “ any change in his disposition, but arose from
 “ his having entered into new engagements for
 “ the king’s service with Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY
 “ COOPER, and General MONK;* who had tied
 “ him down to such absolute secrecy, that he was
 “ not able, at that juncture, to give Mr. EVE-
 “ LYN any hint that might make him easy: but
 “ by degrees these clouds were dispelled; and he
 “ saw plainly enough from the Colonel’s public
 “ behaviour, that he had no reason to apprehend
 “ any mischief from the confidence he had reposed
 “ in him.”

HAVING been graciously and gratefully received
 by the king at his return, he was chosen by his
 majesty to draw up “ A Narrative of a dispute and
 “ quarrel for precedence, that happened between
 “ the Spanish and French ambassadors,” which
 had like to have been attended with troublesome
 consequences. In the year M,DC,LXI. our author
 produced four pieces more: “ A Penegyric at his
 “ Majesty King CHARLES the second his Corona-

* BAKER’S Chron. continued by E. Phillips, London, M,DC,LXXIV. fol. p. 722.

“ tion, London, folio, M,DC,LXI; Instructions
 “ concerning the erecting of a Library, translated
 “ from GABRIEL NANDE, with some improve-
 “ ments, London, M,DC,LXI 8vo; Fumifu-
 “ gium, or the inconveniences of the air and the
 “ smoke of London dissipated, M,DC,LXI. 4to;
 “ Tyrannus, or the Mode; in a discourse of
 “ sumptuary laws, London, M,DC,LXI. 8vo.”

IT was about the end of the succeeding year, that the king established the ROYAL SOCIETY, and nominated our author as well qualified to be one of its first fellows and council; having just before published his “SCULPTURA, or “History of CHALCOGRAPHY,” which needs no introductory panegyric to recommend it to the reader. When the nation engaged in the Dutch war M,DC,LXIV, Mr. EVELYN was appointed one of the commissioners, to inspect and relieve the sick and wounded, having the ports between Dover and Portsmouth in his department.

THE rising fame of the ROYAL SOCIETY was not a little augmented by our author's publication of that excellent and elegant discourse, entitled, “ Sylva; or a discourse of Forest-trees, and the “ Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's Do-
 “ minions; as it was delivered in the Royal
 “ Society the 15th October M,DC,LXII. &c.” This performance I am inclined to think the most valuable one that has flowed from our author's pen: it was received with great applause, and has still continued to preserve its reputation; for it has passed through five editions in folio, the last of which appeared in M,DCC,XXIX. It is no

exaggeration to say, it equals, if not surpasses, the works of CATO and COLUMELLA, and even VARRO :

Et dubitant homines ferere, atque impendere
curam. VIRGIL.

And can the swains still doubt ; and still forbear,
To plant, to set, to cultivate with care ?

As a diligent perusal of this useful treatise would animate our gentry, and supine nobility, to improve their estates, by the unfailing methods there recommended ; so an attentive study of our author's next work, might, perhaps, contribute to put a stop to the disproportioned and deformed edifices so prevailing at present, under the names of GOTHIC and CHINESE. This evidence of our author's juster taste is entitled, " A Parallel
" of the ancient architecture with the modern ;
" in a collection of ten principal authors who
" have written upon the five orders : From the
" French of ROLAND FREART, Sieur de Cambray.
" To which is added, an account of Architects and
" Architecture, in an Historical and Etymologi-
" cal Explanation of certain Terms particularly
" affected by Architects. By JOHN EVELYN.
" F. R. S. London, M,DC,LXIV." Architec-
ture, one of the noblest offsprings of judgment and fancy, seems to have been the peculiar study and delight of this learned family of EVELYN ; as an instance of which the following anecdotes may be produced, which will not prove unacceptable to an inquisitive reader. AUBREY in his SURRY, Vol. 4, p. 66, informs us, that " Lord
" Aylesford

“ Aylesford is Lord of the manor of Albury,
 “ who has pulled down great part of the old
 “ buildings ;” to which text this note of
 J. EVELYN is subjoined: “ My kinsman, Capt.
 “ GEORGE EVELYN, who had been a great
 “ traveller, built the great dining-room and
 “ apartment for Mr. HENRY HOWARD, after-
 “ wards Duke of Norfolk, in order to a noble
 “ palace, &c. But the Duke, growing dissolute,
 “ neglected this design, and all other honourable
 “ things. His grandfather, who purchased Al-
 “ bury, would have sold any estate he had in
 “ England (Arundel excepted) before he would
 “ have parted with this his darling villa, as I
 “ can shew you in that brave person’s letter to
 “ me from Padua. J. E.” i. e. JOHN EVELYN.
 And again, page 68, on ALBURY we find another
 note, by JOHN EVELYN. “ This invention, of
 “ levelling the hills by washing down the sands,
 “ was not found out by Mr. CHARLES HOWARD,
 “ but shewed him by Captain GEORGE EVELYN
 “ (a kinsman of mine) who took away a great
 “ hill of sand at Wotton, which made that
 “ large square for the garden there. J. E.”

THIS same year also our indefatigable writer,
 ever intent on the public good, published two
 treatises more: “ Μογησίον τῆς Ἀνομίας; that is,
 “ Another part of the mystery of Jesuitism, or
 “ the new heresy of the jesuits; publicly main-
 “ tained at Paris in the College of Clermont, the
 “ twelfth of December, M,DC,LXI. This is
 the only piece of a controversial turn, I can find
 among Mr. EVELYN’s productions. The next

performance was intitled, “Kalendarium Hortense; or the Gardener’s Almanack, directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime, 8vo. London, M,DC,LXIV.” The third edition of this work was dedicated to Mr. COWLEY, with whom our author maintained a long and inviolable friendship; a friendship that reflected equal honour on both. As a proof of its warmth and sincerity, I cannot forbear the pleasure of transcribing the following essay of COWLEY addressed to Mr. EVELYN:

For still I love the language of his heart. POPE.

“ I NEVER had any other desire so strong, and
 “ so like to covetousness, as that one which I have
 “ had always, that I might be master at last of a
 “ small house and large garden, with very moderate
 “ conveniencies joined to them; and there dedicate
 “ the remainder of my life, to the culture of
 “ them, and the study of nature. ——— But
 “ several accidents of my ill fortune have
 “ disappointed me hitherto, and do still, of that
 “ felicity: for though I have made the first and
 “ hardest step to it, by abandoning all ambitions
 “ and hopes in this world, and by retiring from
 “ the noise of all business, and almost company;
 “ yet I stick still in the inn of a hired house and
 “ gardens, among weeds and rubbish, and
 “ without that pleasantest work of human industry,
 “ the improvement of something which we call
 “ (not very properly, but yet we call) our
 “ own. I am gone out from Sodom; but I
 “ am

JOHN EVELYN, Esq; xxi

“ am not yet arrived at my little Zoar. O let
“ me escape thither (is it not a little one?) and
“ my soul shall live! I do not look back yet;
“ but I have been forced to stop, and make too
“ many halts. You may wonder, Sir, for this
“ seems a little too extravagant and pindarical
“ for prose, what I mean by all this preface:
“ it is to let you know, that though I have mis-
“ fed, like a chymist, my great end, yet I ac-
“ count my affections and endeavours well reward-
“ ed by something that I have met with by
“ the bye; which is, that they have procured me
“ some part in your kindness and esteem, and
“ thereby the honour of having my name so
“ advantageously recommended to posterity, by
“ the epistle you are pleased to prefix to the most
“ useful book that has been written in that kind,
“ and which is to last as long as months and
“ years. Among many other arts and excellen-
“ cies which you enjoy, I am glad to find this
“ favourite of mine the most predominant; that
“ you chuse this for your wife, though you
“ have hundreds of other arts for your concu-
“ bines: though you know them, and beget sons
“ upon them all, to which you are rich enough
“ to allow great legacies; yet the issue of this
“ seems to be designed by you to the main of
“ the estate; you have taken most pleasure in
“ it, and bestowed most charges upon its edu-
“ cation; and I doubt not to see that book,
“ which you are pleased to promise to the world,
“ and of which you have given us a large ear-

“ nest in your Kalender, as accomplished as any
 “ thing can be expected, from an extraordinary
 “ wit and no ordinary expences, and a long ex-
 “ perience. I know no body that possesse more
 “ private happiness than you do in your garden ;
 “ and yet no man who makes his happiness more
 “ public, by a free communication of the art
 “ and knowledge of it to others. All that I
 “ myself am able yet to do, is only to recom-
 “ mend to mankind the search of that felicity,
 “ which you instruct them how to find and
 “ to enjoy.

“ Happy art thou, whom God does bless
 “ With the full choice of thine own happiness ;
 “ And happier yet, because thou’rt blest,
 “ With prudence how to chuse the best.
 “ In books and gardens thou hast plac’d aright,
 “ (Things which thou well do’st understand,
 “ And both do’st make with thy laborious hand,)
 “ Thy noble, innocent delight:
 “ And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again do’st
 “ meet
 “ Both pleasures more refin’d and sweet ;
 “ The fairest garden in her looks,
 “ And in her mind the wisest books.
 “ Oh, who would change these soft, yet solid joys,
 “ For empty shews, and senseless noise ;
 “ And all which rank ambition breeds,
 “ Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such
 “ pois’nous weeds ?”

ABOUT this time the University of Oxford received a noble and lasting testimony of Mr. EVELYN's gratitude to the place of his education: for it was he who prevailed on Lord HOWARD, afterwards Earl of Norwich, and, on the death of his brother, Duke of Norfolk, to bestow on that University, the invaluable collection of historical marbles, which had been brought chiefly from the island of Pharos; and which contain many curious and authentic inscriptions relative to the state of Athens, and explanatory of several circumstances in the history of Greece.

THESE authentic monuments, celebrated throughout Europe, the delight and admiration of all learned travellers, have been very lately removed by an order of the University into one of the public schools, and are there ranged in regular order and well preserved. The repository is marked over the door, MUSEUM ARUNDELIANUM. Lord HOWARD was also strongly importuned by Mr. EVELYN to send to Oxford an exquisite statue of Minerva; but his sudden death prevented its removal from Arundel House in the Strand.

THE nineteenth publication of our author, was thus entituled: "The History of the three
 " late famous Impostors, viz. Padre Ottoma-
 " no, pretended son and heir to the late Grand
 " Signior; Mahomet Bei, a pretended prince
 " of the Ottoman family; and Sabbatai Levi,
 " the supposed Messiah of the Jews; in the year

“ M,DC,LXVI: with a brief account of the
 “ ground and occasion of the present war be-
 “ tween the Turk and the Venetian, 8vo. Lon-
 “ don, M,DC,LXVIII.” These little histories
 abound with curious facts; many of which Mr.
 EVELYN says he received from the mouth of a
 Persian stranger of quality, who had lately re-
 sided in London. It is worthy notice, that this
 agreeable piece was highly commended in the
 ACTA ERUDITORUM LIPSIENSIVM, A. D.
 M,DC,XC. p. 605. with this very remarkable
 circumstance, “that the pretended Mahomet
 “ Bei was at that very juncture in the city of
 “ Leipfic.”

THE succeeding summer Mr. EVELYN made
 a journey to Oxford; and was honoured, by the
 University, with the degree of Doctor of Civil
 Law, as a testimony of their gratitude for the
 favours bestowed on them by his intercession, as
 well as because he reflected fame on the University
 itself from having received his education at Baliol
 College.

THE history of the life of a man of learning,
 must necessarily be in a great measure the history
 of his works, the time, and the occasion of their
 several publications. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE,
 an admired essay-writer of that age, having
 written “A panegyric on solitude;” our author,
 by way of antidote, published a piece entitled,
 “Public Employment and an Active Life, pre-
 “ferred to Solitude:” and soon after, he gave
 the public, “An Idea of the Perfection of Paint-
 “ing,

“ ing, demonstrated from the principles of Art,
 “ and by examples conformable to the observa-
 “ tions which Pliny and Quintilian have made
 “ on the most celebrated antient Painters. From
 “ the French of ROLAND FREART, 8vo. London
 “ M,DC,LXVIII.” An elegant taste, and a per-
 fect knowledge of this fine art, reign throughout
 this entertaining little treatise, which amply de-
 serves * a new edition as it is now become scarce.
 And this is a proper place to add, that our au-
 thor not only understood the arts of Painting and
 Sculpture himself, but warmly patronized their
 most eminent professors. GIBBONS, the carver,
 was by him recommended to CHARLES the
 second: and HOLLAR, from the following ac-
 count of his works, seems to have lived some
 time with our Author at Wotton; as several of
 the prospects, enumerated in the catalogue here
 inserted, lie in the neighbourhood of Wotton.

AMONG the — “ Prospectus aliquot locorum
 “ in diversis provinciis jacentium, a W. HOLLAR
 “ Bohemo delineat. et aqua forti æri insculpt.
 “ A. D. M,DC,XLIII. Londini” —are the follow-
 ing English views :

1. LONDON, from the top of Arundel house.
2. HASCOMB-HILL in Surry.
3. WESTON Place in Surry.

* A correct edition of this book, of the same size with this
 edition of the History of CHALCOGRAPHY, is preparing for
 the press: to which will be added, a NEW PREFACE.

4. THE Ruins of Bramber-Castle in Suffex.
5. AULA Domus Arundelianæ Londini septentrion: versus.
6. EADEM, Merid: versus.
7. THETFORD Abbey.
8. NEWARK Abbey, in Surry.
9. BRAMBER-CASTLE.
10. ANOTHER view of Ruins of the same.
11. ANOTHER of the same.
12. QUINBORO' Castle in the Isle of Sheepey.

ENGLISH views in — “Amœnissimi aliquot locorum in diversis provinciis jacentium prospectus, a W. HOLLAR. delin. et insculpt. Londin. M,DC,XLIII, et XLIV.”

1. LONDON. Most beautiful perspective.
2. WHITEHALL, with Lambeth in distant prospect.
3. TOTHILL-FIELDS, with London and Westminster at a Distance.
4. WINDSOR.
5. ALDBURY in Surry. *
6. ANOTHER view of the same.
7. ANOTHER of the same.
8. ANOTHER of the same, with a distant view of Shire.
9. ANOTHER of the same, with the steeple of Shire.

* Mr. W. HOLLAR has etched twelve different views of this place, so very rare, that none but the opposite one (viz. N^o. 5.) could be procured, &c. AUBREY'S Surry, v. 4, p. 66.

10. ANOTHER of the same.

THE rest are chiefly German prospects.

HOLLAR has engraved some views in a blacker manner than we commonly find in his pieces, which are admirable. Prospect. &c. Coloniae M,DC,XXXV.

KING CHARLES the second resolving to erect a board of trade, thought he could not fix on a properer person for one of its first members than Mr. EVELYN. How well he was qualified for this commission, appears by a treatise he published soon after his nomination, entitled; "Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress, 8vo. M,DC,LXXIV;" which judges of commercial matters have pronounced to contain, in a very small compass, the most material points in that subject of such importance to an Englishman.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY having ordered in one of their assemblies, in M,DC,LXXV, that every member should pronounce a discourse on some subject of experimental philosophy, Mr. EVELYN presented them with a treatise entitled, "TERRA; a philosophical discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants;" which was received with the applause due to its exactness and utility.

VOLTAIRE has sensibly remarked, that "the greatest geniusses have always appeared either before Academies or Societies, or independently of them. HOMER and PHIDIAS, SOPHOCLES and APELLES, VIRGIL and VITRUVIUS, ARIOSTO and

“ and MICHAEL ANGELO, were never of any Academy; and NEWTON was not indebted to the Royal Society for any of his discoveries in Optics, Gravitation, Fluxions or Chronology. What purpose or end, therefore, do Academies answer? or what is their chief utility? Why to cherish, to keep alive, and to diffuse those lights, which these great Geniuses have kindled.”

THE winter of M,DC,LXXXIII, being memorably severe, the fine plantations of our author at Sayes Court suffered irreparable damage; of which he gave a philosophical and pathetic account to the ROYAL SOCIETY, the succeeding spring. “ This garden was exquisite,” says Mr. NORTH, * “ being most toscarefque; and, as it were, an exemplar of his book of forest trees.” But the CZAR of Muscovy, who afterwards resided in this house of Mr. EVELYN, to be near Deptford-Yard, committed almost as great devastations on his delicious garden, as this lamentable frost.

AFTER King JAMES ascended the throne, we find our author in December M,DC,LXXXV, † appointed, with the Lord Viscount TIVIOT, and Colonel ROBERT PHILLIPS, one of the commissioners for executing the great office of Lord Privy Seal, in the absence of Henry Earl of

* LIFE of Lord Keeper GUILFORD. p. 286.

† BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNIA. p. 1864.

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CLARENDON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; which he held till March 11, M,DC,LXXXVI, when the King was pleased to appoint Henry Baron ARUNDEL of Wardour Lord Privy Seal. He wrote nothing during this reign.

AFTER the revolution, he was made treasurer of Greenwich hospital: and notwithstanding his avocations, and the punctuality he ever observed in executing his offices, he found leisure to add to his numerous and various treatises already published the three following ; “ Mundus Muliebris ; or
“ the Ladies dressing room unlocked, and her
“ toilette spread. In Burlesque, London,
“ M,DC,XC, 4to ; Monsieur de la Quintinge’s
“ treatise of Orange trees, with the raising of
“ melons, omitted in the French editions, Lon-
“ don, M,DC,XCIII.” Mr. EVELYN, about
twenty years before, received a visit from Monsieur de la QUINTINGE, and prevailed on him to communicate to him some directions in relation to managing melons, for the cultivation of which QUINTINGE was remarkably famous ; who, accordingly, transmitted them to our author from Paris. The third work was entitled :
“ Numismata ; a discourse of Medals ancient
“ and modern : together with some account of
“ heads and effigies of illustrious persons, in
“ Sculps and Taille Douce, of whom we have
“ no medals extant ; and of the uses to be de-
“ rived from them. To which is added, a di-
“ gression concerning Physiognomy, London,
“ M,DC,CXVII, folio.” The connoisseurs look
on

on this treatise as one of the best on the subject in any language: it is said to have been translated into French, and is greatly admired by foreigners of taste.

WE are now arrived at the last publication, with which our author enriched the republic of literature; which bears no signature of age or impaired abilities, though he was now in his eightieth year. It was called, "Acetaria; a Discourse of Salletts, by J. E. author of the Kalendarium, London, 8vo. M,DC,XCIX." It was dedicated to Lord SOMERS, who did, indeed, deserve a dedication: he was the real MEMMIUS of his age;

—Quem tu, Dea, tempore in omni,
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

LUCRETIVS, Lib. I. 28.

NOR was Mr. EVELYN less generous in imparting his knowledge to others, than indefatigable in composing himself. Bishop GIBSON was by him furnished with the Remarks he added to CAMDEN's Britannia, in his account of Surry; he largely contributed to the valuable works of Mr. * HAUGHTON, and † Mr. AUBREY; and was ever ready to lend his best assistance to any curious enquirer, in any branch of that circle of

* HAUGHTON's Husbandry. Vol. 4. p. 132.

† MISCELLANIES, p. 87.

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arts and sciences, of which he was so accomplished a master. He was, however, accustomed to style himself, humbly, "A Pioneer in the service of " the ROYAL SOCIETY:" he certainly removed many obstructions; and smoothed the roads, that led directly to the temple of WISDOM and TRUTH.

IF we admire the number and the variety of the pieces he published, that admiration will be increased, by a short enumeration of his works that remain unpublished, but for the execution of which he had collected the most valuable materials. His great work was to have been intitled, "A general History of all Trades:" Of this the CHALCOGRAPHY was a part. Next may be mentioned five treatises, containing a full view of the several arts of "Painting in oyl, in miniature, annealing in glass, enamelling, and making marble paper: The plan of a royal garden; describing and shewing the amplitude of that part of the GEORGICS, which belongs to horticulture:" And, lastly, a moral work, to be entituled, "A Treatise on the dignity of Man."

FULL of age and honours, having long been blessed with genius and virtue, our amiable author departed this life in his eighty sixth year, Feb. 27, M,DCC,V-VI; and was interred at Wotton, under a tomb of about three feet high of free stone, shaped like a coffin, with an inscription upon a white marble stone with which it is covered,* ex-

* AUBREY'S Natural History of Surry. V. 4. p. 131.
pressing,

pressing, according to his own intention, "That
" living in an age of extraordinary events and
" revolutions, he had learned from thence this
" truth, which he desired might be thus com-
" municated to posterity :"

THAT ALL IS VANITY,
WHICH IS NOT HONEST ; AND THAT
THERE IS NO SOLID WISDOM, BUT IN REAL
PIETY.

By his excellent wife, who survived him about three years, he had five sons and three daughters : of the latter, only one survived him, SUSANNAH, married to WILLIAM DRAPER of Adscumb in Surry, Esq; of the former, all died young, except Mr. JOHN EVELYN, the author of many admired translations both in prose and verse, and of some original compositions in DRYDEN'S Miscellanies. He was the father of the present Sir JOHN EVELYN, created a Baronet by letters patent, bearing date July 30, M,DCC,XIII.

THE FOLLOWING
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

ARE TAKEN FROM THE MARGIN OF THE

AUTHOR'S PRINTED COPY,

COMMUNICATED BY

SIR JOHN EVELYN, BART.

IN the list of authors, *for* Libavius, *read* Libanius.

Page 56, line 6 ; *after* engraved, *add* from the paintings now at Hampton-Court.

Page 62, line 19 ; *after* cut, *add* (which Jerome Lennier shewed me, and, I think, is now in his Majesty's cabinet)

Page 68, line 20 ; *for* chosen *read* executed ; line 21, *for* executed *read* chosen.

Page 69, line 5 ; *after* HOLBEIN, *dele* the Dane.

Page 69, line 7 ; *after* Erasmus, *add* Moriaë encomium ; the trial and crucifixion of Christ.

Page 78, line 3 ; *after* folio, *add* and for my Parallel of Architecture better than that of this treatise.

Page 79, line 6 ; *after* Warwickshire, *add* Mr. ASHMOLE'S Garter.

Page 79, line ult. ; *to* Custos, is the following addition : Dominicus Custos, and Wolfgangus Kilian, from the paintings of Wickgram and others, *The effigies of the Duke of Bavaria*, with the rest in his *Atrium Heroicum* for all the famous persons of that century, both of Europe and Asia:

Page 80, line 11 ; *for* omit, *read* pass.

Page 87, Insert the following note on line 6 ; FLORENT LE COMTE, in his *Singularitez D'Architecture*, &c. gives a catalogue of the works of NANTEUIL, in which he mentions *My Effigy* graven by this rare sculptor, with this impertinent mistake : “ YVELIN, dit le petit mi Lord Anglois, ou le
“ *Portrait Grec* ; *parcequ'il y a du Grec au*
“ *bas, ou est escrit aussi* *Meliora retinete* :
“ *il est en Ovale*. YVELIN, called the little
“ English lord, or the Greek portrait, be-
“ cause there is a Greek inscription at bot-
“ tom ; where likewise is written, *Retain*
“ *the best* : it is in Oval.”

Page 89, line 23 ; *after* Thesis, *add* The Seige of la Rochel in large.

Page 93, line 2 ; *after* Majesty, *add* the Duke of Norfolk.

Page 95, in the Note ; *after* England, *add* great grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk.

Page 96, line antepenult. *for* Libavius, *read* Libanius.

Page 98, line 25 ; *for* instructive, *read* instructor.

Page 128, Insert the following note on the word *applicable* in line 17 . This art, since the publishing of this [first] edition, is arrived to the utmost curiosity and accurateness even of the rarest miniatures, in black and white ; and takes in all subjects: the only defect is, that the plates last not so long under the rolling press .

At the end of the book, the AUTHOR has written the following remark : MONIER, a painter of the French king's, has published the history of painting, sculpture, architecture, and graving, in three books ; which is translated into English and printed London 1699. In the last chapter of the third book, c. 22, he treats of TAILLE-DOUCE, but little which is not already in mine.

ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

Page 16, line penult. ; for *postulatum*, read *pustulatum*.

Page 30, line 21 ; for *δρυμῶνος* read *Δρυμῶνος*.

Page 87, line 18 ; for *Hesselin*, read *Hedelin* ; and for *Chaplain*, read *Chapelain*.

Page 99, line 11 ; for PYRGOTOLES, read PROTOGENES.

Page 112, line 13 ; for NITIA, read NICIAS.

Directions to the Binder.

Place the Head of the Author before the Title-page.

— the Engraved plate before page 108

— the Mezzotinto Head before page 128

T O

[1]

TO THE
H O N O U R A B L E
A N D
LEARNED GENTLEMAN,
ROBERT BOYLE, Esq;

S I R,
H A V I N G, upon your reiterated instances, which are ever commands with me, prepared this treatise concerning the history of CHALCOGRAPHY, &c. I thought myself engaged to signify to the rest, that may possibly receive satisfaction or benefit from it, to whom they are obliged for the
B public-

publication of it. The truth is, as it respects the pains which I have taken, it bears not the least proportion with my ambition of serving you; but as you are pleased to judge it useful for the encouragement of the gentlemen of our nation, who sometimes please themselves with these innocent diversions, collections worthy of them for divers respects; and, especially, that such as are addicted to the more noble mathematical sciences, may draw and engrave their schemes with delight and assurance; I have been induced to think it more worthy your patronage, and of my small adventure, who profess to have nothing so much in my desires, and which I more avow the pursuit of, than to employ the whole remainder of the life, which G O D shall assign me, and that I can redeem from its impertinencies, in contributing to that great and august design, which

which your illustrious and happy genius does prompt you to, of cultivating the sciences, and advancing of useful knowledge, emancipated from the strong contentions and little fruit of the former, and the envy and imposture of the latter ages.

Sir, this is not in the least to flatter you ; nor can I have other aim in it, than that, by your great example, I might excite such as, like you, have parts and faculties, to things that are glorious and worthy of them. Your studies are so mature and universal, your travels so highly improved, and your experience so well established, that, after I have celebrated the conversation which results from all these perfections, it is from you alone, that I might describe the character of an accomplished genius, great, and worthy our emulation. But though your modesty does not permit me to run

through all those transcendencies; yet, the world is sufficiently instructed by what you cannot conceal, that I say nothing of servile, and which will not abide the test; so as I have been often heard to exult in the felicity of this conjuncture of ours; which, (since those prodigies of virtue, the illustrious TYCHO, BACON, GILBERT, HARVEY, DIGBY, GALILEO, PERIESKY, DES CARTES, GASSENDI, BERNIER his disciple now in *Persia*, and the late incomparable JACOMO MARIA FAVI, &c.) has produced us nothing, which will support the comparison with you, when I shall pronounce you, and as indeed your merits do challenge it, the phoenix of this latter age.

And now that I mentioned Signor FAVI, I will not conceal with what extasy and joy I lately found his memory, which I have so much and so often heard mentioned abroad by such
as

as had the happiness to know him intimately, consecrated by the eloquent pen of Monsieur SORBIERE, in a discourse of his to Monsieur *Vitre* concerning the utility of great travel and foreign voyages; because it approaches so near to the idea which I have proposed, and may serve as an encouragement and example to the gentlemen of our nation, who for the most part wander and spend their time abroad in the pursuit of those vain and lower pleasures, fruitless, and altogether intolerable. But, Sir, I will crowd no more into this epistle, already too prolix, which was only designed to accompany this piece, and some other useful and more liberal diversions of this nature, which I cannot yet produce. But every thing has its time; and when I would redeem it to the best advantage, it is by entertaining it with something that

[6]

may best declare to all the world, how
greatly I account the honour of being
esteemed,

S I R,

Your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

SAYES-COURT,
5th April, 1662.

J. EVELYN.

A N

[7]

A N

A C C O U N T

O F

Signor Giacomo FAVI,

B Y

Monfieur SORBIERE.

GIACOMO MARIA FAVI, of the house of the *Marescotti* of *Boulonia*, died above thirty five years of age, near fifteen years since, in the city of *Paris*. It is a history worthy of record; and that all the world should take notice of this incomparable person, as that great wit and polite philosopher Monsieur SORBIERE does describe him. For as much, says he, as it seems to be a very great reproach, that neither prince nor state have hitherto had the consideration or the courage to undertake, what one particular person alone did resolve upon for the univer-

B 4

sal

fal benefit and good of the public. For it was upon this design, that he engaged himself expressly, making the most exact observations, and collecting the crayons, prints, designs, models, and faithful copies, of whatsoever could be encountered through the whole circle of the arts and sciences, the laws, and the customs practised wherever he arrived. He had already acquired by study a thousand worthy and curious particulars; he designed excellently well, understood the mathematics, had penetrated into the most curious parts of medicine; and was yet so far from the least pedantry, that he would, when so disposed, play the gallant as handsomely as any man; and which he was indeed able to do, enjoying a plentiful revenue of near three thousand pounds sterling a year, which he ordered to be paid him by bills of exchange, wheresoever his curiosity should invite him. But otherwise, truly his equipage was very simple, and his train reduced to only one servant, which he was wont to take in every town where he made any stay. He had already visited *Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and England*, from whence he came into *France*, to go into *Spain*. Finally, he arrived at *Paris Anno MDCXLV*, with one *Bourdoni*, a sculptor dwelling near the *Tuilleries*; where he no sooner appeared, but he was immediately

ately found out and known by all the virtuosi, and as soon informed himself of all that were extraordinary and conspicuous for all sorts of curiosities, whereof he carefully took notice : but especially he made an intimate acquaintance with one Monsieur PETIT, a very rare and curious person, and indeed greatly resembling the genius of this noble gentleman, as being one who for these fifty years past discovered a wonderful ardor for the sciences; and a diligence so indefatigable in the research of all estimable and worthy inventions, as that it is a thousand pities, and a thing not to be conceived indeed without infinite regret, that this age of ours could never yet approach him. So laudable and worthy of praise, have his expences been upon divers machines and experiments, beyond the forces of a private person ; that had he but been supported, as at first he was by the *French* king, and the great cardinal de *Richlieu*, under whom he enjoyed divers honourable and handsome employments; he had, perhaps, amongst all the arts through which he run, found out some abridgments and perfections new and altogether stupendous ; and as, indeed, he has already done to admiration, so far at least as his discretion and his affairs would give him leave.

But to return to our new *Democritus*, Signor FAVI. He had made provision of sundry
huge

huge volumes, which were no other than the designs of all sorts of instruments and machines that he had seen and perused ; besides a world more which he had sent away into *Italy*. For this curious person neglected nothing, but went on collecting, with a most insuperable diligence, all that the mechanics had invented for agriculture, architecture, and the fabric of all sorts of works belonging to sports and to clothes, for use and for magnificence. There was nothing so small, and to appearance trifling, which he did not cast his eyes upon, and which he had not some hand in, or improved even to the least minutiae ; whether it were a device of some haspe, the latch of a door, a simple lock, the cover or patin of a cup, a dress, &c. even to a very tooth-picker * ; so as he shewed no less than two hundred toys for children to play withal, forty several ways of plowing the ground, a world of forges and mills for various uses. He visited all the excellent workmen and artificers, and took samples and patterns of all their rare inventions, and something of their making. Then for receipts and secrets, he possessed an infinite number of all kinds the most rare and excellent ; some whereof he

* Let not the reader despise this condescension of so great a person, for “ inest sua gratia parvis.”

purchased

purchased at great prices, and others he procured by exchange. He learned the tongues, wherever he came, with extraordinary facility; and sometimes would frequent the recreations and exercises of the places where he sojourned, which he used to perform with a facility and address so genteel and natural, as if he had yet been but a very youth: for by this means he found, that he gained the easier and more free access into the best companies, so extremely noble disinterested and agreeable was his fashion and manner of conversation. And though in sundry encounters, and courts of princes, he had been frequently regaled with very considerable presents, yet would he never receive any from great persons; as chains of gold, medals, diamonds and jewels, that were offered him, unless haply it were some title of honour and prerogative, as the permission to bear an eagle, or a fleur de lis in his coat of arms, or the like. And when he had thus exhausted a kingdom or a place of all that was curious, and made acquaintance with all the persons of merit in a state, he travelled presently into another; so as there was hardly a court to be found, where he had not finished his harvest in three or four months, till he arrived at *Paris*, where, indeed, he was infinitely surprized, and busied among such an innumerable many of able and curious persons
of

of all kinds. He had four lodgings in several parts of *Paris*, that so he might be near a retreat, in whatsoever quarter he should happen to be in pursuit of curiosities ; for he used to go much on foot, and alone, because he would not be troubled nor observed by impertinent servants. But in fine, purposing from hence to travel shortly for *China* by means of the *Portugal*, he took so much pains about describing and observing the magnificent preparations which were made for the marriage of the queen of *Poland*, that he fell sick of a fever and died, to the universal regret and sorrow of all that had ever so much as heard of him. And no sooner did this sad accident come to the ears of the king, but he sent diligently to search out all his four lodgings, to see if by any means aught of his collection could be retrieved ; but they were all immediately dispersed, and it was never found what became of them.

The count *Marescotti* his kinsman, then at *Paris*, recovered only that single volume, wherein was contained the names, arms and devises of the hands of all the princes of *Europe*, whom he had had the honour to approach. But his intention was, as I have been credibly informed by one that did often converse with him, though Monsieur *Sorbiere* is silent of it, after he had travelled over all the world,

world, for his design was no less ample, at return into his native country, to compile and publish a complete cycle and history of trades, with whatsoever else he should judge of use and benefit to mankind. But this had been a charity, and a blessing too great for the world; because it does not depart from its vices and impertinencies, and cherish such persons, and the virtues which should render it worthy of them.

AUTHORS and BOOKS which have
been consulted for this TREATISE.

<i>Ælianus</i>	<i>Horatius</i>	<i>Prudentius</i>
<i>Angelus Roccha</i>	<i>Josephus</i>	<i>Quintilianus</i>
<i>Aquinas</i>	<i>Junius F.</i>	<i>Rueus</i>
<i>Aristoteles</i>	<i>Juvenalis</i>	<i>Sabinus</i>
<i>S. Augustinus</i>	<i>Kerkerus</i>	<i>Salmasius</i>
<i>Ausonius</i>	<i>Læet</i>	<i>Scaliger Jof.</i>
<i>Baptista Alberti</i>	<i>Lætus Pompon.</i>	<i>Semedo</i>
<i>Biblia Sacra</i>	<i>Læon Alberti</i>	<i>Seneca</i>
<i>Bibliander</i>	<i>Libavius</i>	<i>Solinus</i>
<i>Bosse A.</i>	<i>Licetas</i>	<i>Stattius</i>
<i>Caniparius</i>	<i>Littleton Adam</i>	<i>Suetonius</i>
<i>Cassianus</i>	<i>Livius</i>	<i>Suidas</i>
<i>Cæl. Rhodoginus</i>	<i>Lubinus</i>	<i>Tacitus</i>
<i>Cedrenus</i>	<i>Lucanus</i>	<i>Tatianus</i>
<i>Cicero</i>	<i>Luithprandius</i>	<i>Tertullianus</i>
<i>Commenius</i>	<i>Maimonides</i>	<i>Theocritus</i>
<i>Crinitus</i>	<i>Manutius</i>	<i>Trallianus</i>
<i>Curtius</i>	<i>Marolles</i>	<i>Trismegistus</i>
<i>Cyprianus</i>	<i>Martialis</i>	<i>Thucydides</i>
<i>Diadorus</i>	<i>Nazianzen Greg.</i>	<i>Varenius</i>
<i>Diomedes</i>	<i>Origines</i>	<i>Varro</i>
<i>Donatellus</i>	<i>Ovidius</i>	<i>Vassari</i>
<i>Durer</i>	<i>Pancirolla</i>	<i>Vatablus</i>
<i>Epiphanius</i>	<i>Petronius</i>	<i>Vermander Car.</i>
<i>Eusebius</i>	<i>Philo</i>	<i>Verulamius</i>
<i>Gaffarell</i>	<i>Philostratus</i>	<i>Virgilius</i>
<i>Galenus</i>	<i>Picus Mirand</i>	<i>Vitruvius</i>
<i>Gorleus</i>	<i>Pietro Santo</i>	<i>Vopiscus</i>
<i>Guaricus Pompo.</i>	<i>Plato</i>	<i>Vossius</i>
<i>Greuter</i>	<i>Plinius</i>	<i>Woolson</i>
<i>Herodotus</i>	<i>Plutarchus</i>	<i>Wormius</i>
<i>Hesiodus</i>	<i>Du Pois</i>	<i>Sir H. Wotton.</i>
<i>Homerus</i>	<i>Pollux Jul.</i>	

SCULPTURA:

OR, THE

HISTORY and ART

OF

CHALCOGRAPHY.

 BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAP. I.

*Of Sculpture, how derived and distinguished, with the
Stiles and Instruments belonging to it.*

THOSE, who have most refined and criticized upon technical notions, seem to distinguish what we commonly name SCULPTURE into three several arts, and to attribute specifical differences to them all: for there is, besides *Sculptura* (as it relates to CHALCOGRAPHY) *Scalptura* (so DIOMEDES*) and *Cælatura*; both which, according to QUINTILIAN †, differ from the first [*ratione materiæ*] “in respect of the materials.”

* *Lib. 1.* † *L. 3. c. 21.*

For to make but a brief enumeration only: it was applied to several things; as to working in wood or ivory *tomice*, the artists *desectores*; in clay, *plastice*, *plastæ*; in plaister *paradigmatice*, the workmen *gypsochi*; in stone-cutting *colaptice*, the artists *lithoxoi*; and lastly, in metals *glyphice*: which again is two-fold; for if wax be used, *agogice*; if the figure be of cast-work, *chemice*; *anaglyphice*, when the image was prominent; *diaglyphice*, when hollow, as in seals and intaglias; *encolaptice* when less deep, as in plates of brass for laws and monumental inscriptions; then the *toreutice*; and the *encaustic* for a kind of enamel*; *proplastice* forming the future work [*ex creta*] “of clay,” or some such matter, as the *protypus* was of wax for efformation, and the *modulus* of wood: not to omit the ancient *diatretice*, which seems to have been a work upon chrystal, and the *calices diatreti* (of which somewhere the poet MARTIAL) whether embossed or engraven, as now with the point of a diamond, &c. for I can only name them briefly, the field would be too luxurious to discourse upon them severally, and as they rather concern the statuary-art, fusile and plastic head; which would serve better to adorn some design of architecture, or merit an express treatise, than become the present, which does only touch the *metals*, and such other materials as had not the figure finished through all its dimensions: though we might yet safely, I think, admit some of the Greek *anaglyptics*; *argentum asperum* & *postulatum*, and, as the Latins term it, *ebur pingue*; for so the poet, *expositumque alte pin-*

* CÆL. RHODOG. *Antiq. Lect.* l. 29, c. 24.

*gue poposcit ebur, &c**. MANUTIUS calls them *dimidia eminentia*, and the ITALIANS do well interpret by *Basso* and *Mezzo Relievo*. Hence the figure is said *stare*, or *exstare*: for so MARTIAL, *stat caper*; and JUVENAL, *stantem extra pocula caprum*: as from the similitude and perfection of the work, *vivere, spirare, calere*; it seemed “to breathe and “be living,” as VIRGIL expresses it;

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

And HORACE, ————— *Et ungues
Exprimet, & molles imitabitur ære capillos.*

*Ludit Acidalio sed non manus aspera nodo
Candida non tacita respondet imagine Lygdos.* MART.

For in this manner they used to celebrate those rare pieces of art, distinct from the *diaglyphice* and *encolaptic*, more properly according with our purpose; and which may haply be as well expressed by *cælatura*, and from the signification made a derivative ἀπὸ τῆ σκάπλειν, to dig or make incision. I think VARRO may have *scaptus* for *cælatus*; as CICERO *scalptus*, and PLINY *scalpturatus*; yet we rather follow them who derive *scalpo, sculpo*, from γλάφω and γλύφω; because the best origination is to preserve the foundation in the ancients languages, if the mutation of letters be warranted; as here in γράφω *scribo*. The word in the holy tongue, פתח, which imports an opening, (because the plate, stone, or whatever else material they used, *aperitur aliqua sui parte*, is somewhere opened when any thing is engraven upon it) attests rather to the former etymon and signification, than

* EPIST. ad Mecenium.

to any other material affinity: besides, that 'tis also transferable to those who carve with the chissel, or work in bossé with the puntion, as our statuaries goldsmiths and repairers do. In the gloſs we meet with *cælum* τόριος, &c. which though some admit not so freely in this sense, yet MARTIAL, speaking of embossed cups, more than once calls them *toreumata*;

Miratus fueris cum prisca toreumata multum. Lib. 8. And why may not the tori, brawn, or collops of fat, be expressed by these raised figures, and they *torosæ* plump, and (as the French has it) *en bon point*, as well as fusile and fictile ones? Some round chissel or lathe perhaps it was; but we dare only conjecture. Others *cælum* a *cædo*, which is to beat, strike, cut or dig; but by what parallel authority of such a derivative, we know not. VARRO* yet *e cælo* heaven itself, reaching its original from the very stars. κοίλος is another, more consonant and harmonious with the antient *קלל* *kalangb*, which imports to excavate and make hollow, as it is frequently interpreted, particularly 1 Reg. vi. 32, 35. where, what the vulgar Latin renders *sculpsit*, VATABLUS makes *cælavit*, and JUNIUS *incidit*, best of all corresponding with our purpose. And so in the famous wrought shield which Ulysses purchased by his eloquence, QUINTILIAN † applies the word, *in cælatura clypei Achillis, & lites sunt & actiones*: for so it seems to have been much used on their harness; LIVY ‡ reports of two famous armies so represented: or as more allusive yet to our plate, where 'tis said, *cælatura rumpit tenuem laminam*; if

* L. iv. de L. L.

† Lib. ii. c. 18.

‡ Hist. l. 9.

the question be not rather, whether these works, like the *ancæsa vasa*, were not raised and embossed; those expressions of PLINY so much favouring their eminency, where he tells us, speaking of this very art, [*ita exolevit, ut sola jam vetustate censeatur, usque adeo attritis cælaturis, ne figura discerni possit*] “ it has now been so long out of use, that it is “ esteemed only for its antiquity, the graving being “ so worn away, that the figures are no longer “ discernible;” time and age had so greatly defaced them.

But may this suffice for the division and denomination of the ART in general; since the title which we have made choice of, is universally applicable: for so [*loquendi consuetudine*] “ in ordinary “ discourse,” *sculptura* and *sculptura* import but one and the same thing, as SALMASIUS has well noted on Solinus; and, therefore, those, who wrought any of these hollow cut-works, were by some called *cavatores*, and *graphatores*, says that learned person; whence, doubtless, our *gravers* may have derived their appellation.

By this then it will not be difficult for any to define what the ART itself is; whether considered in the most general and comprehensive acceptation, or as it concerns that of CHALCOGRAPHY chiefly, and such as have most affinity with it; since (as well as the rest) it may be described to be, “ An “ art, which takes away all that is superfluous of “ the subject matter, reducing it to that form or “ body which was designed in the idea of the artist:” and this, as sufficiently universal; unless in favour of the *plastic*, (which yet does not come
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under our cognizance) we will rather receive the distinction which MICHAEL ANGELO was used to observe between them, that this last was made by *apposition*, which is the quite contrary. But indeed, neither the *paradigmatic*, *agogic*, or any of the *plastic*, can genuinely, and in propriety of speech, be called SCULPTURE, without a catachresis and some violence; since [*nullum simile est idem*] “like-ness is not sameness,” whether applied to the matter or the tools.

And now we speak of INSTRUMENTS, we shall find that there has been little less controversy among the grammarians, touching them also, than concerning the very art itself: as whether the *γλύφειον stile* or *scalprum*, is to be called *cælum*, *cæles*, or *cæltæ*, noted by the critics from that text JOB XIX. [*quis mihi det, ut exarentur in libro stylo ferreo, aut plumbi lamina, vel cælte sculpantur in silice?*] “O that my words were—printed in a book, that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever! (where by the way, ’tis observed, that this verse comprehends, and alludes to, almost all the sorts of antient writing and engraving; books, plates, stone and stile) and from an old inscription out of ALDUS, and GRUTER. MARTIAL, AUSONIUS, and the poet STATIUS*, use *cælum* frequently;

— *Laboriferi vivant quæ marmora cælo,
Praxitelis, &c.* — †

But we will be sparing. *Γλυφίς, γλυφῆιον, γλύφανον*, as JUNIUS ‡: also *ἐγκολαπίηρ, ὑπαγωγεὺς, λαξδύηριον* as much as *σιδήριον λιθουργόν*; so is *γλαρίς* and *λεον*

* Epist. 56. Stat. l. 4. † Sylv. l. 4. ‡ Theocr. Thucyd.

in POLLUX. *Scalprum*, is κοπεύς ξυτήρ; with the same JUNIUS, graphium; lastly, *stylus γραφείον, τύλος, σμίλη*, in SUIDAS; ἐγκεντρῖς the same POLLUX. Call them *point, stile, graver, puntion, polisher*, or what else you please, we will contend no farther about it; for these instruments (as despicable as they appear) have sometimes proved fatal and dangerous weapons; as the blessed Cassianus found by sad experience, whose cruel martyrdom with these stiles is gloriously celebrated by PRUDENTIUS, περὶ τεφάνων Hymn. IX. And thus was also Erixion slain, for his unnatural affection, by the enraged people; with other examples to be produced out of SENECA, PLUTARCH, SÜETONIUS, and others: for, when upon several of those disorders, σιδεροφορεῖν (or the carrying about them any weapons of iron) was made capital, they did mischief with these instruments, till like childrens' knives they were converted into bone, which did only serve them to write withal, and *arare campum cereum*, to plough up their superinduced tables, and *cerei pugillares* not much unlike to our etching with points and needles on the vernish, in shape and use resembling them, save where the obtuser end was made more deletive, apt to put out, and obliterate, when they would *stylum vertere*, which our burnisher, (another tool used by CHALCOGRAPHERS) and polisher performs.

But to descend to the modern names both of the ART and INSTRUMENT. The FRENCH call it in particular *taille douce*, sweet or tender cut; whether wrought with the burin, (for so they term the instrument which we the graver) or with aqua fortis. The ITALIANS, *intaglia*, or stamp, without

adjunct ; and bolino, which is doubtless the more ancient and warrantable, as prompting the use both of the point, needle, and etching in aqua fortis, by some so happily executed, as hardly to be discerned from the bolio or graver itself : but the main difference is this, that with the burin one cuts the piece all at once out of the plate immediately ; whereas, with the point or stile, we only cut the vernish, razing, and scalping, as it were, the superficies of the plate a little, which afterwards the aqua fortis corrodes and finishes : a rare invention, new, expeditious, and wholly unknown to the past antiquity ! Burin then from bolino ; and why not ? yea doubtless, this from βέλλα, the modern name of a seal and instrument of making seals. To this we might also add טרן, cheret : and we find charasch, and charath, of the same import with χαράσσω and χαράτιω [to engrave] in the Greek, as Mr. Adam Littleton has acutely observed in his complexion of roots.

But lest too much of this stuff should (as THEOCRITUS on another occasion stiles it), γλυφάνη ὑποσέλις, “ smell of the burin,” we will here make an end with hard names, the pedantry and various acceptations of the words ; and in the chapters following endeavour to investigate the ORIGINAL of the ART itself, and discourse somewhat of the progress it has made, to arrive at this perfection : for it is not to shew how diligently we have weeded the calepines and lexicons (among all which there is none over fertile upon these arts, or so well furnished as we could have wished) but the result of much diligent collection, produced out of sundry
 authors

authors, to meet in this chapter for the ease and instruction of such, as may possibly encounter with difficulties, in the course of their reading such books as treat of the mechanical or more liberal subjects; and, that there might be nothing of deficient as to our INSTITUTION, seeing it behoved him that would deduce an history ab origine, to let nothing escape that was in the least or useful or instructive.

C H A P. II.

Of the original of SCULPTURE in general.

WE shall not with Epigenes in PLINY*, de-
 pose that this art had its being from eternity;
 because it is not sense, and would contradict its in-
 vention: but if that may pass, which St. AU-
 GUSTINE affirms†, that the protoplast, our father
 ADAM, or (as others) his good genius the angel
 RAZIEL, were the first inventor of letters, SCULP-
 TURE may derive its pedigree from the infancy of
 the world, and contend for its pre-eminence with
 most of the antiquities which it so much celebrates.
 For that there went several books about (some where-
 of had been long since read in the primitive church)
 bearing his venerable name, as that which EPI-
 PHANIUS and others cite *ex libro Bebu, de pœni-
 tentia Adæ, Adæ revelatio, &c.* we have no reason
 to contradict: and THOMAS AQUINAS, in his treatise

* L. 7. c. 6,

† L. 18. de Civit. Dei. c. 38.

tise *de ente & essentia*, speaks of a volume of plants described by ADAM ; and there are traditions of a whole natural history, with several other works of this most learned of all men living, as SUIDAS doubts not to call him. Nor do we think, that his unhappy fall did so much concern his rare and infused habits, as not to leave him the most accomplished and perfectly instructed in all those arts which were so highly necessary, and therefore thus early invented ; though whether these books of his were so miraculously found out, and preserved by the renowned TRISMEGISTUS, we leave to the more credulous : but that letters, and consequently SCULPTURE, was long before the flood, we make no scruple of ; SUIDAS, whom but now we mentioned, is peremptory, ascribing (as was affirmed) both letters, and all the rest of the sciences to ADAM, τέτα πάντα εὐρήματα, &c. We shall not add hereunto, what the Rabbins assert he composed of the precepts given him in paradise, with the like trash ; but pass from these conjectures to others of the antediluvian patriarchs mentioned by JOSEPHUS, CEDRENUS, and some other authors, concerning the sculptures in stone and brick erected at Joppa, containing (as some depose) the sidereal and celestial sciences, proof against the two most devouring and subverting elements, and lasting some thousands of years after the universal cataclysm. The Æthiopians are said at this day to glory much in possessing the books of SETH and ENOCH, as those who have lately written of the Abyssines relate. ORIGEN, St. AUGUSTINE, and HIEROM, have likewise made honourable mention of them ; and TERTULLIAN plainly

plainly reproves those*, who (in his time) thought they could not be preserved; NOAH being himself one of the great nephews of SETH: and the probability that these ancient men of renown would transmit to posterity the glorious actions and achievements which they had performed; especially CHAM, (that is ZOROASTER) a spirit so universally curious, and flourishing above an hundred years before this public calamity. But to apply this to the honour now of CHALCOGRAPHY, and justify our design. The author of the scholastical history upon Genesis speaks of this ZOROASTER's engraving the liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven whereof he affirms to have been of brass, and the rest of brick. The same is also reported by SERENUS†, where he adds [*diversorum metallorum laminis*] “on plates of different metals,” together with some other inscriptions thus preserved, and which the noble and learned earl of Mirandula, in a certain epistle of his to Marsilius Ficinus, boasts to have the possession of: his words are these; *Chaldaici hi libri sunt, si libri sunt, & non Thesauri. Audi inscriptiones: patris Ezræ, Zoroastris, & Melchior Magorum oracula. In quibus, & illa quoque, quæ apud Græcos mendosa, & mutila circumferuntur, leguntur integra & absoluta, &c.* “These books, “ (saith PICUS) if books it be lawful to call them, “ and not rather most inestimable treasures, are all “ in the Chaldaic tongue. Observe their titles: “ the oracles of those famous Magi, Ezra, Zoro- “ after, and Melchior; in which those particulars “ also, which have been carried about by the Greeks,

* De habit. mulier.

† Apud Cassianum.

“ maimed

“ maimed and miserably corrupted, are here to be
 “ read perfect and entire.”

Concerning the art of SCULPTURE immediately after the flood, there are few, we suppose, make any considerable question, as that it might not be propagated by NOAH to his posterity; though some there be, that indeed admit of none before MOSES: but what then shall we think of that “ book of the wars of the Lord,” which this sacred author mentions, Num. xxi; not to insist upon the eighty-eighth and one hundred and ninth Psalms, by many ascribed to some of the patriarchs his predecessors. The above mentioned MERCURIUS TRISMEGISTUS, three hundred years after the flood, and long before MOSES, engraved his secret and mysterious things in stone, as himself reports; reforming what had been depraved by the wicked CHAM, some in letters, some in figures and enigmatical characters; such haply, as were those contained in the magnificent and stupendous obelisks erected by MISRA the first Ægyptian PHAROAH, which being at least four hundred years before MOSES (as the most indefatigable KIRCHER has computed) does greatly presage their antiquity to have been before that holy prophet*. But not to put too much stress upon superannuated tradition, this we are sure is of faith and without controversy, that in MOSES we have the tables of stone, engraven by the finger of GOD himself; where the commandment is express, even against the abuse of this very ART, as well as an instance of the antiquity of idolatry attesting that of sculpture: THOU SHALT NOT MAKE TO THY

* Obelis. Pamphil.

SELF ANY GRAVEN IMAGE *. But this which is, indeed, the first writing that we have scripture to vouch for, does yet pre-suppose ENGRAVING to have been of much greater antiquity. What else were the TERAPHIM? what the Penates of LABAN stolen by RACHEL? the idols of TERAH, or the Ægyptian? &c. But we forbear to expatiate; only that which is by BEN. SYRAC somewhere in † Ecclesiasticus delivered, that the original of idolatry was from images to preserve the memory of the dead, as in process of time by the flatterers of great men it was turned to be an object of adoration, plainly infers GRAVING to have been elder than idolatry.

But now to recover its esteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abused, as indeed many of the best things have been,) it was, we know, imputed for a spiritual talent in BEZALEEL and AHOLIAB ‡, who made intaglias to adorn the high priest's pectoral. And we have said how the ÆGYPTIANS revered it, as seeming to have used it before letters; or rather their hieroglyphics (importing sacred sculpture) were those elements by which they transmitted to posterity what they esteemed most worthy of record; and not (as some have imagined) wrapped up in those enigmatical figures, the secrets of their arts both divine and secular: for

*Nondum flumineas memphis contexere biblos
Noverat; & saxis tantum volucrisque feræque,
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas §.*

whence TACITUS calls them [*antiquissima monu-*

* EXOD. XX. † c. xiv. ‡ xxxi EXOD. § LUCANUS, l. 3.
menta

menta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis] “most ancient records engraven on stone.” Such as were also the *borapollinis notæ*, and all those other venerable antiquities of this nature, transported to Rome out of Ægypt in no less than two-and-forty prodigious obelisks, of late interpreted by the industrious KIRCHER before cited. SUIDAS attributes the invention to the FATHER OF THE FAITHFUL, others to THEUT or HERMES, some to CADMUS and the Phœnicians. BIBLIANDER will have letters and sculpture from ADAM, JOSEPHUS from ENOCH, PHILO from ABRAHAM, EUSEBIUS from MOSES, CYPRIAN from SATURN; where, by the way, because ’tis said he did [*litteras imprimere*] “print letters,” PETER CALABER, who much affects to call himself POMPONIUS LÆTUS, foolishly deduces, that even the typographical art was known in the age of this hero*; but thence, as we said, it descended to the Ægyptians by MISRAIM, and so was communicated to the Persians Medes and Assyrians, thence to the Greeks, and finally to the Romans, from whom it was derived to us; as PETER CRINITUS in his xviiith. book *de honesta disciplina*†, out of a very ancient manuscript *bibliothecæ septimianæ* seems to deduce, and thus sum them up together:

[*Moyſes primus Hebraicas exaravit litteras;*
Mente Phœnices ſagaci condiderunt Atticas;
Quas Latini ſcriptitamus, edidit Nicoſtrata;
Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas;
Iſis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas;
Gulſila promſit Getarum, quas videmus litteras.]

“MOSES

* VOSSIUS in Art. Hiſt.

† Cap. 1.

“ MOSES first invented the Hebrew letters; the
 “ PHOENICIANS the Greek; NICOSTRATA the
 “ Latin; ABRAHAM the Syriac and Chaldaic;
 “ ISIS the Ægyptian, and GULFILA the Getan.”

Now, should all this but relate to the several *characters* only, it shall yet serve our purpose; since whoever was the inventor of *letters*, was also doubtless the father of SCULPTURE, as is apparent, if not by the former columns erected by SETH (one whereof ANGELUS ROCCHA in his *bibliotheca vaticana* presumes to have been of brass) yet by several other instances; the writing with ink, in paper or parchment, being altogether a novelty in comparison to the more ancient forms and materials, such as were the slit-stones or slates, which succeeded the stately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tablets of wood, which from the German **Bucher** (signifying the *fagus* or beech-tree, whose fruit does still with us retain the name of *buch-mast*) were called *books*, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied: for before the invention of paper, they used the leaves of palms, as VARRO de Sibylla; then the *rinds* of trees; afterwards sheets of *lead*, *linen*, *wax*, and *ivory*, as PLINY and VOPISCUS tell us; they wrote on *silk* amongst the Persians and Chinese; and lastly, were invented *parchment* and *paper*. But whether in all these, or whatever the subject were (some few latter excepted) it was still by *insculping*, *scarifying*, and making a kind of *incision* into it; especially intending to consign to posterity their laws, divine and human, Roman, Ægyptian, or Hebrew: for so of old,

— *verba minacia fixo*

Ære legebantur.

according

according to the poet*. Thus were the Hieronicæ preserved in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman consuls in the capitol; and as by those innumerable *inscriptions* of irrefragable and undeniable antiquity does appear.

We have already computed how probable it is, that SCULPTURE was in use in Ægypt somewhat before, or at least as soon as the patriarch ABRAHAM set his foot there: but the less discerning Greeks, who received it from the Ægyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before HOMER, if we will give ear to JOSEPHUS, before that of TATIAN (a learned Assyrian, and contemporary with JUSTIN MARTYR) where he affirms, [ἔχ' Ὀμήρου μόνον πρεσβύτερος ἔστιν ὁ Μωυσῆς, ἔτι ᾗ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων, Λίνου, Φιλάμμωνος, Θαμύριδος, Ἀμφίωνος, Μισσαίου, Ὀρφέου, Δημοδόκου, Φημίου, Σίβυλλης, Ἐπιμένιδου τῷ κρητῷ ὅστις εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, Ἀριστεά τῷ Προικοννησίῳ τῷ τὰ Ἀριμασπία συγγραφέῳ, Ἀσβόλῳ τε τῷ Κενταύρῳ, καὶ Ἰσάτιδος, δρυμῶνος τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τῷ Κυπρίῳ, καὶ Ὠροῦ τῷ Σαμίου, καὶ Προσμάντιδος τῷ Ἀθηνάϊῳ, &c.]

“ MOSES is prior not only to HOMER, but to
 “ those writers who lived before HOMER, LINUS,
 “ PHILAMMON, THAMYRIS, AMPHION, MUSÆ-
 “ US, ORPHEUS, DEMODOCUS, PHEMIUS, the
 “ SIBYL, EPIMENIDES the Cretan who came to
 “ Sparta, ARISTEAS the Proeconnesian who wrote
 “ the Arimaspia, ASBOLUS the Centaur, ISATIS,
 “ DRYMON, EUMELUS the Cyprian, HORUS the
 “ Samian, and PROSMANTIDES the Athenian:”

where we have no less than seventeen Grecians

* OVIDII Metam. I.

named elder than HOMER. There are also enumerated the names of twenty Argive kings from INACHUS to AGAMEMNON, which strongly infers the means of recording by SCULPTURE and WRITING to have been very ancient. For so we read that the poems of HESIOD were engraven in lead; ARISTOTLE mentions Daphne a certain devotees of Apollo; SABINUS and DIODORUS many others. But when, or whoever it were, thence (as we said) it travelled into Greece, that theatre of the arts, where it soon arrived to the supremest height of perfection; when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of those and the succeeding ages. HOMER tells us of the engraving in the shield of Achilles*; HESIOD that of Hercules; not to mention the sculptures upon the chariot of the sun, described by the poet †, because it is altogether fictitious, though extremely ingenious, and whence haply they might have their *vehicula cœlata* mentioned by Q. CURTIUS †. But whether now these ancient and famous peices were hollow, like those of our burin, or the work of our chissel and repaired embossments, might seem a difficulty to resolve from the frequent interpretations we attributed to the verb in the former chapter; if what we have here attested concerning the antiquity of letters, and consequently of flat incisions, pronounce not for its pre-eminence, however this may appear to the more judicious. Add to it, that both *plastica* (whatever others may fancy, unless we will ascend to the divine figuration of the first breathing statue that was ever formed, and with PLINY de-

* Iliad 3.

† Metam. l. 3.

† L. 3. c. 3.

rive it to be before and the mother of SCULPTURE) and the anaglyptic art, (not produced in the world till about the time of BELUS, and the beginning of Gentilism) were not till long after the use of letters, if ENOCH's prophecy were not preserved by unwritten tradition, and the former apocryphal monuments have other foundation than the wit of the Rabbins, which we can by no means assent to in the general. Besides, if we apply it to intaglias in stone, seals, and the like; for having been almost coevous with rings (what was else the signet which JUDAH left with his daughter TAMAR?*) it questionless derives its original before any history, at present extant in the world, divine or human, was committed to writing; of which he who has a thirst to satisfy his curiosity farther, may consult GORLÆUS, or FORTUN. LICETUS *de annulis antiquorum*: where also concerning their SCULPTURE, first in iron, then in gold, other metals, and stones; and of which very much might be added, both touching their dignity, signification, and how they came at length to be worn so universally. Something we might here likewise insert of their constellated figures, or talismans, long since engraven upon certain instants and periods of the sun's ingress into such and such particular signs of the Zodiac, treated of by FRANCIS RUEUS the physician, TRALIANUS, and [*instar omnium*] "especially" by the learned GAFFAREL at large: but we hasten to that which follows.

* xxxviii Gen. 18.

C H A P. III.

Of the reputation and progress of SCULPTURE amongst the Greeks and Romans, down to the middle ages; with some pretensions to the invention of copper cuts, and their impressions.

WE have now done with the original; and will next endeavour to investigate what progress it has made amongst those glorious and universal monarchs, when SCULPTURE and all other noble arts were in their ascendent and highest reputation, I mean the Greeks and the Romans: for to the first does HERODOTUS appropriate the perfection of this art, not admitting it to have arrived at the latter till about the time of SPURIUS CASSIUS, when BAPTISTA ALBERTI ascribes it to his countrymen the Tuscans.

Those who have well surveyed the natural history of PLINY, will easily commute for the omission, if, out of pure indulgence to their eyes only, we forbear the transcribing of at least three or four entire chapters, industriously baulking those ample and luxurious fields of *statues*, as under the *fusile* and *plastic* head*; because it suits not with our present design and institution: for to pass over the figures in *metal*, those of *gypsum* and other materials, the [*sculptores marmoris*] “statuaries in marble” were so many, and the Greeks so extravagantly

* L. 33, 34, 36. c. 8, 12, 6.

fond of their works, that at Rhodes alone, that small island, were no less than seventy-three thousand [*signa*] “statues;” nor were there fewer at Athens, Olympia, Delphi, and several other cities, whereof whole armies were transferred to Rome, after Achaia had been conquered by L. MUMMIUS, at which period the Greek arts began to rise, and be in such reputation among them; and this to so high an excess, as PLINY records of his age, that there were almost as many statues as men, by a kind of noble contention, says Sir H. WOTTON*, in point of fertility betwixt art and nature; and which he and my lord BACON improve to a politic, as well as altogether an expenceful magnificency. It shall then suffice that we be sparing in these instances, and keep ourselves to those works and intaglias only, which do nearest approach our design; of which sort may be esteemed those ἀποσφραγίσματα “seals” mentioned by PLINY, in which art that famous PYRGOTELES did so excel, as made ALEXANDER the great ordain, that none should presume to carve his effigies save him only, to paint or cast him besides APELLES and LYSIPPUS:

*Ediēto vetuit, ne quis se, præter Apellem,
Pingeret; aut alius Lysippo duceret æra,
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia.*—†

Had Queen ELIZABETH been thus circumspect, there had not been so many vile copies multiplied from an ill painting; as being called in, and brought to Essex-house †, did for several years furnish the pastry-men with peels for the use of their ovens.

* *Element. Architect. Instaurat. Scient.* † HOR. *Epist.* 2.

‡ Where my lord LEICESTER then lived.

We wish the same might please his MAJESTY; and that none, save such as for their excellent talent had particular indulgence, might any more dare to represent his sacred person in painting or carving, than in his coin and royal signature: for it is seriously a reproachful thing, only to behold how it is profaned by the hand of so many vile and wretched bunglers (they deserve not the name of workmen) as blush not daily to expose their own shame in so precious and revered a subject: and that the heads of kings and heroes should be permitted to hang for signs, among cats and owls, dogs and asses, at the pleasure of every tavern and tipling-house, we have frequently stood in admiration of. But so did not that of ALEXANDER as we noted; nor would AUGUSTUS make himself cheaper, than that great master of his time DIOSCORIDES pleased, whom he particularly chose to preserve and derive his divine effigies to the after ages, and to the honour of his memory, by what he left in those signets and other stones which he cut for that renowned emperor. Thus SCULPTURE began to be most eminent in stones and gems, [*auro, argento, ære, ferro, ligno, ebore, marmore, vitro, &c.*] “gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, ivory, marble, “glass, &c.” as this author affirms; where discoursing of the famous works which were left by the masters of note upon record in his time, he seems to ascribe the invention to DIPOENUS and SCYLLIS: for we shall not here ascend so high as PROMETHEUS, or speak much of IDEOCUS, EUCIRAPUS, LYSISTRATUS, DEMOPHILUS, DÆDALUS, LEOCHARES, POLICARMUS, MYRMECIDES, and in-

numerable others. It would be tedious (as we said) to transcribe the names but of the pieces only of all those renowned men whom he there celebrates for their engravings on armour, cups, rings, glass, even to the very [*figulina vasa cœlata,*] “earthen vessels,” such as COTYS brake of purpose, lest some other unexpected accident or mischance might put him into passion, as PLUTARCH tells the story*. Hydriæ and water pots were thus wrought; and PLINY speaks of the engraving even of bread. ’Tis yet observable, that very few were found who took any pleasure to engrave in gold (as we conceive) being too soft a metal; but multitudes that wrought in silver, especially the famous MENTOR, of whose work VARRO affirms he had a peice in his possession, which he infinitely valued; for, it seems, he had never finished above eight, which were most of them lost. Two more of his cups had L. Crassus the orator, prized at [c. \overline{Hs} .] “an hundred sesterces, about 800*l.*” [*confessus est tamen se nunquam his uti, propter verecundiam ausum.*] “so rich, it seems, and magnificent they were, that even this great person professed he never durst make use of them out of pure modesty, and to avoid the censure of being thought too luxurious.” MARTIAL describes another, where a lizard was so lively represented, men were afraid it would bite;

Inserta phialæ Mentoris manu docta

Lacerta vivit, & timetur argentum.

Next to MENTOR, was ACRAGUS, BOETHUS, and MYS, whose master-peice was exposed at Rhodes;

* PLUT. in *Apophtheg*,

efpecially thofe glorious vafa and goblets of the bacchanalia engraven by the forementioned ACRA-GUS, and of bofcage chafes, and hunting. Famous alfo were CALAMIS, ANTIPATER, and STRA-TONICUS, who engraved *The fatyr fleeping*, a ftu-pendous peice of art; then there flourifhed TAU-RISEUS of Cizicum, ARISTUS and EUNICUS both of them Mitylenians; likewife HECATES, and the renowned PRAXITELES, about the time of Pom-pey: POSIDONIUS of Ephesus, and LEDUS fa-mous for representing of *battles*, &c. To be brief (for their works are endlefs) ZOPIRUS, who engraved *The court of the Areopagi* in a cup, and *The trial of Oreftes*: after him lived PYTHEUS, and feveral others too long here to recite. Nor were all thefe gravers in flat; but, as we faid, in relievo fome of them, and more approaching to the ftatuary; befides fuch as were excellent medal-lifts from Auguftus, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, &c. down to the reigns of Commodus and Pertinax; for from Severus it greatly decayed, and the moft tolerable engravings of the former lafted but to Nerva; the beft being thofe which were cut and ftamped in the time of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; about which period SCULPTURE beginning to degenerate in Greece, it travelled and came to Rome, now opulent and victorious. But after thefe, and the formerly recorded by PLINY, there were not many who left either name or work fa-mous to pofterity: for, befides that the monarchy was foon broken and difordered, the later emperors became lefs curious, rich and magnificent; fo as even in the time of the great CONSTANTINE itfelf,

arts began manifestly to degenerate : but when afterwards the Goths and Saracens had broken in upon the Roman empire, and made those horrid devastations, they were in a manner utterly lost ; as the relics which they left in statuary, sculpture, architecture, letters, and all other good arts do yet testify. It is true, that the ruder Danes and Norwegians had in these times their *runic* writings, or engraven letters, as in their *rimstoc* or *primstaff*, some square or long peice of board, or staff, having an *almanac* carved on it : so they engraved their letters on bones, either whole, or sliced, and bound up together, like our *tallies* ; also upon jaw-bones of the greater fishes, taken on their coasts : and WORMIUS in Fast. Dan. l. i. chap. 18. mentions Danish hieroglyphics on the tombs of their old heroes ; lions, bears, horses, dogs, dragons, snakes, &c. wrought on the hardest rocks, together with *runic* characters ; so as these nations seldom travelled without their *græf*, or *græf-sæx*, a kind of point or stiletto, with which they used to carve out letters and other figures upon occasion ; but it was yet so rude, and their gusto so depraved, that they demolished and ruined all those goodly fabrics and excellent works wherever they became masters, introducing their lame and wretched manner in all those arts which they pretended to restore, even when now they became a little more civilized by the conversation of the more polished and flourishing countries : for it was not any general and imaginary decay, which some have conceited to be diffused upon the universal face of nature, that the succeeding periods did not emerge,

emerge, or attain to the excellency of the former ages, antient masters, and renowned works; but to the universal decay of noble and heroic geniusses to encourage them: [*Priscis enim temporibus, (says PETRONIUS*) cum adhuc nuda placeret virtus, vigeant artes ingenuæ, summumque certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum sæculis diu lateret: itaque omnium herbarum succos Democritus expressit; & ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter experimenta consumpsit: Eudoxus quidem in cacumine excelsissimi montis consenuit, ut astrorum cælique motus deprehenderet: & Chrysippus ut ad inventionem sufficeret, ter helleboro animum deterfit: verum, ut ad plastas converterar, Lysippum statuæ unius lineamentis in hærentem inopia exstinxit; & Myron, qui pæne hominum animas ferarumque ære comprehenderat, non invenit heredem. At nos vino, scortisque demersi, ne paratas quidem artes audemus cognoscere, sed accusatores antiquitatis, vitia tantum docemus & discimus, &c. Nolito ergo mirari, si pictura defecit, cum omnibus diis hominibusque formosior videatur massa auri, quam quicquid Apelles, Phidiasve, Græculi delirantes fecerunt.*] “ For in ancient times, “ (says PETRONIUS) when virtue was admired for “ its own sake, the liberal arts flourished, and there “ was an eager emulation among men for the dis- “ covery of whatever might be useful to posterity. “ Thus DEMOCRITUS extracted the juices of the “ various kinds of herbs, and spent his life in “ making experiments upon minerals and plants, “ that he might be acquainted with their virtues.

* Satyr.

“ EUDOXUS lived even to old age on the top of a
 “ high mountain, contemplating the motions of
 “ the heavenly bodies; and CHRYSIPPUS, to
 “ quicken his invention, thrice drank helebore.
 “ But to speak of statuaries, (*which comes nearest
 our instance*) “ LYSIPPUS perished with want, while
 “ he was intensely applying himself to finish a cer-
 “ tain statue; and MYRON, who could almost ani-
 “ mate his brazen figures of men and beasts, died
 “ in extreme poverty. But we, in this age of
 “ drunkenness and debauchery, are too slothful,
 “ even to study those arts which are already in-
 “ vented; we despise antiquity, and vice is the
 “ only lesson which is taught or learned, &c. *He
 concludes:* “ Wonder not, therefore, if the ART
 “ OF PAINTING has declined; since, in the eyes
 “ of Gods and men, a heap of gold has more
 “ beauty, than all the works of those dotting Greeks
 “ APELLES and PHIDIAS.”

And if thus, even in the greatest height and per-
 fection of the sciences, the eloquent satyrift could
 find just reason to deplore their decadence, and cen-
 sure the vices of that age; what shall we say of ours,
 so miserably declining, and prodigiously degenerate?
 We want ALEXANDERS, AUGUSTUS's, such as
 FRANCIS the I. COSMO DI MEDICIS, CHARLES
 the V. those fathers and Mecænas's of the arts; who,
 by their liberality and affection to virtue, may stimu-
 late and provoke men to gallant exploits; and that
 being thereby once at their ease from the penury
 and necessities which depress the noblest minds,
 they might work for glory, and not for those
 trifling and illiberal rewards, which hardly would
 find

find them bread, should they employ but half that time upon their studies, which were requisite to bring their labours to the supremest perfection. Since, according to that saying, [ἄδ' ἐν τῶν μεγάλων ἄθῳ γίνεται] “nothing which is great, can be done without leisure;” if a quarter of that which is thrown away upon cards, dice, dogs, mistresses, base and vitious gallantries, and impertinent follies, were employed to the encouragement of arts and promotion of science, how illustrious and magnificent would that age be, how glorious and infinitely happy? We complain of the times present, 'tis we that make them bad; we admire the former, 'tis the effect of our ignorance only; and which is yet more criminal, in that we have had their examples to instruct, and have made them to reproach us. Pardon this indignation of ours, O ye that love virtue, and cultivate the sciences!

To return to our institution again: SCULPTURE and CHALCOGRAPHY seem to have been of much ancients date in China than with us; where all their writings and printed records were engraven either on copper plates or cut in tablets of wood, of which some we possess, and have seen more, representing (in ill pictures) landskips, stories, and the like. JOSEPHUS SCALIGER affirms, that our first letters in Europe were thus cut upon wood, before they invented the [*typos æneus*] “metal types;” instancing in a certain *Horologium B. Mariæ*, which he says he had seen printed upon parchment a great while since: but SEMEDO* would make the world believe, that the forementioned Chinese have been

* Hist. Chin. part 1. cap. 7.

possessed

possessed of this invention about sixteen hundred years, some others affirm three thousand seven hundred. However, that they were really masters of it long before us, is universally agreed upon; and it is yet in such esteem amongst them, that the very artizan, who compounds the ink for the press, is not accounted amongst the mechanic professors; but is dignified with a liberal salary, and particular privileges. They also engrave upon stone, and imprint with it; but with this difference in the working off, that the paper being black, the sculpture remains white. More admirable is that which they attest was found in Mexico, and other places of the new world, where they hieroglyphized both their thoughts, histories, and inventions, to posterity, not much unlike to the Ægyptians, though in less durable and permanent matter. The same likewise Jo. LAET affirms of the sculpture among the Acadia, and those of Nova Francia; so natural (it seems) and useful was this art, even to the least civilized amongst the heathens. And there is, indeed, nothing at which we more admire and deplore, than that this facile and obvious invention, and which would have transmitted to us so many rare and admirable things, was never hit upon among the Greeks and inventive Romans, who engraved so many inscriptions both in brass and marble, impressed and published so many thousands of medals and coins, as are in the hands and collections of the virtuosi, and the bowels of the earth, wherever their conquests extended themselves, or eagles displayed their wings.

C H A P. IV.

Of the invention and progress of CHALCOGRAPHY in particular; together with an ample enumeration of the most renowned MASTERS, and their WORKS.

THE art of ENGRAVING, and working off from plates of copper, which we call PRINTS, was not yet appearing, or born with us, till about the year MCCCXC; which was near upon fifty years after *typography* had been found out by JOHN GUTTENBERG, or whoever that lucky person were (for 'tis exceedingly controverted) that first produced the invention. There is a collection of ancient offices adorned with several sculptures (if so we may term those wretched gravings in the infancy of this art) where the *devil* is but one great blot (as indeed he is the foulest of the creation) and the rest of the figures *monochroms* as ridiculous and extravagant; though still as the invention grew older, refining and improving upon it. One of the antientest gravings which we have seen, to which any mark is apposed, hath M. 3. and M. C. in one of the corners of the plates; and it was long that they used the initial letters of their names only, and sometimes but one, as in those of LUCAS. ALBERT DURER did frequently add the year of the Lord, and his own age from ten to fourteen, &c. performing such things as might shame most of the best masters, for the true and steady design, the incomparable proportion, and stroke of his graver.

But

But ISRAEL MARTIN, SCHON, and the TODESCO (who is by some surnamed, “the master of the candlestick,” because of the foulness of his ink) were of the very first, as far as we can collect, who published any works of this kind under their names, wrought off by the rolling-press, and whose slender attempts gave encouragement to those who have succeeded.

GIORGIO VASARI, who has been exceedingly curious in this enquiry, attributes the first invention of this art to one MASO FINIGUERRA a Florentine, about *Anno* MCCCCLX, which exceeds our former computation by thirty years: but then we are to consider by what progress and degrees; for it was first only in silver, to fill with a certain encaustic or black enamel, which it seems gave him the first hint how to improve it in plates of brass, which having engraved, he did only fume, taking off the impression with a moist paper and a rolling-pin. This mean commencement was yet afterwards pursued by BACCIO BALDINI a goldsmith, his countryman, whose works coming to the sight of ANDREA MANTEGNA in Rome, invited that great painter to give him some designs of his own for his encouragement; and from thence it travelled into Flanders to one MARTIN of Antwerp, whose works (as we observed) were usually countersigned with M. the first whereof were *The five wise and five foolish virgins*, and *A crucifix*, which was so well cut, that GERARDO a Florentine painter would needs copy it: after this he published his *Four evangelists*; *Our Saviour*, and *The twelve apostles*; *A Veronica*; *St. George*; *Christ before Pilate*; *An assumption*

assumption of the B. Virgin, one of the rarest that ever he did; besides that *St. Anthony's temptation*, which was so well performed, that MICHAEL ANGELO (exceedingly ravished with it) would needs wash it over with his own hands.

The next that appeared of note, was the formerly mentioned and renowned ALBERT DURER, who flourished about the year MDIII, and who had performed wonders both in copper and wood, had he once fortun'd upon the least notion of that excellent manner, which came afterwards to be in vogue, of giving things their natural distances and agreeable sweetness, the defect of which Sir H. WOTTON does worthily perstringe both in him and some others*. But to proceed: ALBERT, being very young, set forth *Our lady*; some designs of *horses* after the life; *The prodigal*; *St. Sebastian* in little; *A nymph ravished by a monster*; *A woman on horseback*; *Diana chastising a nymph* who flies to a satyr for protection, in which he discovered his admirable talent and skill in expressing nudities; *A countryman and woman playing on bagpipes*, with *poultry*, &c. about them; *Venus*, or the temptation of the stove; his two *St. Christophers*, rare cuts. After that, he engraved several stamps in wood, proof whereof he gave in *The decollation of St. Jo. Bapt.* with *Herodias*; *Pope Sixtus*; *St. Stephen*; *Lazarus*; *St. George*; *A passion* in great; *The last supper*; *Christ's apprehension in the garden*, *descent into limbo*, and *resurrection*; with eight more prints of this subject, which are held to be spurious: All these he published Anno MDX. The year fol-

* Element of Architect.

lowing, he set forth *The life of our lady* in twenty sheets rarely conducted; *The Apocalyps* in fifteen sheets, of which the painters have made sufficient use; *Christ bemoaning our sins*. Then applying himself to grave in copper again, he published his *Melancholia*; three different *Madonas*; with thirty peices besides concerning *The passion*; and which being afterwards imitated by that rare artist MARCO ANTONIO (who had procured them at Venice) and published for originals (so exactly it seems they were performed) did so incense ALBERT, that he made a journey to Venice expresly to complain of the injury to the senate, and obtained at last, that M. ANTONIO should no more be permitted to set his mark or plagia, which was all he could procure of them. Another emulator of ALBERT's was LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, whom, at his return into Germany, he found had well near overtaken him for the sweetness of his burin, though something inferior of design: such were *A Christ bearing the cross*, and another of his *Crucifixion*; *Sampson*; *David on a horse*; *The martyrdom of St. Peter*; *Saul and David*; *The slaughter of Goliab*; the famous *Piper*; *Virgil's*, and some other *beads*; all which works did so inflame his antagonist ALBERT, that in a laudable revenge, he published his *Armed cavalier* or dream, in which the brightness and lustre of the armour and horse is rarely conducted. Then in the year MDXII he set forth six other small stories of *The passion*, which LUCAS also imitated, though hardly reached: then *A St. George*; *Solomon's idolatry*; *The baptism of our Lord*; *Pyramus and Thisbe*; *Abasuerus and Esther*; &c. These again incited ALBERT to publish

lish that *Temperantia*, whom he elevates above the clouds; *St. Eustatbius and the hart*, a most incomparable cut; his *Death's head in a scutcheon*; and several *German coats* full of rare mantlings and invention; also *St. Hierom*; *A Christ and twelve apostles* in small. Anno MDXXIII many heads, as that of *Erasmus*, *cardinal Albert*, the *Imperial elector's*, and *his own*, with divers others.

LUCAS again, in emulation of these, set forth his *Joseph*, and *Four evangelists*; *The angels appearing to Abraham*; *Susanna*; *David praying*; *Mordecai triumphing*; *Lot*; *The creation of Adam and Eve*; the story of *Cain and Abel*, Anno MDXXIX. But what procured him immortal glory was his great *crucifix*, *ecce homo*, and *conversion of St. Paul*, in which he exceded himself both for the work and ordonance; the distances being better conducted than ALBERT'S, and indeed so well observed, as gave light even to some of the best painters that succeeded him; so much are they obliged to this art, and to this rare workman. He graved also several *madonas*, *Our blessed Saviour and apostles*; together with divers *saints*, *arms*, and *mantlings*, a *mountebank*, and many more.

But to return now into Italy from whence we first fallied. In the time of RAPHAEL URBIN flourished the renowned MARCO ANTONIO, who graved after those incomparable peices of that famous painter; to whom he was so dear, that the honour he has done him to posterity will appear, as long as that school of RAPHAEL remains in the pope's chamber at the vatican, or any memorial of it lasts: though, to speak truth, even of this rare engraver,

engraver, the peices which he hath published seem to be more estimable yet for the choice and imitation, than for any other perfection of the burin; as forming most of his figures and touches of too equal force, and by no means well observing the distances, according to the rules of perspective, that tenderness, and, as the ITALIANS term it, *morbidezza* in the hatchings, which is absolutely requisite to render a peice accomplished and without reproach.

We have recited above what he copied after ALBERT DURER: but being at Rome, and applying himself to RAPHAEL, he cut that rare *Lucretia* of his, which he performed so much to satisfaction, that divers excellent painters desired him to publish many of their works. This produced URBIN's *Judgment of Paris*, at which the city was so ravished, that they decreed the golden apple to ANTONIO before the fair goddess. Then he set forth *The slaughter of the innocents*, *Neptune*, *The rape of Helena*, all of them of RAPHAEL's designing; also *The martyrdom of St. Felix* in the boiling oil, which purchased him so much fame and credit: but this excellent painter would always from that time forwards, have one of his servants to attend only M. ANTONIO's rolling-press, and to work off his plates, which then began to be marked with R. S. for RAPHAEL SANCIO, which was the name of URBIN, and with M. F. for MARCO *fecit*. Of these there is *A Venus* designed by RAPHAEL, *Abrakam and his handmaid*. After this he graved all those *round designs* painted in the vatican by the same hand; likewise the *Caliope*, *Providentia*, *Iustitia*,

titia, the *Muses*, *Apollo*, *Parnassus*, the *Poets*, *Æneas* and *Anchises*, the famous *Galatea*, all of them after RAPHAEL: also *The three theological virtues*, and *Four moral*; *Pax*; *Christ and the twelve*; several *Madonas*; *St. Hierome*; *Tobit*; *St. Jo. Baptist*; and divers other *saints*; besides many prints after the cartoons of RAPHAEL, which had been designed to be wrought in tapestry and arras, as the stories of *St. Peter*, *Paul*, *Stephen*, *John*, *St. Catharine*; and *sundry heads to the life*, &c. especially that incomparable one of *Pietro Aretino* the poet. Some things likewise being sent by ALBERT DÜRER out of Germany to RAPHAEL, were, upon his recommendation, afterwards cut by M. ANTONIO, together with *The innocents*, *A cœnaculum*, and *St. Cecilia's martyrdom*, of RAPHAEL's invention. Then he published his *Twelve apostles* in little; and divers *saints* for the help of painters, as *St. Hierom*; *The naked woman and the lion*, after RAPHAEL; *Aurora*; and from the antique, the *Three graces*.

MARCO DI RAVENNA was one of ANTONIO's scholars, who had also, together with AUGUSTINO VENETIANO, the honour to dignify his gravings with RAPHAEL's cypher; though the latter often used A. V. I. his own initial letters. Of both their cutting are *AMadona*, with *AChristus mortuus*; and in a large sheet *The B. Virgin praying*; and *A nativity* in great also: *The metamorphosis of Lycaon*; *A perfumer*; *Alexander magnus and Roxana*; *A cœna domini*; *The annunciation*; all designed by RAPHAEL. Besides these were set forth two stories of *The marriage of Psyche*; and indeed there was hardly any thing which ever RAPHAEL either painted or
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designed, but what was graven by one or both of these workmen; besides divers other things after GIULIO ROMANO, viz. all that he painted in RAPHAEL'S lodge, or gallery in the vatican, some whereof are signed with M. R. and others with A. V. to shew they had been imitated by others, as was *The creation*; *The sacrifice of Cain and Abel*; *Noah*; *Abraham*; *The passage over the red sea*; *The promulgation of the law*; *The fall of manna*; *David and Goliath*; which also M. ANTONIO had published before; as likewise *The temple of Solomon*; his *Judgment on the barlots*; *The queen of Sheba's visit*; and many other histories collected out of the *Old Testament*; all which were published before RAPHAEL'S decease. For after that, AUGUSTINO wrought with BACCIO BANDINELLI, a sculptor of Florence, who caused him to grave his *Antonius and Cleopatra*, very rare things; with divers other designs, as *The slaughter of the innocents*, divers *Nudities*, and *Clad figures*; not to omit those excellent and incomparable drawings and paintings of ANDREA DEL SARTO after which he graved, though in the *Christus mortuus* not altogether succeeding so well as had been wished.

But to come again to MARCO ANTONIO, because there is not a paper of his to be lost. After RAPHAEL'S death, did GIULIO ROMANO publish some of his own designs in print: I say, after his death; for before, though he were an excellent painter, yet durst he never take the boldness upon him. Such were *The duel of horses*; *A Venus*, which he had formerly painted; *The penance of Mary Magdalen*; the *Four evangelists*; and some

Basso

Basso Relievos; with many things that RAPHAEL had designed for the Corridor of the Vatican, and which were afterward retouched by TOMASO BARLACCHI. We will not contaminate this discourse, with those *Twenty vile designs* of GIULIO cut by M. ANTONIO, and celebrated with the impure verses of Peter Aretino, by which he so dishonoured this excellent art, as well as himself; because it deserved a severer animadversion and chastisement than was inflicted upon him for it: though, to commute for this extravagancy, he published *The martyrdom of St. Laurence*; in which he also reformed those designs of BACCIO BANDINELLI, to the great reputation of the art of CHALCOGRAPHY.

About the same time flourished GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANTUANO, disciple of GIULIO ROMANO; who published a *Madona*; his *Armed Mars and Venus*; *The burning of Troy*, an extraordinary peice; (his prints are usually signed I. B. M.) also his *Three sheets of battles*, cut by some other hand; *A physician applying of cupping glasses to a woman*; *Christ's journey into Ægypt*; *Romulus and Remus*; the stories of *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*; *The miseries of imprisonment*; interview of the *Armies of Scipio and Hannibal*; *St. John Baptist's nativity*, cut by Sebastiano de Reggio; all after GIULIO ROMANO.

GIORGIO MANTUANO set forth the *Facciata* of the pope's chapel; MICHAEL ANGELO's *judgment*; *St. Peter's martyrdom*; *The conversion of St. Paul*; &c. And some plates were sent abroad about the year MDXXX, eaten with aqua fortis after PARMESANO. For, as [*ab ære, deventum ad tabulas ceras*

tas] “brass was succeeded by waxed tables,” in writing, the use of the palimpsestus, table books, [*plumbæ lamellæ*] “leaden plates,” and the like; so happened it also in this art of CHALCOGRAPHY; and etching with corrosive waters began by some to be attempted with laudable success, as in this recital we shall frequently have occasion to remember. But, whether those sycimeters and blades brought us from Damascus, and out of Syria, and wrought with these strong waters, might give any light to this expeditious and useful invention, we are not yet informed; and the effect was sufficiently obvious, after that of the burin had been well considered.

UGO DA CARPI did things in stamp, which appeared as tender as any drawings, and in a new way of *chiaro oscuro*, or *mezzo-tinto*, by the help of two plates exactly counter-calcked; one serving for the shadow, the other for the heightening. And of this he published *A Sybil* after RAPHAEL; which succeeded so rarely well, that he improved the curiosity to three colours; as his *Æneas and Anchises*, *Descent from the cross*, story of *Simon Magus*, a *David* after the same URBIN, and a *Venus*, do testify. This occasioned many others to imitate him; as, in particular,

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, who graved the *Hercules*, *Parnassus* and *Muses*; and FRANCISCO PARMEGIANO, who having set out *Diogenes* in this guise, a very rare print, instructed ANTONIO DI TRENTO in the art, who published his *Peter and Paul* in *chiaro oscuro*; *The Tyburtine Sybil*; and *A Madona*. But none was there who exceeded those
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of BECCAFUMI; especially, his *Two apostles* in wood, and *The alchemist* in aqua fortis.

FRANCISCO PARMEGIANO (whom we already mentioned) may be esteemed for one of the first that brought the use of aqua fortis into reputation; so tender and graceful were some of his etchings, as appears in that rare *Descent of the cross*, *Nativity*, and several other pieces.

BAPTISTA VICENTINO, and DEL MORO set forth many curious *Landschapes*.

GIROLAMO COCU *The liberal sciences*, &c.

GIACOMO DEL CAVAGLIO cut many things after ROSSO FIORENTINO, as *The metamorphosis of Saturn into a horse*; *The rape of Proserpine*; *Antoninus and the swan*; some of the *Herculean labours*; a book of the *Gods* and their *transformations*, whereof part are after PERINO DEL VAGA; also *The rape of the Sabines*, an incomparable print, had it been perfect; but the city of Rome happening at that time to be in some disorder, the plates were lost. He graved likewise for PARMEGIANO *The espousals of our lady*, and *A rare nativity* after TITIAN; not to conceal his admirable talent in cutting of onyxes, chrystals, and other estimable stones.

ENEAS VICO DE PARMA engraved *The rape of Helena* after old Rosso; *A Vulcan* with some *Cupids* about him; *Leda* after MICH. ANGELO; *The annunciation* designed by TITIAN; the story of *Judith*; the portrait of *Cosmo di Medicis*, &c. also the *Contest 'twixt Cupid and Apollo before the Gods*; *The conversion of St. Paul* in great, a very rare stamp; *The head of Giovanni di Medicis*; *Charles the V*; and some rare *medals* which are extant in the hands of

the curious: he also published *St. George*; several *habits of countries*; the *stemmata* or trees of the emperors, and divers other famous *pedigrees*.

LAMBERTO SUAVE set forth thirteen prints of *Christ and his disciples*, far better graven than designed; also *The resurrection of Lazarus*, and a *St. Paul*, which are skilfully and very laudably handled.

GIO. BATTISTA DE CAVAGLIERI has cut *The descent from the cross*, *A Madona*, and many others.

ANTONIO LANFERRI, and TOMASO BARLACCHI graven divers things after MICHAEL ANGELO, and procured so many as were almost numberless: but what they published of better use, were divers *grotescos*, *antiquities*, and peices serving to *architecture*, taken out of the old buildings and ruins yet extant; which afterwards SEBASTIANO SERLIO refining upon, composed the better part of that excellent book of his: and of this nature are the things published by ANTONIO LABBACO, and BAROZZO DA VIGNOLA.

The famous TITIAN himself left some rare things graven with his own hand in wood, besides his *Pharoah* in the great cartoons, divers *landscapes*, *A nativity*, *St. Hierom*, *St. Francis*; and in copper, *A Tantalus*, and an *Adonis*; also in box *The triumph of faith*, *patriarchs*, *sybils*, *innocents*, *apostles*, *martyrs*, with *Our Saviour born up in a chariot by the four evangelists*, *doctors* and *confessors*; also the *B. Virgin*; a *St. Anna*, which he first painted in *chiaro oscuro* on the sepulchre of *Luiai Trivisano* in *St. Giovanni e paola* at Venice; *Sampson and Dalila*; some *shepherds and animals*; *Three Bertuccie* sitting, and encompassed with *serpents* like the *Laocoon*; not to men-

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tion what were published by GIULIO BUONASONI, and those which were cut after RAPHAEL, GIULIO ROMANO, PARMEGIANO, and several others.

BAPTISTA FRANCO, a VENETIAN painter, has shewed both his dexterity in the graver and aqua fortis also, by *The nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Predication of St. Peter, some Acts of the Apostles, Histories of the Old Testament*, after several excellent masters.

RENATO did divers rare things after Rosso, as in that of *Francis the first his passing to the temple of Jupiter, The salutation of the B. Virgin, and A dance of ten women*, with several others.

LUCA PENNI published his *Two satyrs whipping of Bacchus, a Leda, Susanna, and some things* after PRIMATICCIO: also *The judgment of Paris; Isaac upon the altar; A Madona, A Christ espousing of St. Catharine, The metamorphosis of Calista, Concilium Deorum, Penelope*, and some others in wood. Who does not with admiration and even extasy behold the works of FRANCESCO MARCOLINI? especially, his *Garden of thoughts, fate, envy, calamity, fear, praise*, so incomparably cut in wood.

Not less worthy of commendation are *The gravings of GABRIELLE GIOLITO*, in the Orlando of Ariosto; as also those *Eleven peices of anatomy* made for Andrea Vessalius, designed by CALCARE the Fleming, an excellent painter, and which were afterwards engraven in copper by VALVERDE in little.

CHRISTOPHERO CORIOLANO graved *The beads* in VASARI's lives of the painters, being after the de-

signs of the same VASARI; they are in wood, and rarely done.

ANTONIO SALAMANCA did put forth *some very good things*.

ANDREA MANTEGNA, that admirable painter, engraved his *Triumphs of Cæsar* with great art; as likewise *Baccanalia*, and *Sea-Gods*, a *Christ taken from the cross*, his *burial and resurrection*, which being done both in brass and wood, were conducted with that skill, as for the softness and tenderness of the lights, they appeared as if they had been painted in miniature.

Nor may we here omit to celebrate for the glory of the sex, PROPERTIA DE ROSSI a Florentine sculptress, who having cut stupendous things in marble, put forth also *some rare things in stampi*, to be encountred amongst the collections of the curious.

And about this age, or a little after, flourished MARTIN ROTA, famous for his *Judgment* after MICHAEL ANGELO in a small volume, much to be preferred to that which is commonly sold at Rome in so many sheets; likewise his *St. Anthony*, and divers more. JACOMO PALMA has, besides his excellent *Book of drawing*, set forth many rare peices, very much esteemed.

ANDREA MANTUANO graved both in wood and copper: of his were *The triumph of our Saviour* after TITIAN, and some things in chiaro oscuro after GIOVANNI DI BOLOGNA, and DOMENICO BECCAFUMI, whom but now we mentioned; also *The Roman triumphs* in imitation of MANTEGNA, a *Christus mortuus* after ALEXAND. CASOLINI, &c.

Finally,

Finally, towards the end of this century, appeared 'AUGUSTINO and ANNIBAL CARRACHE, most rare painters and exquisite engravers; for indeed when these two arts go together, then it is, and then only, that we may expect to see the utmost efforts and excellency of the bolino. Amongst the famous peices communicated to us by these masters, we may esteem the *Monelli*, *Æneas* of BARROCIO's invention, and *St. Hierom*. After TINTORET, the large and famous *Crucifix* of three sheets in S. Rocco's school, which so ravished the painter; *Mercury* and the *Graces*; *Sapientia*; *Pax*; *Abundantia chasing Mars away*; the *Ecce homo* of CORREGGIO; *St. Francis* of CAVALIER VANNI; a *Venus* in little with a *Satyr*; and some other *nudities*, with something a too luxurious graver; *St. Giustina's martyrdom* of PAULO VERONESE; *St. Catherine*; and that renowned *St. Hierom* of CORREGGIO. Also in aqua fortis his brother ANNIBALE etched another *Venus*; *The woman of Samaria at the well*; a *Christ* in little; and a *Madona* with the *Bambino*, and *St. John*; the famous *St. Roch*; and *The spiteful coronation with thorns*; the *Christus mortuus* bewailed by the devout sex, the original painting whereof hangs in the duke of Parma's palace at Caprarvola, and is in the cut one of the tenderest and rarest things that can be imagined, abating the vileness of the plate, which was most unfortunately chosen, though, through that accident, rendered inimitable and never to be counterfeited. There is likewise his *Magdalen*, and *A landschape* touched with the graver a little; likewise a *Silenus*; all of them incomparably designed: nor indeed, did

did any of the fore celebrated artists exceed the CARRACCI, especially ANNIBALE, for the nobleness and freedom of his postures, bodies and limbs, which he expressed in greatest perfection. We may not omit *The purification*, which he engraved and VILLAMENA made in large; nor the *St. Anthony*, the original whereof is in the palace of signior Francisco della Vigna at Venice; nor lastly, *The resurrection*, and the two *Cenacula*.

In the time of Sixtus Quintus, and since, lived FRANCISCO VILLAMENA a rare workman, whether considered for the equality of his hatches, which he conducted with a liberty and agreeableness suitable to the perfection of his design, as is sufficiently apparent in that famous plate, which he engraved after PAULO VERONESE, representing *Christ in the temple*; or in those things after the Vatican paintings by RAPHAEL, some whereof being never finished, came into a private hand: *The triumphant Venus on the sea*; *Moses*; some cuts after FREDERIC BARROCCIO in aqua fortis; divers *Catafalcos* of excellent architecture; *Ignatius Loyola*; the story of *Psyche* containing many sheets; *A combat of men* casting stones at one another; and lastly, that laborious and useful book, comprehending *The historical column of Trajan*, designed by GIULIO ROMANO, and GIROLAMO MUTIANO, which at my being at Rome (then quite out of print) I procured of his widow who was then living, but would not part with the plates out of her sight.

GIOVANNI MAGI was an excellent painter and etcher, as he has sufficiently discovered in his rare *perspectives*, *landscapes*, and his *Roma* in the larger
cartoon;

cartoon; likewise in the *Nine privileged and stationary churches*; with the *Three Magi* who offer presents to our Saviour, in allusion to his name.

LEONARDO, ISABELLA, and BERNARDINO PARASOL, that we may furnish all the sorts of art in this kind, cut exquisitely in wood, which is a graving much more difficult; because all the work is to be abated and cut hollow, which is to appear white; so that (by a seeming paradox) as the matter diminishes the form increases, as one wastes the other grows perfect. These all flourished about the year MDLX, and left us three little histories of the *Salutation, Visitation, and St. John Baptist*; also *Christ's washing his disciples feet*; and the cuts to Castor Durante's herbal. ISABELLA, who was his [LEONARDO'S] wife, published a book of *All the sorts of points, laces, and embroideries, with other curious works for the ladies*, being all of her own invention, except the frontispiece only, which is VILLAMENA'S; and *The plants* in the herbal of the prince Cesi d' Aquasportè, a learned person of that age. Lastly, the son did also put forth some few things of his work; but was a far better painter in fresco.

ANTONIO TEMPESTA was a most exact and rare designer; for which his works are much more estimable, than for the excellency of his points and needles. He has left us of his essays in aqua fortis, *The histories of the fathers*; *The twelve months of the year*; *Roma* in a very large volume; an incomparable book of *Horses*, and another of *Hunting*, the plates now worn out and retouched with the bolino; *St. Hierom*, and *A judgment*; *The wars of Charles the fifth*

fifth rarely performed; *The metamorphosis of Ovid*; *The battles of the Jews*, especially that of the *Amalekites* in great; *The creation*, and *Old Testament*; *Torquato Tasso's Jerusalem liberata*; *The birds and falconry* in *Pietro Olina's* book, with divers others well known, and much esteemed by the virtuosi.

CHERUBINO ALBERTI has celebrated his incomparable graver in that *Presentation of our Lord in the temple*, *The Adam expelled out of paradise*, in the *Puti*, divers *vasa*, and other peices, which he wrought after POLYDORO DI CARAVAGGIO and MICHAEL ANGELO, commonly sold at Rome, and universally collected.

HORATIO BORGIANI cut *The history of the bible* in the *peristyle* of RAPHAEL at the Vatican, so often made mention of, and out of which, as from a school of the noblest science, most of the great painters of the world have since taken forth their lessons. He likewise published some things in *chiaro oscuro*, which were rarely heightened.

RAPHAEL GUIDO, a Tuscan, engraved many peices after CAVALIER ARPINO, as *The flagellation*, *Romulus*, *Icarus*, *The Angelus custos*, *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *A Christus mortuus*, and *St. Andrew the apostle* after BARROCCIO.

GIOVANNI BAPTISTA DELLA MARCA put forth many devices of *shields*, *armour*, *busts*, and *trophies*, cut in wood.

To these we might add those excellent things of CAMILLO GRAFFICO, and CAVALIER SALIMBENE, ANNA VAIANA, with innumerable more. But we have yet other fruitful countries to visit, to
whose

whose praises we must be just; only we may not forget the incomparable STEPHANO DELLA BELLA, a Florentine painter, now, or lately living, whose entire collection in aqua fortis is deservedly admired, and here in particular to be celebrated by me, in acknowledgment of some obligation I have for his civilities abroad. And of this artist's works, flowing, and most luxurious for invention, are those things which in imitation of CALLOT he did in little, being yet very young: as *The scenes*, and *Dances of the horses*, at the marriage of the duke of Tuscany; *compartimenti*, *cartels*, *ornaments*, and *capricios*, for carvers and embroiderers; *A book of gobbi*, and divers *vasa*, *landscapes* in rounds, and others; *A book of beasts* done exceedingly to the natural; *The principles of design*, *heads*, and other touches very rare and full of spirit; several peices of *Our lady*, *Christ*, *St. Joseph*, &c. *Jacob's descent into Ægypt*; *The procession and exposure of the sacrament*, where there is an altar of curious architecture enriched with festival ornaments; *The cavalcado of the Polonian ambassador into Rome*, with divers other proceedings, peices of *Polonians*, *Persians*, and *Moors on horseback*, breathing a rich and noble fancy; also *sieges*, *engines for war*, with *skirmishes*, *land and sea fights*; *The metamorphosis of Ovid*; *The Sultana and her son taken by the knights of Malta*; and to conclude, (for there is no end of his industry) the prospect of *The Pont Neuf at Paris*, than which there is not certainly extant a more lively representation of the busy genius of that mercurial nation; nor a peice of greater variety as to all encounters and accidents, which one can imagine may happen
amongst

amongst so numerous a people and concourse of mankind.

Lastly (for they were likewise some of them gravers in copper and very rare CHALCOGRAPHERS) we must not omit to make honourable mention here of those incomparable sculptors and cutters of medals, whether in gems or metals; such as were (besides those we touched in the former chapter) Vittor, Gambello, Giovanni dal Cavino the Padouan, and a son of his; Benevento Cellini, Leone Aretino, Jacopo da Tresso, Fred. Bonzagna; and, above all, Gio. Jacopo, who has almost exceeded, at least approached the ancients: to these we may add, Giovanni da Castel Bolognese, Matteo dal Nasaro, Giovanni dal Cornivole, Domenica Milaneze, Pietro Maria de Pescia, Marmitta, Ludovico his son, and Valerio Vincentino, who had been in England in the time of Queen ELIZABETH, and left a sardonix which he cut, representing the head of that famous heroine, inferior to none of the ancients. There was likewise Michelino, who, with the above named Ludovico and Vincentino, had so accurately counterfeited the *ancient medals*, that the most knowing antiquaries were often at a loss to distinguish them. Such were also Luigi Arichini, Alessandro Cæsari called the Greek, so much celebrated for that stupendous medalion of *Paul the third*, and *The head of Photius the Athenian*, which he cut in an onyx, comparable, by the universal suffrages, to any of the ancients. We could reckon up the works also of many of the rest, but it is not requisite after we have given this taste, and would merit an express treatise. Likewise those of Antonio
de

Benevento Cellini

de Rossi, Cosimo da Trezzo, Philippo Negarolo, Gaspar and Girolamo Misuroni, Pietro Paulo Galtotto, Pastorino di Sienna; not omitting that famous Pharadoxus of Milan, Fran. Furnius, and Severus of Ravenna, &c. whose works were in gold, silver, copper, steel, agates, cornelians, onyxes, chrystal, jasper, heliotrope, lazuli, amethyfts, &c. yea, and to shew how much some of those modern masters exceeded the ancients, even the diamond, that hitherto insuperable gem, was subdued by the famous Treccia of Milan, who with stupendous success cutting *The king of Spain's arms* in a noble table, was the first that ever engraved, or made impression into that obdurate stone. It will become such to be well acquainted with these masters labours and their manner, who aspire to be knowing, and to improve their judgment in medals and intaglias, that necessary, ornamental, and noble peice of learning; and not only to be well skilled in their way of design, but to be able also to perform something in the art themselves: for such were those ingenious and illustrious spirits, Geo. Battista Sozini of Sienna, and Rosso de Giugni of Florence, gentlemen of note; and such, with us, is our noble and worthy friend, ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq;, whose learning and other excellent qualities deserve a more glorious inscription.

Finally, that excellent medallist monsieur ROTI, now entertained by his MAJESTY* for the mint, and a rare workman, as well for intaglias in stone, as metal, is not to be here omitted.

We shall speak in the next of those GERMANS and FLEMINGS who excelled in the art of CHAL-

COGRAPHY;

* Charles 2nd

COGRAPHY; not that they have exceeded some of the FRENCH, but because they were before them; and univerrally admired. Of these, the [*antefignani*] “leaders” were the forementioned ALBERT DURER, that prodigy of science, whose works we have already recounted upon occasion of MARCO ANTONIO, and therefore shall here forbear the repetition; as also those of LUCAS, whose works (consisting in all of about seventy sheets, and which I have known sold for near an hundred pounds sterling, to one * that as well understood the value of money, as of that rare collection, he being one of the greatest merchants of books in Europe) are to be taken blindfold, as they say; provided the impressions be black, well conserved, of equal force, and not counterfeit, as there are several of them which be, discernible only by the curious and accurately skilful: for such (amongst others of DURER’S) are *The creation of Adam*; *The story of Lot*; *Sufanna*; *The crucifix*, which he cut in a small round plate of gold for the emperor’s sword, and is fixed on the pummel; not before mentioned, his *Armed cavalier and satyr*; and, indeed, almost all that ever he, or LUCAS, graved and set forth.

The works of ALDEGRAVE, who came very near ALBERT, and flourished about the same age, are worthy the collection. His peices are distinguished by the cypher of his initial letters, in imitation of DURER; as likewise the author of the *Septem opera misericordiæ*, *Stories of the book of the kings*, *Artemisia*, &c. whose engravings are

* Master BLEAU of Amsterdam

counterfigned with G.P. I.B. published *The four evangelists, Adam, A country fellow, A bishop, A cardinal, satyrs, &c.* M. *The prodigal son, The evangelists, &c.* some whereof are copies after ALBERT, and most of their works done in small plates.

HANS SIBALD BEME hath done wonders in those *small figures, stories, and nakeds*, which he published: it shall not be requisite to recite here the catalogue; because his mark I-s-B is fixed to most of his works, though now and then profaned by the hands of others.

JEROME COCK, a Fleming, cut *A Moses*; thirty-two sheets of the story of *Psyche*, designed by one MICHAEL a painter of the same country, very rarely conducted; also *Dalila and Samson; The destruction of the Philistines; The creation of Adam, &c.* twenty-seven stories of the *Old Testament* nobly designed by MARTINO, and as well graved: also *The history of Susanna*; another book of *The Old and New Testament; The triumph of patience*, a rare cut; *The heart on the anvil*, and divers emblems full of curious figures; many *Sacred triumphs; Fraud; Avarice; a Bacchanalia*; and *A Moses* after BRONZINI; in emulation whereof GIO. MANTUANO published his *Nativity*, an incomparable print: after which JEROME graved for the inventor, twelve great sheets of *Sorceresses, The battles of Charles the V;* and for URIESSE a painter, the *Perspectives* which pass under his name, with twenty leaves of several *Buildings*, besides *The St. Martine* in a book full of *Devils*; for GIROL. BOS, *The alchemist, The seven deadly sins, The last judgment, a Carnival*; and, after FRANS FLORIS ten peices of *Hercules's labours,*

The duel of the Horatii and Curiatii, The combat of the Pigmies and Hercules, Cain and Abel, Abraham, The decision of Solomon between the two harlots, and, in sum, all the actions of human life.

And now that we mentioned FRANS FLORIS of Antwerp, the rare things which he published in *stamp*, purchased him the name of THE FLEMISH MICHAEL ANGELO.

Of the same country was that incomparable CORNELIUS CORT. We will commence with *The judgment of MICHAEL ANGELO*, which he cut in little: most of his things were after FREDERIC ZUCCHERO, and some few of RAPHAEL'S; besides his *landscapes*, and other gravings after GIROLAMO MUTIANO, which are very excellent: also *John Baptist, St. Hierom, St. Francis, Mary Magdalen, St. Eustachius, The lapidation of St. Stephen* designed by MARCO VENUSTO the Mantuan: *A Nativity* after THADEO ZUCCHERO, *St. Anne, &c.* also *A Nativity* in great after POLYDORE; *The transfiguration; The school at Athens; The battle of elephants*; some gravings after don JULIO CLOVIO and TITIAN, which had they been accompanied with that tenderness, and due observation of the distances, that accomplished the succeeding gravers, had rendered him immortal, so sweet, even, and bold, was his work and design in all other considerations. We mentioned TITIAN: for about MDLXX CORN. CORT did use to work in that famous painter's house, and engraved for him that *Paradise* he made for the emperor, *St. Lazarus's martyrdom, Calista and the nymphs, Prometheus, Andromeda, the forenamed Magdalen in the desert,*

desart, and *St. Hierom*, all of them of TITIAN'S invention.

We come now to JUSTUS, JOHN, ÆGIDIUS, GILES, RAPHAEL, and RALPH SADELER, who lived in the time of the emperor Rodolphus, and published their almost numberless labours: we can therefore instance but in some of the most rare; such as were that book divided into three parts. 1. *Imago bonitatis*, 2. *Boni & mali scientia*, 3. *Bonorum & malorum consensio*, designed by MARTIN DE VOS; *The Vestigia of Rome*, tenderly and finely touched in fifty sheets; *The twelve Roman emperors and empresses* after TITIAN, rarely engraved by GILES; a *Madona with our Saviour*, and *St. Joseph* after RAPHAEL URBIN; *Christus Flagellatus*; and *The head of Rodolphus II.* with various *capriccios* and inventions about it; as also that of the *Emperor Mathias*, adorned with the chaplet of medals: *The calling of St Andrew*, by JOHN and GILES in brotherly emulation: *Four books of Eremites* admirably conducted by RAPHAEL: *A Cæna Domini* after TINTORET, and another *Flagellation* of ARPINO'S, divers *Landschapes*, *The twelve months*, *The great ball at Prague*, *The effigies of Martin de Vos*, by ÆGIDIUS: *The emperor and empress* in their robes of state; *An adoration of the Magi* after ZUCCHERO; *Adonis and Venus* after TITIAN; *A crucifix* after JAC. PALMA; *A resurrection* in great; *The rich Epulo*; *St. Stephen's lapidation*, the original whereof is at Friuli; a *St. Sebastian*; these by GILES: JOHN engraved after M. DE VOS, a scholar of TINTORET'S already mentioned, *The creation*, and *Many histories out of Genesis*: RALPH cut

also *The life of Christ*, and *The credo* by way of emblem: in sum, for their whole collection is not to be crowded into this catalogue, they have all of them published such incomparable gravings, that 'tis the greatest pity in the world, they had not flourished in the time of the great RAPHAEL URBIN, and the good masters; for they were not only accurate and punctual imitators, but gave to their works that softness, life, and color, (as artists term it) which accomplishes all the rest; especially JOHN and RAPHAEL in what they graved after MICH. DE VOS, BASSANO, and others, whose rusticities they set forth. Those of ÆGIDIUS in great, being *A descent from the cross*, of BARROCCIO'S invention; the other, *A Flagellation*, designed by GIOSEPPINO, can never be sufficiently celebrated.

After the SADELERS appeared HERMAN MÜLLER, with a very bold bolino; and likewise JANUS who engraved many things after SPRANGERS, worse chosen (for the convulsive and even demoniac postures) than executed.

But the imitations of the graver by SIMON FRISIUS the Hollander, who wrought with the aqua fortis of the refiners, are altogether admirable and inimitable, the stroke and conduct considered, had the design (excepting those of his birds which are indeed without reproach) contributed in any proportion to his dexterity.

After him came the Swiss MATTHEW MIRIAM, who, had he performed his heightenings with more tenderness, and come sweetly off with the extremities of his hatchings, had proved an excellent master. His works are useful and innumerable in towns,
land-

landscapes, battles (those especially fought by the great Gustavus) &c. The soft vernish and separating aqua fortis was the instrument he used.

We have seen some few things cut in wood by the incomparable HANS HOLBEIN the Dane, but they are rare, and exceeding difficult to come by; as his *Licentiousness of the friers and nuns*; *Erasmus*; *The dance macchabre*; the *Mortis imago*, which he painted in great in the church at Basil, and afterward graved with no less art; and some few others. But there is extant *A book of several figures*, done in the same material by one JUSTUS AMMANNUS TIGUR MDLXXVIII, which are incomparably designed and cut; in the epistle whereof, one HOLTZHUSEN, a gentleman of Franckfort, is commended for his universal knowledge, and particularly his rare talent in this art, which it is there said he shewed by wonderful contrivances at the celebration of Martin Luther's nuptials, and therefore worthy to be taken notice of.

HANS BROSSHAEMER, besides several other things, hath cut in wood *A triumph of the emperor Maximilian into Nuremberg*.

VIRGILIUS SOLIS graved also in wood *The story of the Bible*, and *The mechanic arts* in little; but for imitating those vile postures of Aretine, had his eyes put out by the sentence of the magistrate.

HENRY GOLTZIUS was a Hollander, and wanted only a good and judicious choice to have rendered him comparable to the profoundest masters that ever handled the burin: for never did any exceed this rare workman; witness, those things of his after GASPARO CELIO, *The Galatea* of RAPHAEL

SANCIO, and divers other peices after POLYDORÉ DA CARRAVAGGIO; *A Hierom, Nativity*, and what he did of *The acts of the apostles* with PH. GALLE, &c: but he was likewise an excellent painter.

GEORGE NOUVOLSTELL was of Mentz in Germany, an admirable graver in wood. He published that *Æneas* in little, and some *Historical parts of the bible*, very well performed; also divers of the *Fathers* after TEMPESTA, besides the *Jerusalem liberata* of Bernardino Castelli in quarto, with many *Cartels of arms and harnesses*, and some pictures to *A breviary*, &c.

MATTHEW GREUTER published a curious *Book of letters*, *The city of Rome* in an ample form, and a large *Map of Italy*; *The Old and New Testament*, *The church of Strasburg*, *An harmony 'twixt the decalogue and The Lord's prayer*, very ingeniously represented in picture, with several other things laudably performed.

But his son FREDERIC did infinitely exceed the father; as may be seen by those many curious gravings which he has cut after PIETRO BERETIN CORTONA, and the famous ANDREA SACCHI, egregious painters.

SAENREDAMUS did publish many excellent cuts, especially those which he copied after LUCAS VAN LEYDEN, of which we have formerly given a hint for their sakes who are collectors of these curiosities, and may not haply be yet arrived to the judgment of being able to discern them from the originals; also some things after GOLTZIUS.

COR-

CORNELIUS GALLE, in his *St. Prisca's baptism*, *Papenheim's* and other *Heads* after VAN DYKE, has shewed what he was able to perform; not to mention abundance of *Frontispieces* and other less considerable of his works.

But the count GOUDT, a knight of the Palatinate, has published, though very few, yet some stupendous things, especially that of *Our B. Saviour's flight into Ægypt by night*, *The story of Tobit*, and about three or four more, worthy of all admiration.

SWANEVELT's *History of St. John*, with divers *Landschapes*.

PANDERN's *Descent from the cross*.

MATHAM's *Christ and St. John*, *A Venus* after ROTENHAMER, *Pope Innocent X*, &c.

BRONCHORST's rare etchings, especially those *Ruins and Anticalias of Rome*, and, superior to all, the incomparable *Landschapes* set forth by PAUL BRILL (some of which have been etched in aqua fortis by NIEULANT) do extremely well merit to be placed in this our theatre. For, to be brief, because we can only recite the most remarkable and worthy the collection; MATHAM is famous for *fruits*; BOETIUS or ADAM BOLSUERD for his *rustics* after BLOMAERT; LONDERSELIUS has taken excessive pains in his *Landschapes*; and so has VAN VELDE in some few: but, above all, NICHOLAS DE BRUYN (after ÆGIDIUS CONINXLOGENSIS) is wonderful for *boscage*; and the industry of his undertaking works of that large volume, which THEODORE DE BRY (resembling him in name) has been as famous for contracting; though both of them of a Dutch heavy spirit, and perfectly suiting with the times and places: notwithstanding has this latter

performed some things in little very laudably. Nor with less ingratitude, amongst others, may we forget the *Nova reperta* of STRADANUS by THEODORE GALLE, who also published *The whole process of making silk of the worm*, and certain other works in *manufacture*, all of them represented in sculpture.

MALLERY, in his *Peccati fomes* after MIC. DE VOS, has performed wonders, as to the subtilty and imperceptible ductus of the graver.

BOLSWERT set forth the *Sacra Eremus Asceticarum*, after BLOMAERT and others; but above all is he to be celebrated for those rare heads, and other stories graved after the paintings of RUBENS and VAN DYKE, which, for their sakes, who are diligent collectors of the renowned persons of the late age, we shall not think amiss to mention. Such were *The duchess of Orleans*, *archduke Albert*, *Justus Lypsius*, and *others*, after VAN DYKE; *Lessius* and *Bellarmino*, jesuits, after DIEPENBEC. After the same hands did PAULUS PONTIUS grave the head of *Sigismund king of Poland*; *Count Pimentelo*, &c. after RUBENS; *Don Phil. de Gusman*; *Don Alvarez Buzan*, an incomparable cut; *Don Carolus de Columna*; *Rubens's picture bare headed*, for there is another *in a hat*: *Gasp. de Grayer*; *Simon de Vos*; *Maria de Medicis*; *Cæsar Alexand. Scaglia*; *Const. Hagens*, the learned father of our most ingenious friend monsieur Soylecom, so worthily celebrated for his discoveries of the annulus about Saturn, the pendulum clock, and an universal mathematical genius; *Gasper Garartius* the lawyer; *Gasp. Revestyn*; *Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden*; *Jacobus de Breuch*; *The princess of Brabonson*; that rare head of *Frederic Henric*

Henric prince of Orange; and his *own*, with many more after VAN DYKE; besides the jesuit *Canisius*, R. URBIN painter, and others, whom he graved after DIEPENBEC, &c. And since we mentioned Sir PETER PAUL RUBENS, we may not pretermit those many excellent things of that great politician, a learned and extraordinary person, set forth in so many incomparable gravings by the admirable works of SUANNEBOURG, the above named PONTIUS and BOLSWERT, NESSE, VOSTERMAN, WORST, and other rare masters in this art: such are (to instance in some only) his *Battle of the Amazons*, *St. Roch*, *Our Saviour composed to burial*, *The fight of lions*, his great *Crucifix*, *Conversion of St. Paul*, *St. Peter in the ship*, *A Nativity*, *The Magi*, *The bloody catastrophe of Cyrus*, *Solomon's first sentence*, *St. Catharine's espousal*, *The tribute demanded of our Lord*, *Susanna and the elders*, *St. Laurence martyr'd*, *The palaces of Genoa*, with divers others to be encountered amongst the merchants of prints, who frequently vend the copies for the originals to the less wary chapmen. CHRISTOPHER JEGHER has cut *The temptation of our Saviour* in wood, very rarely performed after this great master. And, besides the former mentioned, LUCAS VOSTERMAN, and WORST, are never to be forgotten, so long as the memory of his [RUBENS'S] scholar Sir ANT. VAN DYKE is famous, for the heads of the marquiss *Spinola*, *Char. de Mallery*, *Horatius Gentilescus*, *Jo. count of Nassau*, *Van Milder*, *P. Stevens*, and *Cor. Sachtleven*, which he engraved after a new way, of etching it first, and then pointing it (as it were) with the burin afterwards, which renders those latter

ter works of his as tender as miniature; and such are the heads of VAN DYKE himself, *Jo. Lievens, Cor. Schut, Corn. de Vos, Deodat. del Mont, Lucas van Uden, Jodocus de Momper, Wencesl. Coeberger*, painters; *count de Ossuna, duke of Bavaria, the archduchess Clara, the last duke of Orleans, Anton. Connebison, P. Stevens*, and many others; together with those other peices of history, *viz. The sepulture of Christ, and a St. George, after RAPHAEL; Magdalen under the cross, Our Saviour in his agony after CARRACHE; The Susanna, St. Laurence, and what but now we mentioned after RUBENS; divers heads after HOLBEIN, as that of Erasmus, the duke of Norfolk, and others of the Arundelian collection.*

VAN VORST, competitor with VOSTERMAN, has likewise graven a number of heads after VAN DYKE. I shall only name the learned *Sir Kenelm Digby* in a philosophical habit; our famous architect *Inigo Jones*, and those two incomparable figures of *Charles the martyr* and his *Royal consort* the queen mother now living. And to shew what honour was done this art by the best of painters,

SIR ANTHONY VAN DYKE did himself etch divers things in aqua fortis; especially *A Madona, Ecce Homo, Titian and his mistress, Erasmus Roterdamus*, and touched several of the heads before mentioned to have been graven by VOSTERMAN.

After this great master's paintings, did PETER DE JODE grave the effigies of *Genovefa widow to Car. Alex. duke of Croi; Paulus Helmatius; the learned Puteanus; the bishop of Gendt, the face whereof is thought to be etched by VAN DYKE himself; he graven Jo. Snellinx a painter; besides a*
book

book of designing, very rare: and the many other prints after his master GOLTZIUS (whose disciple he was) which both PETER, and his son of the same name, have engraved for monsieur Bon Enfant of Paris, &c.

COLAERT graved some things rarely in steel. SUYDERHOEF has engraven the heads of most of the learned Dutch, after several painters with good success; as those of *Heinsius, Grotius, Barleus, &c.* not forgetting that stupendous lady *Anna Maria a Schureman, &c.*

JO. BAUR has designed his *Battles* with a fine spirit, but without care in the etching.

VANDER THULDEN published the whole history of *Ulysses*, being the work of the famous PRIMATICCIO at Fontainbleau, etched also in aqua fortis, and so designed as few pretenders to this art did ever exceed him: and so, as we but lately mentioned, are the papers of the inimitable SUANEBOURG, which strike a ravishing effect in all that behold them, for the admirable tenderness, and rare conduct of the hatches; especially those which he cut after the drawings of ABRAHAM BLOMAERT, and RUBENS.

But now that we mention BLOMAERT, whose works we have celebrated in general, because they smell something of a Dutch spirit, though otherwise well engraved; there is at Rome (if we mistake not) a son of his named CORNELIUS, who in that *St. Francis* after GUIDO RENI, and those other peices after the design of those great masters monsieur POUSSIN, PIETRO CORTONA, &c. to be seen in the books set forth by the jesuit Ferrarius, his *Hesperides,*

perides, Flora, Ædes Barberini, &c. hath given ample testimony how great his abilities are; for, certainly, he has in some of these stamps arrived to the utmost perfection of the bolino, though some workmen will hardly allow him this elogie. But those things of the incomparable NATALIS A LIGEOIS, (and therefore reckoned here amongst the Germans) pass without the least contradiction for the utmost effort of that instrument: such are that *St. Catharine's espousals* after BOURDON, which seems to be a very peice of painting; the *Two Madonas* in contest with POILLY; *The Thesis*, and *The chapter of the Carthusians*, all after the life and his own design, a stupendous work: also the head of *Jacob Catz*, one of the States of Holland, painted by DUBORDIEU; and some few things more, as the exactness and curiosity of what he undertakes requires, sufficient to discover the admirable perfection of this great artist: for we do not mention several *Frontispeices*, which he has likewise engraven with equal industry.

FERDINAND has, besides many others, graved after the same BOURDON, *The story of Ulysses and Andromache*.

URIESSE and VERDEN are famous for their *Perspectives*.

WINEGARD his *Roman Vestigia, &c.*

WILLIAM HONDIUS, besides those things which adorn his *Maps*, which are the largest planispheres, has very rarely engraven his own head after a painting of VAN DYKE: nor with less art has VAN KESSEL done that of *Charles the fifth* after TITIAN; *Clovet* and *Car. Scribonius* the jesuits.

CAUKERN

CAUKERN has graven the story of that *Pious Daughter*, who gave suck to her imprisoned father; *A fight of Boors*; with divers others after RUBENS and VAN DYKE; &c. besides those which are extant in Mr. Ogilby's *Homer*, *The Bible*, *My lord of Newcastle's Cavalerizzo*, &c. designed by DEIPENBEC, whose rare talent, that theatre or temple of the *Muses*, published by that curiously learned and univerval collector of prints, the ABBOT OF VILLOIN, (of whom we shall have occasion to discourse in the next chapter) does sufficiently illustrate.

LUCAS KILIANUS has rarely graved *The murder of the Innocents*; *The miracles of the Fish*; *The Annunciation*, *Circumcision*, and some plates in the *Hortus Eystettensis*, &c.

VISCHER, viz. CORNELIUS (for there is another who has published divers *Landschapes*) hath most rarely etched a certain *Dutch Kitchen*, where there is an old man taking tobacco, whilst his wife is frying pancakes; also *A Fidler* accompanied with boys and girls, painted by OSTADE: but above all, admirable is *The Descent*, or *Christus Mortuus*, after TINTORET, both graved and etched, as, indeed, I should have said of the rest.

VOVILLEMONT has etched *Our Saviour chasing the sacrilegious merchants out of the temple*, after the same TINTORET; which is very rare.

NOLP *The twelve months*, especially the boisterous *March*.

LOMBART, many plates for Mr. Ogilby's *Virgil*; as likewise that industrious interpreter's picture after our famous Mr. LELY, in which he has performed
 laudably:

laudably: nor must I here forget Mr. HERTOC, who has graved the frontispiece for EIKON BASILAIKE in folio, and many other.

To these we may add the incomparable REMBRANDT, whose etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit; especially *The old woman in the fur*; *The good Samaritan*; *The Angels appearing to the shepherds*; divers *Landschapes* and *Heads from the life*; *St. Hierom*, of which there is one very rarely graven with the burin; but, above all, his *Ecce Homo*, *Descent from the cross* in large, *Philip and the Eunuch*, &c.

WENCESLAUS HOLLAR, a gentleman of Bohemia, comes in the next place; not that he is not before most of the rest for his choice and great industry (for we rank them very promiscuously both as to time and pre-eminence;) but to bring up the rear of the GERMANS with a deserving person, whose indefatigable works in aqua fortis do infinitely recommend themselves by the excellent choice which he hath made of the rare things furnished out of the ARUNDELIAN collection, and from most of the best hands and designs; for such were those of LEONARDO DA VINCI, FR. PARMENSIS, TITIAN, GIULIO ROMANO, A. MANTEGNA, CORREGIO, PERINO DEL VAGA, RAPHAEL URBIN, SEB. DEL PIOMBO, PALMA, ALB. DURER, HANS HOLBEIN, VAN DYKE, RUBENS, BREUGHEL, BASSAN, ÆLSHEIMER, BROWER, ARTOIS, and divers other masters of prime note, whose drawings and paintings he hath faithfully copied; besides several books of *Landschapes*, *Towns*, *Solemnities*, *Histories*, *Heads*, *Beasts*, *Fowls*, *Insects*, *Vessels*,
and

and other signal peices, not omitting what he hath etched after DE CLEYN, Mr. STRETER, and DAN-KERT for Sir ROBERT STAPLETON'S *Juvenal*, Mr. ROSS his *Silius*, *Polyglotta Biblia*, *The Monasticon* first and second part, Mr. DUGDALE'S *St. Paul's* and *Survey of Warwickshire*, with other innumerable *Frontispeices*, and things by him published and done after the life; and to be [*eo nomine*] "on that account" more valued and esteemed, than where there has been more curiosity about chimæras, and things which are not in nature: so that of Mr. HOLLAR'S *Works* we may justly pronounce, there is not a more useful and instructive collection to be made.

The learned HEVELIUS has shewed his admirable dexterity in this art, by the several *Phases* and other *Ichonisms* which adorn his *Selenography*, and is therefore one of the noblest instances of the extraordinary use of this talent for men of letters, and that would be accurate in the *Diagrams* which they publish in their works.

The no less knowing ANNA MARIA A SCHURMAN is likewise skilled in this art with innumerable others, even to a prodigy of her sex. For the rest, we shall only call over their names, after we have celebrated the extravagant fancies of both the BREUGHELs, as those of *The Seven deadly sins*, *Satyrical peices* against the *Nuns* and *Fryars*; with divers *Histories*, *Drolleries*, *Landschapes*, *fantastic Grylles* and *Grotesques* of these two rare *Rhyprographs*; not farther to tire our reader with the particulars and several works of Ostade, Corn, Clock, Queborne, Custos, Le Delfe, (who has put forth
the

the portraits of many learned persons) Dors, Falck, Gerard, Bens, Moestuer, Grebber, Geldorp, Hopper, Gerard, Bens, Chein, Ach. d' Egmont, de Vinghe, Heins, Ditmer, Cronis, Lindoven, Mirevel, Kager, Coccien, Maubease, Venius, Firens, Pierets, Quelinus, Stachade, Sehut, Soutman, Vanulch, Broon, Valdet, Loggan, whom we expressly omit; because we have introduced a sufficient number, and that this chapter is already too prolix.

Only we would not omit mynheer BISCOP, a learned advocate, now of Holland, who for his *Story of Joseph and Benjamin* where the cup is found in his sack, and those other few cuts among the hands of the curious, must not be passed over in oblivion; as we had like to have done some of the old and best masters, by having hitherto omitted

DRUEFKEN his *King of the boors in Hungary* eaten alive by the rebels whom he seduced, with some other cuts in wood known by his mark, which was commonly a cluster of grapes.

PIETER VAN AELST, his *Cavalcade of the grand signior to Sancta Sophia*, and several *Turkish habits*; on which subject also,

SWART JAN VAN GROENNIGHEN has set forth many remarkable things, *Caravans, Pilgrimages to Mecca, &c.*

LUCAS CRANACH, *Tiltings, Huntings, German habits*, and *The portraits of all the dukes of Saxony to his time.*

JOOS AMMANUS (whom we already mentioned) divers of the *Mechanic arts*; not omitting all those
excellent

excellent wood cuts of HANS SCHINFLYN, and ADAM ALTORF; especially this last, known by the two capital AA of the Gothic form, included one within the other, as the D is in that of ALBERT DURER'S.

HUBERT GOLTZIUS has cut in wood *A book of the Roman emperors* in two colours. This name recalls to mind an omission of ours in some of those excellent CHALCOGRAPHERS already recorded; and, in particular, the incomparable imitations of HENRY GOLTZIUS after LUCAS VAN LEYDEN in *The Passion, The Christus mortuus* or *Pieta*; and those other six peices, in each of which he so accurately pursues DURER, LUCAS, and some others of the old masters, as makes it almost impossible to discern the ingenious fraud.

We did not speak of *The heads of the famous men in the court of the emperor*, set forth by ÆGIDIUS SADELER; as RAPHAEL (his brother) had the *Bavaria Sancta*, representing all the saints of that pious country.

ALBERT DURER'S *Tenerdank*, or romantic description of *The amours of Maximilian and Maria de Burgundy*: the book is in high Dutch. He has likewise cut PETRARCH'S *Utriusque fortunæ remedia*; which admirable treatise being translated into the German language, is adorned with the gravings of HANS SIBALD BEHEM, AMMANUS, ALDEGRAVE, and most of the rare masters of that age. Finally, he has cut *The stories of Apuleius his golden ass*; and sprinkled divers pretty inventions and capriccios in an old impression of *Cicero's epistles*. And with this recollection of what we had omitted in the foregoing paragraphs (to which they are reducible) we

will take leave of the DUTCH sculptors, and pass on to

The FRENCH, who challenge the next place in this recension, for their gravings in *Taille Douce*, which began to be in reputation after Rosso, the Florentine painter, had been invited and caressed by that worthy and illustrious MECÆNAS of the arts, FRANCIS the first: about which time PETIT BERNARD of Lyons published *The stories for the Bible of St. Hierom*; performing such things in little, for the design and ordonance as are worthy of imitation; so greatly he approached the antique in the garb of his figures, distances, architecture, and other *accessories* of the story. We have some of these engraven by this artist, and printed long since at Lyons, with the argument under each cut in the English verse of those times, which appears to have been done about the beginning of the reformation, when, it seems, men were not so much scandalized at holy representations.

NICHOLAS BEATRICIUS, a Loraneze, graved his *Horse conflicts*, and several *Books of animals and wild beasts*, *The widow's son raised to life*, *The annunciation* after MICHAEL ANGELO, *The ark of the catholic church* after that rare table of mosaic in St. Peter's of Giotto, &c.

PHILIPPUS THOMASINUS's labours are worthy of eternity, so excellent was his choice, so accurate his graver: witness *The fall of Lucifer*, *The universal judgment*, *The ship* we but now mentioned, *The seven works of mercy*, *B. Felix*, *The miracles of the Capucines*, *The statues of Rome* in little, the labours of many famous persons, *The baptism of our Saviour*
after

after SALVIATI, *St. John the evangelist in the boiling oil*, *St. Stephen's lapidation* after ANT. POMARANCIO, *The Magi* of ZUCCHERO, *Mary presented in the temple* of BARROCCIO, *The life of St. Catharine*, *Fama*, *divers Sea monsters* after BERNARDINO PASSERO, and some things of VANNI; not to omit his *Camea* collected from several curious agates and other precious stones, besides *Shields*, *Trophies*, *Gordian Knots*, with variety of *Instruments*, and other works too long here to recite minutely.

CRISPINUS DE PAS and his sister MAGDALEN (whether French or Dutch) have engraven many excellent things after BREUGHEL; especially *Landschapes*, *The persecution of the prophets and apostles*, with several more: but that *Liberum Belgium* by SIMON DE PAS his father, or brother, (I know not whether) dedicated to prince Maurice of Nassau, is a very rare cut.

Who has not beheld with admiration the incomparable burin of CLAUDIUS MELAN, celebrated by the great Gassendus, and employed by the most noble and learned Perieskius? *The Sudarium of St. Veronica*, where he has formed a head as big as the life itself with one only line, beginning at the point of the nose, and so by a spiral turning of the graver finishing at the utmost hair, is a prodigy of his rare art and invention, because it is wholly new, and performed with admirable dexterity. Nor has he less merited for his *St. Francis*, *St. Bruno*, *The pointed Magdalen*, *Pope Urban the VIII.* and divers others to the life, especially those of the illustrious *Justiniani*, *Perieskius*, and the several *Frontispeices*

to those truly royal works, poets, and other authors, printed at the Louvre.

MAUPERCH has published some pretty *Landschapes*; LA PAUTRE many most useful varieties and *Ornaments for architects* and other workmen, florid and full of fancy; especially *The ceremonies at the coronation* of the present *French king*.

MORIN has left us *A St. Bernard*, *A Scull*, his great *Crucifix*, some rare *Heads*, especially that representing *Our blessed Saviour* and other things in aqua fortis, performed with singular art and tenderness; as also some rare *Landschapes* and *Ruins* after POLEMBURCH and others.

N. CHAPERON has etched *The Xystus* or gallery of RAPHAEL in the Vatican, with incomparable success as to the true draught; and so has that excellent painter the late

FRANCIS PERRIER those *Statues* and *Bass-relievos* of *Rome*; preferable to any that are yet extant.

AUDRAN'S *St. Catharine* after TITIAN, who is not ravished with?

COUVAY has engraven the *Three devout captive knights*; and what may appear very extraordinary, *ut quæ celant nomina celatura aperiat*, the first part of *Despauterius's grammar* in picture, or *hieroglyphic* for the duke of Anjou, the now monsieur.

PERELLE has discovered a particular talent for *Landschapes*, if not a little exceeded in the darkness of his shades; but his *Ruins of Rome* are very rare: he has likewise a son that graves.

The excellency of invention in the *Romances and Histories* adorned by the hand of CHAUVEAU, is
not

not to be passed by; especially those things which he has done in the *Entretien de beaux esprits* of monsieur De Marest's, and in several others.

But the peices which POILLY has set forth, may be ranked, as they truly merit, amongst the greatest masters we have hitherto celebrated: such as (for instance in a few) that admirable *Theses* with the *Portrait of cardinal Richlieu*; and in emulation with the formerly named NATALIS, (besides the *St. Catharine of Bourdon*) those things which he hath graved after MIGNARD, which are really incomparable; also divers *histories* after LE BRUN, &c.

But we should never have done with the artists of this fruitful and inventive country, as HEINCE, BEGNON, HURET, BERNARD, ROGNESSON, ROUSSELET a rare workman, (witness his frontispeice to the French *Polyglot Bible* designed by BOURDON and lately put forth;) BELLANGE, RICHEL, L'ALMAN, QUESNEL, SOULET, BUNEL, the laudable BOUCHER, BRIOT, BOULANGE, BOIS, CHAMPAGNE, CHARPIGNON, CORNEILLE, CARON, CLAUDE DE LORAIN, AUDRAN, MOUTIER, RABEL, DENISOT, L'AUNE, DE LA RAME, HAYES, HERBIN, DAVID DE BIE, VILLEMONT, MAROT excellent for his buildings and architecture, TOUTIN, GRAND-HOMME, CEREAU, TROCHEL, LANGOT DU LOIR, L'ENFANT disciple of MELAN, GAULTIER, D'ORIGNI, PREVOST, DE SON, PEREI, NACRET, PERRET, DARET, SCALBERGE, VIBERT, RAGOT who has graved some things well after RUBENS, BOISSART, TERELIN, DE LEU; besides MAUPERCHE for *Histories*; L'ASNE who has graved above three hundred *Portraits* to the

life, and is a rare artist; HURET, full of rich invention; not omitting the famous gravers of letters and calligraphers, such as are Le Gagneur, Lucas Materot, Frifius, Duret, Pauce, Le Beaugran, Beaulieu, Gougenot, Moulin, Raveneau, Jea, Jacques de His, Moreau, Limosin, La Be, Vignon, Barbe d'Or, and a world of others whose works we have not had the fortune to see: for as heretofore, so especially at present, there is no country of Europe, which may contend with FRANCE for the numbers of such as it daily produces, that excel in the art of CHALCOGRAPHY, and triumph with the burin.

LA HYRE has etched many things after the antique, as *Bacchanalia*, and several other.

GOYRAND is second to none for those *Towns and Ruins*, which he has published, especially what he has performed in *Ædibus BARBERINI*.

COLIGNON, no less excellent in his gravings after LINCLER.

And COCHIN in those large *Charts and sieges of towns* after the engineer BEAULIEU. But

ISRAEL SYLVESTER is THE HOLLAR OF FRANCE: for, there is hardly a *town, castle, nobleman's house, garden, or prospect*, in all that vast and goodly kingdom, which he has not set forth in aqua fortis, besides divers parts and views of Italy: above all in those which are etched after the designs of monsieur LINCLER (whilst he lived, my worthy friend!) as *The city of Rome* in profile; a morsel of *St. Peters* by itself, and that *Prospect of the Louvre*; which last doth far transcend the rest of his works, and may be esteemed one of the best

of

of that kind which the world has extant, for the many perfections that assemble in it.

There is at present ROBERT NANTEUIL an ingenious person, and my particular friend, whose burin renders him famous through the world. I have had the happiness to have * MY PORTRAIT engraven by his rare burin; and it is, therefore, estimable; though unworthy of the honour of being placed amongst the rest of those illustrious persons, whom his hand has rendered immortal: for such are *The French king, The queens of Poland and Sweden, Cardinal Mazarine* whose effigies he has graven no less than nine times to the life; *The duke of Longueville; Duke of Boullion, Mantua, Marishal Turenne; President Jeannin, Molle, Telier, Ormesson, The archbishop of Tours, Bishop of St. Malo, L'Abbe Fouquet*, and divers others of the long robe; also messieurs *Hesselin, Menage, Scuderi, Chaplain, Marolles*, and the rest of the wits; in sum, almost *all the great persons* of note in France.

But that we may conclude this recension with such as have most excelled in this art, and give the utmost reputation it is capable of, JACQUES CALLOT, a gentleman of Lorraine, (if ever any) attained to its sublimity; and beyond which it seems not possible for human industry to reach, especially for *Figures in little*; though he hath likewise published some *in great*, as boldly and masterly performed as can possibly be imagined. What a loss it has been to the VIRTUOSI, that he did not more delight in those of a greater volume, such as

* From which the frontispiece to this new edition was taken.

once he graved at Florence do sufficiently testify, and which likewise have exalted his incomparable talent to the supremest point. It might not seem requisite to minute the works which he has published, because they are so universally excellent that a curious person should have the whole collection, (and be careful that he be not imposed upon by the copies which are frequently vended under his name, especially those which monsieur Bosse has published, and which nearest approach him) were it not highly injurious to his merit, not to mention some of the principal; such are his *St. Paul*, *Ecce homo*, *The demoniac cured* after ANDREA BOSCOLI, *A Madona* after ANDREA DEL SARTO, *The four comedians*; all these of the larger volume, and some of them with the burin; also *The passage of the Israelites*; *St. Luke's fair*, dedicated to Cosmo di Medicis, a most stupendous work considered in all its circumstances and encounters; so full of spirit and invention, that upon several attempts to do the like, it is said, he could never approach it; so much (it seems) he did in that piece exceed even himself. This is also well copied. *The history of the blessed Virgin* in fourteen leaves; *The Apostles* in great; *The murder of the holy Innocents*, an incomparable work, and almost exceeding our description, as to the smallness, life, perfection, and multitude of figures expressed in it; *The story of the prodigal*; *The life and death of our Saviour* in twenty small ovals, very rarely performed; *The martyrdom of the Apostles* in sixteen leaves, worthy of admiration; *The passion of our Saviour* in seven larger cuts; *St. Anthony's*

Anthony's temptation, prodigious for the fancy and invention; *St. Mansuetus raising a dead prince*; *A bishop preaching in a wood*; divers *Books of landscapes and sea peices*; especially those admirable cuts of his in a book intituled *Trattato di terra santa*, wherein most of the religious places of Jerusalem, temples, prospects, &c. about the Holy Land, are graved to the life by the hand of this excellent master, (the book is very rare and never to be encountered amongst the collection of his prints;) *The duke of Lorrain's palace and garden at Nancy*; also another paper of a *tournament* there, both of them most rare things; *Military exercises*; *The miseries of war* in eighteen leaves very choice; *The battle of Theseus*; *Combat at the Barrier*; *Entrance of the great duke*, with all the scenes and representations at the duke of Florence's nuptials; *The Catafalco* erected at the emperor Mathias's death; the famous *Siege at Rochel*, a very large print; also the *Night-peice of the cheats and wenches at play*, *Masquerades*, *Gobbi*, *Beggars*, *Gypsies*, *Balli and Dances*, *Fantasies*, *Capriccios*, *Jubilatio Triumphi B. Virginis*, which was it seems graved for a *Thesis*; and finally *The Cabaret*, or meeting of debauchees, which (being the last plate that ever he graved) had not the aqua fortis given it till after his decease. And thus we have in brief posted over the stupendous works of this inimitable master, whose point and manner of etching was nothing inferior, nay sometimes even exceeded the most skilful burin. But at length [*sit pudor & finis*] "I desist;" and shall here conclude the recital of the FRENCH CHALCOGRAPHERS, so many for their numbers, laborious

laborious in their works, and luxurious of their inventions, after we have done reason to monsieur BOSSE, who has made himself so well known by his most accurate imitation of CALLOT, besides the many rare things he has himself published. It were altogether unpardonable, that such as would accomplish themselves in ETCHING, should be destitute of his entire work; especially those of his latter manner, performed in single and masterly strokes, without decuffations and cross hatchings, in emulation of the graver. Those *Vignets, Fleurons, capital letters, Pati, and Compartiments*, made to adorn the royal impressions at the Louvre, are worthy of celebration, because it is impossible for the neatest burin to excel his points and eschoppes; and for that it is to him that we have been chiefly obliged for a treatise, which we had prepared of the practical and mechanical part of this art of CHALCOGRAPHY, whereof I have already given account elsewhere. It is to the same monsieur DU BOSSE that the world is beholden for his ingenuity in publishing many other rare and useful arts assistant to *architecture, dialling, squaring of stones*, and encountring the difficulties of the free-mason; besides those excellent treatises of *perspective*, which, from the dictates of monsieur des ARGUES, he has so laudably communicated. This, and much more, we owe to this honest man's fame and particular friendship.

And lastly, the excellent CHART-GRAVERS may not be totally excluded of this catalogue; because it is a particular address, and, of late, infinitely improved by the care of Tavernier, Sanson, the

the jesuit Briets, de la Rue, du Val, graven by Cordier, Riviers, Peroni, and others; not forgetting the most industrious BLEAUS of Amsterdam, who have published the atlas's, and other peices which celebrate their names to posterity; and such an undertaking has the engineer GOMBOUST performed in his ichnographical plan of Paris lately set forth, being the result of near a five years continual labour of measuring, plotting, and observing, to render it the most accomplished, and testify to what use and perfection this noble art is arrived: this we the more readily mention, that thereby we may stimulate and encourage the lovers of their country, freely to contribute to the like attempt of the above mentioned Mr. HOLLAR, and enable him to proceed with what is now under his hand, for the honour of our imperial city.

And now it is certainly time that we should think of home a little, and celebrate likewise some of our own COUNTRYMEN, who have worthily merited with their graver. And although we may not yet boast of such multitudes, by reason of the late unhappy differences which have disturbed the whole nation, endeavouring to level princes, and lay the MECÆNAS'S of THIS and all other ARTS in the dust; yet had we a PAYNE for a *Ship*, some *Heads to the life*, especially that of *Dr. Alabaster*, *Sir Ben. Rudyard*, and several other things; a CECIL, and a WRIGHT, little inferior to any we have enumerated for the excellency of their burins and happy design; as at present we have Mr. FAITHORNE, Mr. BARLOW, GAYWOOD, and others, who have done excellently both with the graver and in aqua fortis,

fortis, especially in those birds and beasts which adorn the apologues of Æsop published by Mr. Ogilby: and of Mr. FAITHORNE, we have that *Christ* after RAPHAEL; from some excellent master, as big as the life, *A Madona; Christ Joseph and a lamb*, after LA HYRE a very good painter; the *effigies* of my lord viscount *Mordaunt, Sir W. Paston and his lady*, with several other after VAN DYKE, HONIMAN, &c.

LIGHTFOOT hath a very curious graver, and special talent for the neatness of his stroke, little inferior to WEIRX; and has published two or three *Madonas* with much applause: also GLOVER divers *Heads*; as at present J. FELLIAN disciple of Mr. FAITHORNE, who is a hopeful young man: lastly, for medals and intaglias we have Mr. SYMONDS, RAWLINS, RESTRICK, JOHNSON, and some others, whose works in that kind have hardly been exceeded in these latter times; not omitting the industrious Mr. COKER, GERY, GETHING, BILLINGLY, &c. who in what they have published for *Letters* and *Flourishes* are comparable to any of those masters, whom we have so much celebrated amongst the ITALIANS and FRENCH for CALLIGRAPHY and fair writing. We have likewise SWITZER for cutting in wood, the son of a father who sufficiently discovered his dexterity in the *Herbals* set forth by Mr. Parkinson, Lobel, and divers other works with due commendation; not to mention the rest, as yet unknown to us by their names, from whose industry we are yet to hope for excellent progress.

We do therefore HERE make it our suit to them, as what would extremely gratify the curious, and
virtuosi

virtuosi univerſally, that they would endeavour to publiſh ſuch excellent things as both his MAJESTY and divers of the nobleſſe of this nation have in their poſſeſſion, and to which there is no ingenious perſon that will be denied acceſs; ſince if their collections were well engraven and diſperſed about the world, it would not only exceedingly advance their profit and reputation, but bring them likewise into a good manner of DESIGNING, which is the very life of this ART; and render our nation famous abroad, for the many excellent things which it has once again (by the bleſſing of GOD, and the genius of our moſt illuſtrious PRINCE) recovered; eſpecially, if, joined to this, ſuch as exceed in the talent would entertain us with more landſchapes and views of the environs, approaches and proſpects of our nobly ſituated METROPOLIS, Greenwich, Windſor, and other parts upon the goodly Thames; and in which (as we ſaid) Mr. HOLLAR has ſo worthily merited, and other countries abound with, to the immense reſreſhment of the curious, and honour of the induſtrious artiſt. And ſuch, we farther wiſh, might now and then be encouraged to travel into the Levantine parts, Indies eaſt and weſt, from whoſe hands we might hope to receive innumerable and true deſigns, drawn after the life, of thoſe ſurpriſing landſchapes, memorable places, cities, iſles, trees, plants, flowers, and animals, &c. which are now ſo lamely and ſo wretchedly preſented and obtruded upon us by the ignorant, and for want of abilities to reform them.

And

And thus we have (as briefly as the subject would admit) finished what we had to offer concerning the ORIGINAL and PROGRESS of this noble ART; not but that there may have been many excellent masters omitted by us, whose names were worthy of record; but because they did not occur at the writing hereof, and that we have already introduced a competent and sufficient number to give reputation to the ART, and verify our institution. For the rest, if we have somewhat exceeded the limits of a chapter (comparing it with those which did precede) it has not been without prospect had to the benefit of such as will be glad of instruction how to direct their choice in collecting of what is curious, worthy their procuring, and, as the ITALIANS call them, *di buon gusto*; for we are far from opining with those, who fly at all without judgment or election. In sum, it were to be wished, that all our good painters would enrich our collections with more of their studies and ordonances, and not despise the putting of their hands now and then to the graver. We have given instances of great masters who excelled in both; and the draught, if it be good, does sufficiently commute for the other defects, or what it may seem to want in the neatness and accurate conducting of the hatches; since by this means, we should be stored with many rare designs, touches, and inventions, which, for being only in crayon, are casual and more obnoxious to accidents, and can be communicated but to those few, who have the good fortune to obtain their papers, and (which is yet more rare) the happiness to understand, as well as to talk of them.

C H A P. V.

Of DRAWING and DESIGN, previous to the art of CHALCOGRAPHY; and of the use of pictures, in order to the education of children.

AS the rules of measure and proportion have an universal influence upon all the actions of our lives, it was a memorable and noble saying of a great person of our nation*, discoursing to us once concerning the dignity of painting and the arts which attend it; “That one who could not design a little, would never make an honest man.” How that observation succeeds in the general, we have not made it much our observation; but this we are bold to pronounce, “That he shall never attain to the excellency of a good CHALCOGRAPHER, who is not more than ordinarily skilled in the faculty and art of DRAWING;” a thing so highly necessary, that DONATELLUS was wont to tell his disciples (discoursing sometimes concerning the accomplishment of this ART) “That, to deliver it in a single word, he would say, DESIGN; because it was the very basis and foundation, not only of this, but even of all those free and noble sciences of *Fortification, Architecture, Perspective,* and whatsoever also pretended to any affinity with the *Mathematics*, as really leading the van, and perfective of them all.”

* THOMAS earl of ARUNDEL lord marshal of England.

But to treat methodically of this, or as we have already enlarged in the history and progress of CHALCOGRAPHY and the surviving labours of the most renowned masters, would require no less time and pains. It were indeed a noble, curious, and useful work, but almost impossible to accomplish; because the original drawings of the great masters, being dispersed amongst the hands of the greatest princes and men of science only, are preserved with jealousy, and esteemed as so many jewels, of greater value than those of pearls and diamonds: for some of them being the very last works, though but imperfect draughts of so excellent artists, they have for the most part been in greater esteem than even those of larger bulk and more finished; as PLINY instances in *The Iris* of ARISTIDES, *The Medea* of TIMOMACHUS, and some others; because (as he there speaks) such touches did even express the very thoughts and prime conception of the workman, as well as the lineaments which he presents us; and that there is a certain compassion in our natures which endears them to us, so as we cannot but love and desire the hands which perished in the midst of such famous pieces. Add to this, their inimitable antiquity; than which (according to QUINTILIAN*) nothing does more recommend things to us, from a certain authority which it universally carries with it; so as we seem to review what they did of old in this kind, as if (with Livavius) the Gods had imparted something of extraordinary to the masters of the ages past, which the nature of man is not now capable of attaining.

* Inst. l. 8. c. 3.

These difficulties therefore considered, it will not be required of us in this chapter; which pretends to celebrate and promote the art of DRAWING and DESIGN, only as it has relation and is an absolute requisite to that of CHALCOGRAPHY, and to prescribe some directions and encouragements which may prepare and fit the hand with a competent address therein.

Whether DESIGN was the production of chance or excogitation, we determine not; certain it is, that practice and experience was its nurse and perfecter; by some thus defined to be, “A visible expression of the hand resembling the conception of the mind.” By which definition there are who distinguish it from DRAWING, both as to its original and formality; “for DESIGN (say they) is of things not yet appearing, being but the picture of ideas only; whereas DRAWING relates more to copies, and things already extant;” in sum, as the historian differs from the poet, and HORACE has well expressed it,

— *Pictoribus atque poetis*

Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.*

Painters and poets have been still allow'd
Their pencils and their fancies unconfin'd.

ROSCOMMON.

We could easily admit this ART to have been the most ancient; and, with PHILOSTRATUS, [*ἑυτελέστατον τῆ φύσει,*] “of kin even to NATURE herself.” But to take it somewhat lower, there

* De Arte Poet.

goes a tradition, that some ingenious shepherd was the inventor of it, who espying the shadow of one of his sheep on the ground (interposed between him and the culminating or declining sun) did with the end of his crook trace out the profile upon the dust: and truly some such vulgar accident (for chance has been a fruitful mother) might first probably introduce it; however afterwards subtilized upon and cultivated, till it at length arrived to that degree of excellency and esteem, which it has happily gained, and so long continued.

But to quit these nicer investigations, and proceed to some thing of use, as it concerns the title of this chapter. The first and principal manner of DRAWING is that with the PEN; the next with CRAYON, whether black, white, red, or any of the intermediate colours, upon paper either white or coloured. We will not say much concerning washing with the pencil, or rubbing-in the shades with pastils and dry compositions; because it is not till our disciple be a consummate artist, that he can be edified with designs of this nature, after which they are of excellent use and effect.

The PEN is, therefore, both the first and best instructive; and has then (as all the other kinds) attained its desired end, when it so deceives the eye by the magic and innocent witchcraft of LIGHTS and SHADES, that elevated and solid bodies in nature, may seem swelling and to be embossed in plano by art.

To arrive at this, you must first draw the exact lineaments and proportion of the subject you would express in profile, contours, and single lines only; and

and afterwards, by more frequent and tender hatches in the lighter places, strong bold or cross in the deeper.

By hatching is understood a continual series or succession of many lines, shorter or longer, close or more separate, oblique or direct, according as the work requires, to render it more or less enlightned; and is attained by practice with a swift even and dextrous hand, though sometimes also by the help of the rule and compass; every man not being an APELLES or PYRGOTELES to work without them. Now the best expedient to gain a mastery in this address, will be to imitate such *prints* and *cuts*, as are most celebrated for this perfection: such (amongst plenty of others) are those of HENRY GOLTZIUS, the SADELERS, HARMAN, SANREDAM, VOSTERMAN, and, above all, that rare book of JACOMO PALMA graven by EDOARDO FIALETTI; of the more modern, the incomparable NATALIS, NANTEUIL, POILLY, CORNELIUS BLOMAERT; these for the burin: for etching, CALLOT, MORINE, and BOSSE, especially in those his later peices, which have so nearly approached the graver. After these, let our learner design the several members of bodies a-part, and then united, with intire figures and stories, till he be able to compose something of his own which may support the examination of qualified judges. But the *προχάραγμα* or “first draughts” of these should not be with too great curiosity, and the several minutiae that appear in many copies, but with a certain free and judicious negligence; rather aiming at the ORIGINAL, than paining of yourself with overmuch exactness: for [*nocere saepe*

nimiam diligentiam] “that a work often suffers by “being too much laboured,” was an old observation; and therefore the ancient painters (says PHILOSTRATUS) more esteemed a certain true and liberal draught than the neatness of the figure, as he expresses it in Amphiaraus’s horse sweating after the conflict; since drawings and designs are not to be like Polyctetus’s canon, which took its several parts from as many perfect bodies, by a studied and most accurate symmetry. It shall suffice that the prime conceptions of our artist be performed with less constraint: a coal or pencil of black-lead will serve the turn, reserving the stronger and deeper touches for a second pass of the hand over your work; and last of all, penning the contours and out-lines with a more even and acute touch, neatly finishing the hatches with a resolute constant and flowing hand, especially as it approaches to the fainter shadows, terminating them in lost and misty extremes, and thwarted (if you will counter-hatch) at equal and uniform intervals (but not till the first be dry) or if with single strokes (which to us renders the most natural and agreeable effects) with full deep hatches, and their due diminishings.

But it would haply be objected, that these accurate designs of the PEN were never esteemed among the nobler parts of DRAWING, as for the most part appearing too finical stiff and constrained. To this we reply; that the remark is not impertinent, as commonly we find by experience: but it has not proceeded from the least defect in the INSTRUMENT, but from that of the ARTIST, whose aptitude is not yet arrived to that perfection which is requisite,
and

and does infallibly confirm and dispose the hand to whatever it addresses; affording so great a delight and satisfaction to some excellent workmen, as that they never desired to advance further than this triumph of the PEN, which has celebrated their names, and equalized their renown with that of the most famous painters. For such were (in this nature) the incomparable drawings of DON GIULIO CLOVIO, ALBERT DURER, PASSAROTTO, yea TITIAN himself when the fancy took him; the fore-mentioned GOLTZIUS, especially for his *Diana sleeping*, drawn with a pen on a cloth primed in oil, which was sometime sold at Amsterdam for two hundred pounds; and that laborious and most stupendous work of his, now part of his MAJESTY'S collection, where he has drawn with the pen upon an heightning of oil a *Venus, Cupid, Satyr*, and some *other figures*, as big as the life itself, with a boldness and dexterity incomparable: and such are some things which we have seen done by Signior THOMASO a Florentine; and our ingenious friend Mr. VANDER DOUSE (descended of that noble JANUS DOUSA, whose learning and courage the great SCALIGER and GROTIUS have so worthily celebrated) now in the court of England. To these we add ROBERT NANTEUIL at Paris; and of our own countrymen, those *eight or ten drawings* by the pen of FRANCIS and JOHN CLEYN (two hopeful, but now deceased brothers) after those great cartoons of RAPHAEL, containing the stories of *The acts of the apostles*, where, in a fraternal emulation, they have done such work, as was never yet exceeded by mortal men, either of the former or

present age; and worthy they are of the honour which his MAJESTY has done their memories, by having purchased these excellent things out of Germany, whither they had been transported, or, at least, intended: there is likewise one Mr. FRANCIS CARTER (now in Italy) not to be forgotten amongst those whose pens deserve to be celebrated. But it is not here that we are to expatiate far on this particular, as designing a chapter only; much less shall we have leisure to proceed to black and white CHALK (as they call it) upon coloured paper, in which those many incomparable and original drawings of the old and great MASTERS are yet extant; wherein a middle colour wrought upon two extremes, produces, (on an instant) that wonderful and stupendous roundness and exstasy, which the PEN is so long in doing, though so infallible a guide to its well doing; that having once attained the command of that instrument, all other drawings whatsoever will seem most easy and delightful. Neither shall it then be requisite to continue that exactness, since all DRAWING is but as an handmaid and attendant to what you would either GRAVE or PAINT.

But by this perfection and dexterity at first, did even those renowned masters, GIULIO, PARMEGIANO, and sometimes POLYDORE himself, (not to insist on RUBENS and VAN DYKE) proceed, whose *drawings* in this kind, when first they made their studies in Italy, were exceedingly curious and finished; though in all their more recent and maturer *designs*, rather judicious than exact, because of that time which such minute finishings did usually
take

take up; and, that when all is done, it is still but a *Drawing*, which indeed conduces to the making of profitable things, but is itself none.

Yet so highly necessary is this of DRAWING to all who pretend to these noble and refined arts, that for the securing of this foundation, and the promotion and encouragement of it, the greatest PRINCES of Europe have erected ACADEMIES, furnished with all conveniences for the exercise and improvement of the virtuosi: such illustrious and noble geniuses were COSMO DI MEDICIS, FRANCIS the first, CARLO BORROMEO, and others, who built, or appointed for them, stately apartments even in their own palaces, and under the same roof; procuring models, and endowing them with charters enfranchisements and ample honoraries; by which they attracted to their courts and countries, most of the refined and extraordinary spirits in all the arts and sciences that were then celebrated throughout the world.

Nor it seems has it been the sole glory of those illustrious princes to cherish and enoble men of art: the Greeks and Romans of old had them in special veneration; but in none of their courts, were men of science caressed to that degree, as in that we have read of the emperors of Japan at present, who does not only entertain and nobly accommodate them, but never stirs abroad without their company. These great men, says my * author, (meaning PHYSICIANS, PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, MUSICIANS, &c. [*quos proprio nomine appellant*

* Descrip. Reg. Japoniæ BERN. VARENI.

contubernium Cæsaris] “who are distinguished by “the name of the emperor’s company”) march before the king, whether he go forth in litter or on horseback; and being elected of persons of the greatest birth in his dominions, they always continue at his court richly appointed with salaries, but otherwise to bear no office whatsoever which may in the least importune them; [*eo solum electi, ut imperatori ad voluptatem & delectationem consortium præstent*, “as being therefore only chosen, to “recreate and divert the prince with their excellent “conversation.” These being men of the rarest parts and endowments in his empire, have pre-eminence in all places next the king: then come the guards in the rear, which consist of a more inferior nobility. Thus far the historian.

We know not how this instance may in these days be interpreted; but, certainly, the courts of princes were in former ages composed of men of the greatest virtue and talents above the rest, and such as possessed something of extraordinary (besides the wearing of fine cloaths and making the *bon mein*) to recommend them. We insist not on SCULPTORS and PAINTERS only, especially as such men are now for the most part vicious, or else of poor and mechanic spirits; but as those ancient and noble geniuses were heretofore accomplished; and such as of late were RAPHAEL, DURER, LEON ALBERTI, DA VINCI, RUBENS, and at present CAVALIER BERNINI, &c. persons of most excellent endowments and universally learned; which rendred their fautors and protectors famous,
by

by leaving such marks of their admired virtue as did eternize their merits to after ages.

Thus it was, that MYRON, POLYCLETUS, PHYDIAS, LYSIPPUS, and others of the ancients, procured such lasting names by their divine labours. They wrought for KINGS, great CITIES, and noble CITIZENS: whereas others, on the contrary, (men haply of no less industry and science) had little or no notice taken of them; because they received no such encouragements, were poor and neglected, which did utterly eclipse and suppress their fame: such as those whereof VITRUVIUS does in the preface to his third book make mention, where he speaks of CHIRON the Corinthian, HELLAS of Athens, MYAGRUS of Phocia, PHARAX the Ephesian, besides ARISTOMENES, POLYCLES, NICHOMACHUS, and several others; who being excellent masters, and rarely endowed, perished in obscurity, and without any regard from the unequal hand and distribution of fortune, and for want of being cherished by princes and great men. But to return:

In these places they had books of *drawings* of all the old and renowned MASTERS, *rounds, busts, relievos, and entire figures*, cast off from the best of the *antique statues and monuments*, Greek and Roman. There was to be seen, the *Laocoon, Cleopatra, Antinous, Flora, Hercules, Commodus, Venus, Meleager, Niobe, &c.* whereof the ORIGINALS are still extant at Rome. There were likewise divers rare and excellent *statues*, both of *brass and marble*; *models* and divers fragments of *bases, columns, capitals, freezes, cornices*, and other peices moulded

moulded from the most authentic remains of the ancient famous buildings, besides a universal collection of *medals*, things artificial and natural.

But to recover our DRAWING again, as it concerns the art of CHALCOGRAPHY. We have already mentioned such of the most accomplished GRAVERS, whose labours and works were proposed for exemplars and imitation. Nor let the most supercilious PAINTER despise what we have here alleged; or imagine it any diminution to his art, that he now and then put his hand to the PEN, and draw even after some of those *Masters* we have so much celebrated. What ANDREA DEL SARTO has taken out of the *prints* of ALBERT DURER, improving and reducing them to his manner (not for want of invention, and plagiary like, as all that have any knowledge of his works can justify) has no way eclipsed, but rather augmented his glory; as on the other side, that divine peice of his, *The Christus mortuus*, which he gave to be cut by AUGUSTINO VENETIANO; *The triumphs, vasa, and anatomies* of old Rosso, by whomsoever engraven; and those other things of his after DOMENICO BARBIERI. PAULO VERONESE did much study the *prints* of DURER; and that incomparable painter ANTONIO VASSALACCI, (called otherwise ALIENSE) made notable use of that his prodigious collection of *stamps* of the most rare hands: not to recapitulate what were published by RAPHAEL himself, and infinite others; by which they have sufficiently made appear, the value they attributed to this ART; desiring (as much as in them lay) to render their works famous to posterity, by thus communicating
them

them to the world, though, many times, through the hands but of very vulgar and ordinary gravers.

And here we should have put a period to this essay and the present chapter, as having abundantly vindicated the necessity and worthiness of DESIGN and DRAWING, as it is previous and introductory to the art of CHALCOGRAPHY, had not one curiosity more prevented us; which because it so much concerns the conducting of hatches and strokes, whether with pen, point, or graver, pretending to (at least very ingeniously hinting) a method, how, by a constant and regular certitude, one may express to the eye the sensation of the relievo or exstancie of objects, be it by one or more hatches, cross and counter, we think not impertinent here to recite as briefly as the demonstration will permit.

The principal end of a GRAVER that would copy a design or peice composed of one or more objects, is, to render it correct both in relation to the draught, contours, and other particularities as to the lights and shades on the front, flying or turning, in bold or faint touches, so as may best express the *relief*; in which GRAVERS have hitherto, for the most part, rather imitated one another, than improved or refined upon nature; some with more, some with fewer strokes; having never yet found out a certain and uniform guide to follow in this work, so as to carry their strokes with assurance, as knowing where they are to determine, without manifestly offending the due rules of perspective.

If, in truth, naked and other polite bodies were so formed, as that we might detect the course and inclination of the threads, fibres, and grain, so as

we

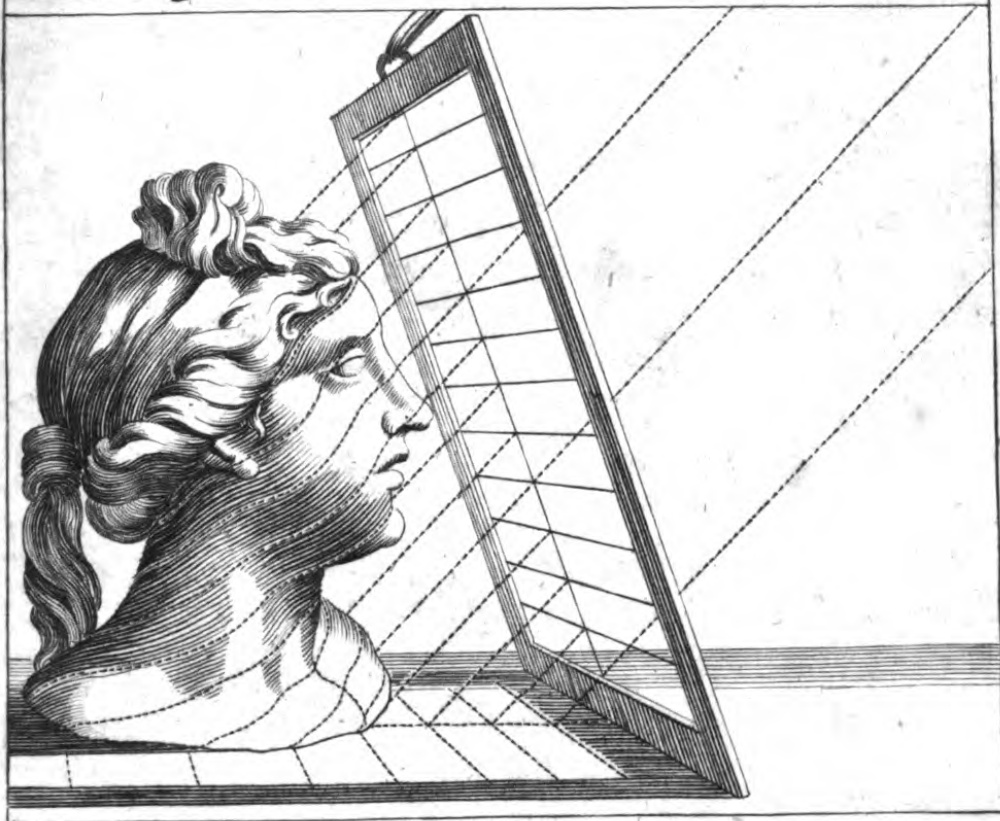
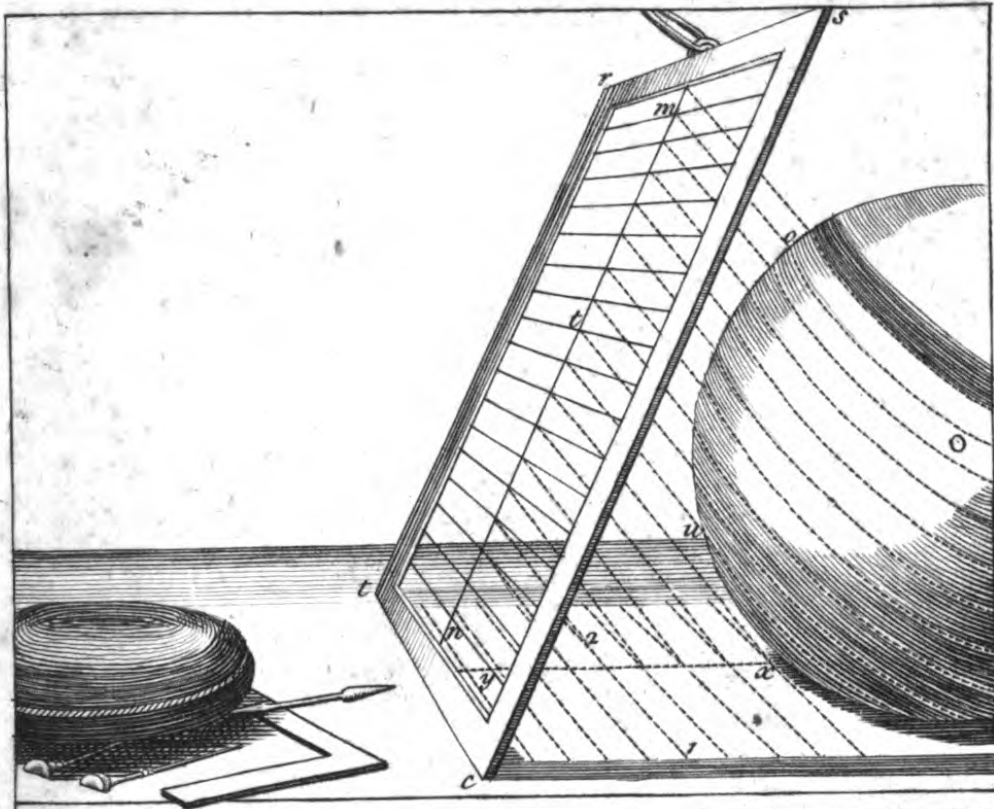
we perceive it in stuffs, cloth, linen, and other draperies, nothing would appear more facile; for let them assume what ply they will, it does not at all concern the tissue tenor or range of the threads and wails (as they call them) which is easily imitated, both as to their inclinations, and distances from the point of sight.

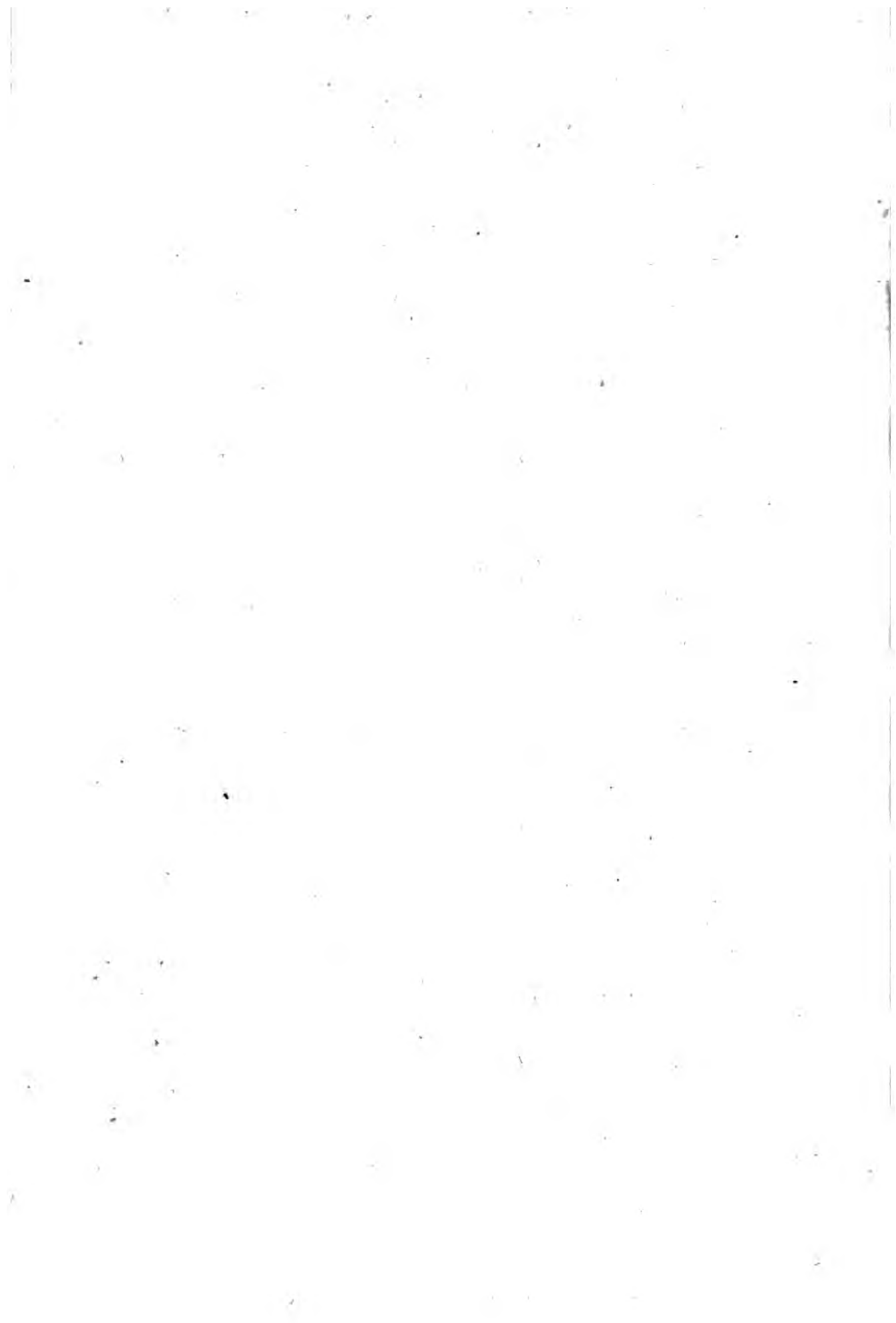
But since we are much at a loss, and can perceive no such direction or clue in nudities and other smooth surfaces, it were haply worth the while to find out some expedient which should assist the imagination in this affair, and that might encounter the difficulty upon other terse and even objects, by forming such strokes and directors upon them in our imaginations; observing, that there are some parts in them commonly to be distinguished from the mass in gross; for example, the hairs in men, eyes, teeth, nails, &c; that as one would conceive such lines or hatches on those masses, others may likewise be as well fancied upon those lesser and more delicate members.

To effect this, the following ICONISM is thus explained.

Suppose, in the uppermost figure of this plate, the object *O* to be the representation in perspective of the portion of a bowl, exposed to the beams of the sun; and the letters *c. s. r. t.* a frame, or square of wood barred and strung in even and strait lines parallel inter se.

Then another thread, *viz. m. n.* crossing them in perpendicular. The frame in the mean time supposed to incline towards the bowl *O* betwixt it and the sun, which represents to you all these threads





threads projecting their shadows upon the bowl, and the surface where it is situate.

Suppose now the same upon the relievo or mass itself; it is evident, that these threads, in whatever manner you interpose the said frame betwixt the bowl and the sun, will perpetually cast their shadows parallel inter se, cutting it as it were into several planes, uniform and parallel also.

You see likewise in this very figure, that the oblique and direct shades *o, u, x, y*, are caused by the cathetus *m t n*; and the pointed curved lines upon the bowl *O*, viz. *o, x, n, 1, 2, &c.* are formed by the parallels which intersect the perpendicular.

But the same frame posited between the sun and a head in relievo, of white marble or the like (as in the inferior example,) will not render the shadow of the threads alike upon all the parts parallel inter se (as in the former) though the same were supposed to be cut by like plane and mutual parallels as was the bowl *O*. However, so shall they appear, as to hint the tracing of parallels on the relievo, or assist the imagination of them there, and consequently, how to design them upon objects made after the same ordonance in perspective parallel, as one may conceive them upon the relievo of an ordonance in geometrical parallel, viz. as in the figure *O*; or, to speak more distinctly, supposing them the same on the irregular as on the regular.

Consider then upon the head, the concurrence of those imaginary parallels in perspective, shaded with the pointed lines; and how the intercurrent hatches,

hatches, which they comprehend, pursue the same course and tenor, or perspective parallelism.

From these instances now, it will not be difficult how to apply the same upon all the sorts of bodies representable by graving, and to comprehend in ones imagination the concurrency and uniform tenor of the particles, as we may so call them: only, there is this particular to be observed, that the projecture of the threads will not appear alike perspicuous in the deep and shady parts of relievos as upon the illuminated, being lost in the dark: but this is easily supplied by the imagination, or by holding a loose thread parallel to the shaded, near to the body of the figure; by which the course of the rest may be well conceived. And this may serve to give great light to him that shall either grave in copper, or draw with the pen, for the symmetrically conducting of his hatches, determinatively, and with certitude, by thus imagining them to be geometrically marked upon the relievo or embossment of the natural, wherever he encounter it; and after this conception, to trace them out upon his plate or draught in perspective.

And indeed, that which is chiefly considerable and ingenious in this, is, that of their perspective; since the shades of the lines (in the forementioned example) which were upon the parts more or less turned, appear to our eye accordingly with more or less force, which renders clear a different effect as to the swelling and extancies of the parts, than we find it in works where this method has not been observed; so as truly this may seem to be the most certain expedient of expressing by hatches the relievo

lievo of objects, whether with the pen or burin. And this is the sense of a much larger discourse, which monsieur DU BOSSE has proposed, treating of the practice of *perspective* upon irregular surfaces, and we have thought fit to insert into this chapter; not only because it is new and pretty, but for that (to us) it appears to be of good use, and as may be seen in some of the late heads graven by the incomparable NANTUEIL, who had been the sole occasion of this ingenious consideration about the time of our last being at Paris.

But if this (like the diligence of Mechopanes, which PLINY affirms none was able to understand but an artist only) seem to be a disquisition more refined than useful, for that few of our gravers work off from the round, upon which alone the observation is practicable; yet shall it be necessary to admonish, that shadows over dark, too deep and sudden, are not commendable in these works, as seldom so appearing in the life; and therefore hatchings expressed by single strokes, are ever the most graceful and natural, though of greater difficulty to execute, especially being any ways oblique; because they will require to be made broader and fuller in the middle, than either at their entrance or exit, an address much more easy with the burin and the pen than with the point; though monsieur BOSSE's invention of the *eschoppe* does render the making of this *fulcus* much more facile. But to attain this masterly, and with assurance of hand, our workmen may do well to imitate the gravings of the SADELERS, VILLAMENA, SUANNEBURG, GAULTIER; but especially CLAUDIUS MELLAN, NATALIS,

NATALIS, POILLY, NANTUEIL, CORNELIUS BLOMAERT, H. GOLTZIUS: and for the etchers in aqua fortis, CALLOT and DU BOSSE, in some of their last cuts especially. Though even the counter hatchings also, coming tenderly off, and well conducted, (so as 'tis to be seen in some of the prints of MARK ANTONIO, C. CORT, AUG. CARRACHE and other masters) render both an admirable and stupendous effect; for it is in this well placing of white and black, wherein all this ART, and even that of PAINTING does consist. Thus AGLAPHONTES used but one colour; no more did NITIA the Athenian painter: and it was this relieve also for which the famous ZEUXIS became so renowned: not to insist on HEREDICES the Corinthian, and THELOPHANES the Sicyonian, who were both of them but monochromists, and, till CLEOPHANES came amongst them, no dissemblers, as owning no other colours but those eminent contraries, that is, the lights and the shades; in the true managing whereof so many wonders are to be produced by this ART, and even a certain splendor and beauty in the touches of the burin, so as the very union and colouring itself may be conceived without any force upon the imagination, as we have before observed in these excellent gravings of NATALIS, ROUSSELET, and POILLY, after BOURDON; and in what GREUTER, BLOMAERT, and some others have done after POUSSIN, GUIDO RENI, CORTONA, &c.

But here by the way, let no man think we mean by this *coloree* (as they term it) in drawing and gravings, such a position of the hatches as the
chevalier

chevalier WOLSON has invented, and PIETRO SANTO the jesuit has followed, to distinguish their blazons by * : but a certain admirable effect, emerging from the former union of lights and shadows; such as the ANCIENTS would express by *tonus*, or the PYTHAGOREANS in their *proportions*, and imitated in this ART, where the shades of the hatches intend and remit, to the best resemblance of PAINTING, the commissures of the light and dark parts, imperceptibly united, or at least so sweetly conducted, as that the alteration could no more certainly be defined, than the semitones or harmoge in music; which though indeed differing, yet it is so gentle, and so agreeable, as even ravishes our senses, by a secret kind of charm, not to be expressed in words or discerned by the ignorant. And this it is which has rendered it so difficult to copy after designs and painting, and to give the true heightenings, where there are no hatchings to express them; unless he, that copies, design perfectly himself, and possess more than the ordinary talent and judgment of gravers, or can himself manage the pencil.

But to return to prints again. We are to understand, that what the artists do many times call excellent, does not always signify to the advantage of the graver; but more frequently the design, consisting in the lineaments, proportion and ordonance, if these be well and masterly performed, and for which we have so recommended the practice of this art to our English painters in chap. IV; tho',

* Theatre d'honneur. Tessera Gentil.

to speak of an accomplished peice indeed, it is the result of integral causes only, and where they universally encounter.

We do farther add, that, for this reason, copies are in prints much more easily detected than in paintings, and, by consequence, more facile also to imitate, as using all one kind of instrument and fewer ways of expression. But if there be a difficulty in it, those which are etched in aqua fortis make it most conspicuous; both because the nature of the plates, and quality of the waters and their operations, may sometimes fall out to be so very unlike. But to discern an original print from a copy print, (not to speak of such plates as have been retouched and therefore of little value) is a knack very easily attained; because 'tis almost impossible to imitate every hatch, and to make the strokes of exact and equal dimensions, where every the least defect, or flaw in the copper itself, is sufficient to detect and betray the imposture; as in that little *Descent from the cross* of ANNIBALE CARACCHE (already mentioned) is perspicuous, and which it were absolutely impossible to counterfeit. In the mean time, such as are profound and well knowing, do establish their judgments upon other particulars of the art, and the very handling itself.

Lastly, that aqua fortis gives a tenderness to landschapes, trees and buildings, superior to that of the burin (though that exceed infinitely in figures) may be seen in that of ISRAEL'S *View of the Louvre*, before recited; and in some other works where there is an industrious and studied mixture, as in that second manner of VOSTERMAN'S which did so
much

much please RUBENS and VANDYKE, even in the portraits which that excellent graver published after those great mens paintings.

It was in the former chapter that we made rehearsal of the most renowned GRAYERS and their works; not that we had no more to add to that number, but because we would not mingle these illustrious names and qualities there, which we purposely reserved for the crown of this discourse: we did, therefore, forbear to mention what his highness prince RUPERT's own hands have contributed to the dignity of that art; performing things in graving (of which some enrich our collection) comparable to the greatest masters; such a spirit and address there appears in all that he touches, and especially in that of the MEZZOTINTO, of which we shall speak hereafter more at large, having first enumerated those incomparable gravings of that his new and inimitable stile, in both the great and little *Decollations of St. John Baptist, The soldier holding a spear and leaning his hand on a shield, The two Mary Magdalens, The old man's head, that of Titian, &c.* after the same TITIAN, GEORGIONE, and others. We have also seen a plate etched by the present FRENCH KING, and other great persons; the right honourable the earl of SANDWICH sometimes (as we are told) diverting himself with the burin, and herein imitating those ancient and renowned heroes, whose names are loud in the trumpet of fame for their skill and particular affection to these arts. For such of old, were LUCIUS MANILIUS and FABIUS, noble Romans; PACUVIUS the tragic poet, nephew to Ennius;

SOCRATES the wisest of men, and PLATO himself. METRODORUS, and PYRRHUS the philosopher, did both design and paint; and so did VALENTINIAN, ADRIAN, and SEVERUS, emperors; so as the great PAULUS ÆMILIUS esteemed it of such high importance, that he would needs have his son to be instructed in it, as in one of the most worthy and excellent accomplishments belonging to a prince. For the art of graving QUINTILIAN likewise celebrates EUPHRANOR, a polite and rarely endowed person; and PLINY, in that chapter where he treats of the same art, observes, that there was never any one famous in it, but who was by birth or education a GENTLEMAN: therefore HE and GALEN, in their recension of the LIBERAL ARTS, mention that of GRAVING in particular amongst the most permanent; and in the same catalogue number it with rhetoric, geometry, logic, astronomy, yea grammar itself; because there is in these arts, say they, more of fancy and invention than strength of hand, more of the spirit than of the body. Hence ARISTOTLE informs us*, that the GRECIANS did universally institute their children in the art of painting and drawing, for an oeconomique reason there signified, as well as to produce proportions in the mind. VARRO makes it part of the LADIES education, that they might have the better skill in the works of embroidery, &c. and for this cause is his daughter MARTIA celebrated amongst those of her fair sex. We have already mentioned the learned ANNA SCHURMAN; but the PRINCESS LOUISA has done wonders of this kind, and is

* Polit. l. 8. c. 3.

famous

famous throughout Europe for the many peices which enrich our cabinets; examples sufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that has been set upon it: since EMPERORS, KINGS, and PHILOSOPHERS, the great and the wise, have not disdained to cultivate and cherish this honourable quality; of old so nobly reputed, that amongst the GREEKS a slave might not be taught it. How passionately does PERESKIUS, that admirable and universal genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this Art! BAPTISTA ALBERTI, ALDUS, POMPONIUS GUARICUS, DURER, and RUBENS, were politely learned and knowing men; and it is hardly to be imagined, of how great use, and conducive, a competent address in this ART of DRAWING and DESIGNING is to the several advantages which occur; and especially, to the more noble mathematical sciences, as we have already instanced in the *lunary* works of HEVELIUS, and are no less obliged to celebrate some of our own countrymen famous for their dexterity in this incomparable art; such was that BLAGRAVE, who himself cut those diagrams in his mathematical jewel; and such at present, is that rare and early prodigy of universal science, Dr. CHRISTOPHER WREN, our worthy and accomplished friend. For, if the study of eloquence and rhetoric were cultivated by the greatest geniuses and heroic persons which the world has produced, and that, by the suffrage of the most knowing, to be a perfect orator a man ought to be universally instructed, a quality so becoming and useful should never be neglected: [*omnium enim*

artium

*artium peritus erit orator, si de omnibus ei dicendum est**] “ he that would speak well upon all subjects, “ should be ignorant of none.” It was CICERO that taught QUINTILIAN the importance of it, where he tells us, that in his opinion, no man could pretend to be [*omni laude cumulatus orator*†] “ a perfect and accomplished orator indeed,” [*nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus*] “ unless he be skilled in all the valuable “ parts of science.” It is the sentence of that great man, and therefore to be embraced by us, especially on this occasion; because it was immediately after he had expressly instanced in CÆLATURA & SCULPTURA, that of cutting and engraving: for it is worth the observation, that the ages which did most excel in eloquence, did also flourish most in THESE ARTS, as in the time of DEMOSTHENES, and the same CICERO; and as they appeared, so they commonly vanished together; and this remark is universal.

But now for close of all, and to verify the admirable use which may be derived from this incomparable ART above the rest, let us hear what the learned abbot of Villeloin, monsieur DE MAROLLES, has left upon record in the *Memoirs of his own life*, Anno MDCLIV, after he had made a very handsome *Discourse* (which we recommend to all good Roman catholics) *concerning images*, upon occasion of a superstitious frequenting of a certain renowned shrine pretended to have done miracles at Paris, but was detected to be an imposture. The passage is thus: *Dieu m'a fait la grace, &c.*

* QUINTIL. inst. l. 2.

† De Orat. 1.

I am (saith he) greatly obliged to GOD, that though I have ever had a singular affection to *images*, I was never in my life superstitious; I have yet made a *collection* so prodigious, that they amount to no less than *seventy thousand*, (he adds afterwards ten thousand more;) but they are all *copper cuts* and *engravings* of all sorts of subjects imaginable. I began to be addicted to this kind of curiosity but since the year MDCXLI; but have so cherished the humour, that I may truly affirm, without the least exaggeration, that I have some *prints* of all the *masters* that are any where to be found, as well *gravers* as *designers* and *inventors*, to the number of above four hundred; and these are ranged in *Books* of *charts* and *maps*, *calligraphy*, *architecture*, *fortification*, *tactics*, *sieges*, *circumvallations*, *battles*, *single combats*, *naval fights*, *maritime peices*, *landscapes*, *towns*, *castles*, *seas*, *rivers*, *fountains*, *vasa*, *gardening*, *flowers*, *ruins*, *perspective*, *clocks*, *watches*, *machines*, *goldsmiths' works*, *joiners' and workers' in iron*, *copper*, *embroidering*, *laces*, *grotesque*, *animals*, *habits of several countries*, *anatomies*, *portraits*, *cartouches and compartiments*, *antiques*, *basso relievos*, *statues*, *catalfalos*, *tombs*, *epitaphs*, *funeral pomps*, *entries*, *cavalcados*, *devices*, *medals*, *emblems*, *ships*, *cabinet peices*, *trees*, *fruits*, *stones*, *dances*, *comedies*, *bacchanalia*, *huntings*, *armories*, *tournaments*, *massacres*, *executions*, *torments*, *sports*, *heroic and moral fables*, *histories*, *lives of saints and martyrs*, *peices of the Bible*, *religious orders*, *theses*, and above ten thousand *portraits* of renowned persons, without counting (amongst these) above six score *volumes* of *masters*, whose names he there enumerates alpha-

betically. This curiosity (says he) I affected from my youth; but did not much cultivate till of late years, preferring it even before *paintings* themselves (for which yet I have infinite esteem;) not only for that they are more proportionable to my purse, but because they better become our *libraries*: so that had we a dozen only, that were curious of these collections in France, especially among persons of condition (such as monsieur DE L'ORME, the late monsieur DE LA MECHINIER, &c.) *taille-douces* would come to be extraordinary rarities; and the works of LUCAS, DURER, MARC ANTONIO, and the POLITE MASTERS, which are now sold at four or five hundred crowns a-piece, would be then valued at three times as much; a thing incredible, did not experience convince us of it; those who are touched with this kind of affection, hardly ever abandoning it, so full of charms variety and instruction it is. Truly, methinks, that all PRINCES especially, and GREAT MEN, should be stored with these works, preferable to a world of other trifling collections, and less fruitful; as comprehending so many considerable, remarkable things, and notices of almost all sorts of subjects imaginable. Thus far the learned ABBOT.

But it leads us yet farther, when we seriously reflect, how capable this ART is, above all other whatsoever, to insinuate all sorts of notions and things into CHILDREN, and be made an instrument of education superior to all those abstracted terms, and secondary intentions, wherewith masters commonly torment and weary their tender and weak capacities. And this we have discovered by much experience;

experience; and could here produce examples beyond belief in a child at present not six years old, who does both know and perfectly comprehend such things and actions, as hardly any at sixteen, some at twenty have yet attained, who pursue the common method of our grammar schools without these aids and advantages: for, since [*nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu**] “all our ideas are originally derived from our senses,” and that as the poet had well observed,

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus——†.*

—————What we hear,
With weaker passion will affect the heart,
Than when the faithful eye beholds the part:

FRANCIS.

what can there be more likely to inform and delight them, [*dum animus majora non capit,*] “while they are incapable of higher things,” than the pictures and representations of those things which they are to learn? We did mention before the *Hieroglyphical grammar* published by Dr. COUVAY; and it is well known, how EILHARDUS LUBINUS, in an epistle to the duke of Stetin, has celebrated and contrived an institution of youth by this ART: such as was also the design of that prodigy of a man, LA MARTELAY, who had already collected and digested such a choice number of *cuts*, and so universal, as by which he more than pretended (for he really ef-

* ARISTOT.

† HORAT.

fected it) to teach *all the sciences* by them alone; and that with as much certitude, and infinitely more expedition, than by the most accurate method that was ever yet produced. What a specimen of this, JO. AMOS COMMENIUS, in his *orbis sensualium pictus*, gives us in a nomenclator of all the fundamental things and actions of men in the whole world, is public; and I do boldly affirm it to be a peice of such excellent use, as that the like was never extant, however it comes not yet to be perceived. A thousand pities it is, that in the edition published by Mr. HOOLE, the *cuts* were so wretchedly engraven: I do, therefore, heartily wish, that this might excite some gallant and public minded person to augment and proceed farther upon that most useful design; which yet comes greatly short of the perfection it is capable of, were some additions made, and the prints reformed, and improved to the utmost by the skilful hand of some rare artist. In the mean time, what a treasury of excellent things might by this expedient be conveyed and impressed into the waxen tables and imaginations of children! seeing, there is nothing more preposterous, than to force those things into the *ear*, which are *visible* and the proper objects of the *eye*; for PICTURE is a kind of UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE, how diverse soever the tongues and vocal expressions of the several nations which speak them may appear; [*solet enim pictura tacens loqui, maximeque prodesse*] “a picture, though it has no tongue, can speak, and convey useful instructions;” as NAZIANZEN has it: so as, if ever, by this, is that long sought for art most likely to be accomplished.

Nor

Nor can any words whatever hope to reach those descriptions, which, in a numberless sort of things, picture does immediately, and as it were at one glance interpret to the meanest of capacities: for instance, in our *herbals*, books of *insects*, *birds*, *beasts*, *fishes*, *buildings*, *monuments*, and the rest which make up the *cycle* of the learned ABBOT; some of them haply never seen before, or so much as heard of, as ÆLIAN does upon occasion ingenuously acknowledge. And what do we find more in request amongst the ancients, than the *images* of their heroes and illustrious predecessors, such as ATTICUS and MARCUS VARRO collected? All which considered, we do not doubt to affirm, that by the application of this ART alone, not only *children*, but even striplings well advanced in age, might receive incredible advantages, preparatory to their entrance into the school intellectual, by an universal and choice collection of *prints* and *cuts* well designed, engraven and disposed, much after the manner and method of the abovenamed VILLELOIN; which should contain, as it were, a kind of *encyclopædia* of all intelligible and memorable things, that either are or have ever been in *rerum natura*. It is not to be conceived of what advantage this would prove for the institution of PRINCES and noble persons, who are not to be treated with the ruder difficulties of the vulgar grammar schools only, and abstruser notions of things in the rest of the sciences, without these auxiliaries; but to be allured and courted into knowledge, and the love of it, by all such subsidiaries and helps as may best represent it to them in *picture*, *nomenclator*, and the most pleasing

descriptions

descriptions of sensual objects, which naturally slide into their fluid and tender apprehensions, speedily possessing their memories, and with infinite delight preparing them for the more profound and solid studies.

SENECA, indeed, seems to refuse the *graphical sciences* those advantages which others of the PHILOSOPHERS have given to them amongst the most *liberal*, as reckoning them somewhat too voluptuary for his stoical humour: yet did SOCRATES learn this very art of carving of his father; DIOGENES drew the picture of PLATO; and the orator MESALLA commends it most highly. But what more concerns our present instance, is, that it was by the approbation of the great AUGUSTUS himself, that queen PEDIUS the *mute* should be diligently taught it. We could tell you of a person of good birth in England, who (labouring under the same imperfection) does express many of his conceptions by this ART of drawing and designing: and if (as 'tis observed) it furnish us with maxims to discern of general defects and vices, especially in what relates to the proportions of human bodies, it is certainly not to be esteemed so inconsiderable as by many it is. POLYGNOTUS could express the passions, and ARISTIDES the very interior motions of the soul, if we will believe what is recorded. But whether it advance to that prerogative; this we read of for certain, (as to our pretence for the *education of children*) that when L. PAULUS demanded of the conquered Athenians a philosopher to instruct his little ones, they preferred one METRODORUS an excellent painter before any of the rest. What QUIN-

TILIAN says of EUPHRANOR is sufficiently known: and if some great PRINCES have not disdained to take the pencil in the same hand in which they swayed the *scepter* and the *sword*; and that the knowledge of this DIVINE ART was useful even to the preservation of the life of an emperor (for such was that Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*;) it is not without examples sufficient to support the dignity of these ARTS, that we have with so much zeal recommended them to PRINCES and illustrious persons.

And now we have but one thing more to add before we conclude this chapter, and it is for caution to those who shall make these Collections for curiosity and ornament only; that where we have said all that we can of THIS or any other particular ART, which may recommend it to the favour and endearment of great persons; our intention is not, that it should so far engage them in its pursuit, as to take from the nobler parts of life, for which there are more sublime and worthy objects; but, that with this (as with the rest which are commendable, innocent, and excellent company) they would fill up all such spaces and opportunities, as too often lie open, expose and betray them to mean compliances, and less significant diversions. For these, was ARATUS a great collector, nor less knowing in the judgment of pictures; so was VINDEX and many others:

—*Namque hæc quoties Cbelyn exuit ille
Desidia est, hic Aoniis amor advocat antris*†.

* Luitprand. Hist.

† STATIUS Vind. Herc. Epitrapez.

“ He allows himself these relaxations only when he
“ is tired with the more weighty affairs and con-
“ cernments.” Finally, that they would univer-
sally contend to do some great thing, as who
should most merit of the *sciences*, by setting their
hands to the promotion of experimental and use-
ful knowledge, for the universal benefit and good of
mankind.

This, this alone, would render them deservedly
honourable indeed; and add a lustre to their
memories, beyond that of their painted titles,
which (without some solid virtue) render but their
defects the more conspicuous to those, who know
how to make a right estimate of things, and, by
whose *tongues* and *pens* only, their *trophies* and
elogies can ever hope to surmount and out-last the
vicissitudes of fortune.

C H A P. VI.

Of the new way of engraving, or MEZZOTINTO, invented and communicated by his HIGHNESS Prince RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF RHINE, &c.

WE have already advertised the reader in one of our preliminaries, why we did omit what had been by us prepared for the accomplishment of the more *mechanical* part of the CHALCOGRAPHICAL art: but it was not out of the least design to abuse him in the title at the frontispeice of this history; since we believed he would most readily commute for the defect of a mystery so vulgar, to be gratified with another altogether “rare, extraordinary, universally approved of, admired by all who have considered the effects of it, and, which (as yet) has by none been ever published.”

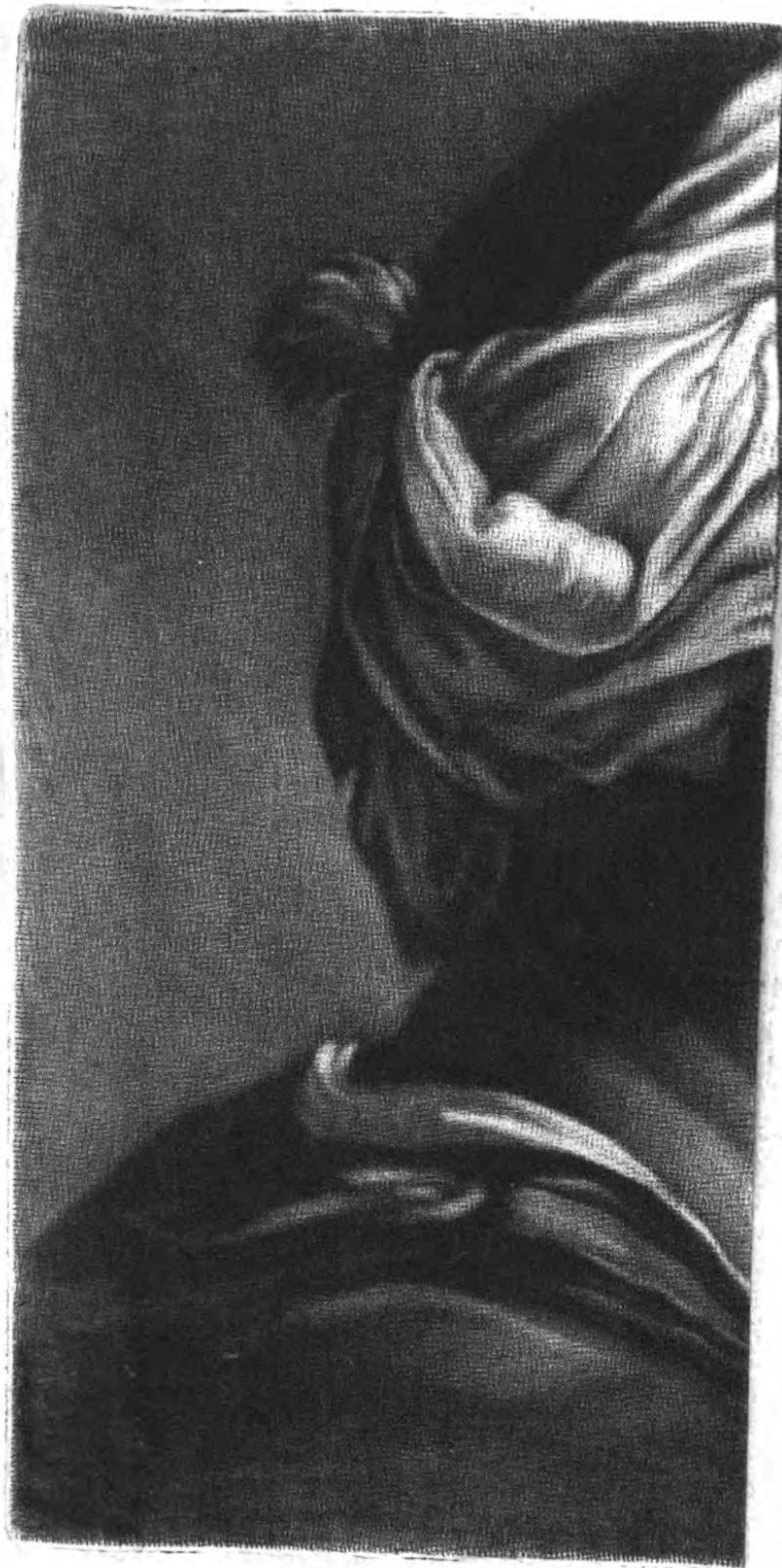
Nor may I, without extraordinary ingratitude, conceal that illustrious NAME which did communicate it to me; nor the obligation which the curious have to that heroic PERSON, who was pleased to impart it to the world, though by so incompetent and unworthy an instrument.

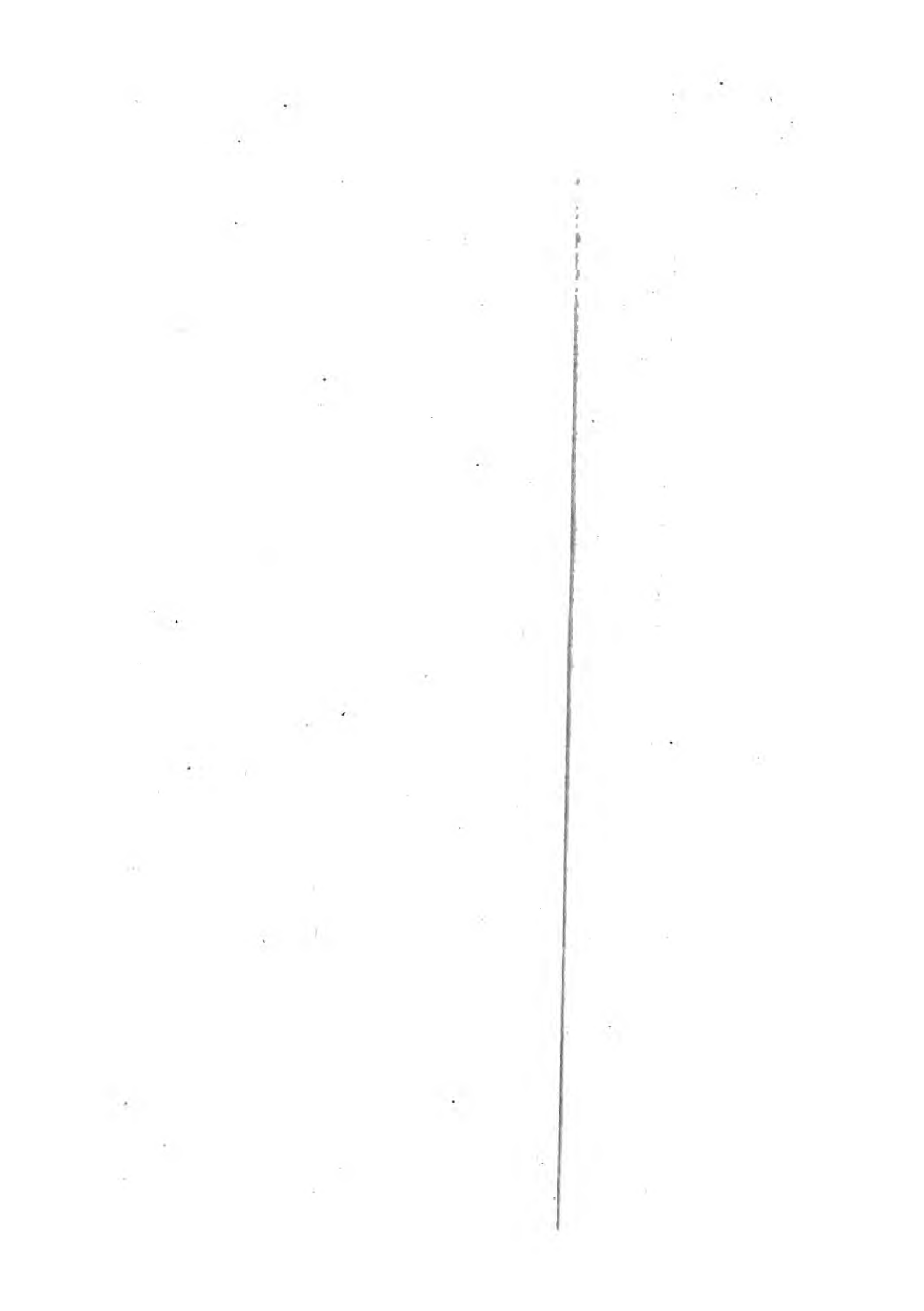
It would appear a paradox, to discourse to you of a *graving*, without a *graver*, *burin*, *point*, or *aqua fortis*; and yet is THIS performed without the assistance of either. That what gives our most perite and dextrous artists the greatest trouble, and is longest finishing, (for such are the hatches
and

and deepest shadows in plates) should be here the least considerable, and the most expeditious; that, on the contrary, the lights should be in THIS the most laborious, and yet performed with the greatest facility; that what appears to be effected with so little curiosity, should yet so accurately resemble what is generally esteemed the very greatest, *viz.* that a PRINT should emulate even the best of DRAWINGS CHIARO OSCURO, or (as the ITALIANS term it) peices of the MEZZOTINTO, so as nothing either of UGO DA CARPI, or any of those other *masters* who pursued his attempt, and whose works we have already celebrated, have exceeded or indeed approached, especially for that of PORTRAITS, FIGURES, tender LANDSCHAPES, and HISTORY, &c. to which it seems most appropriate and applicable.

This obligation then we have to his HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF RHINE, &c. who has been pleased to cause the *instruments* to be expressly fitted, to shew me, with his own hands, how to manage and conduct them on the *plate*, that it might produce the effects I have so much magnified, and am here ready to shew the world, in a *peice* of his own illustrious *touching**, which he was pleased to honour this *work* withal, not as a venal addition to the price of the book (though for which alone it is most valuable) but a particular grace, as a specimen of what we have alleged, and to adorn this present chapter.

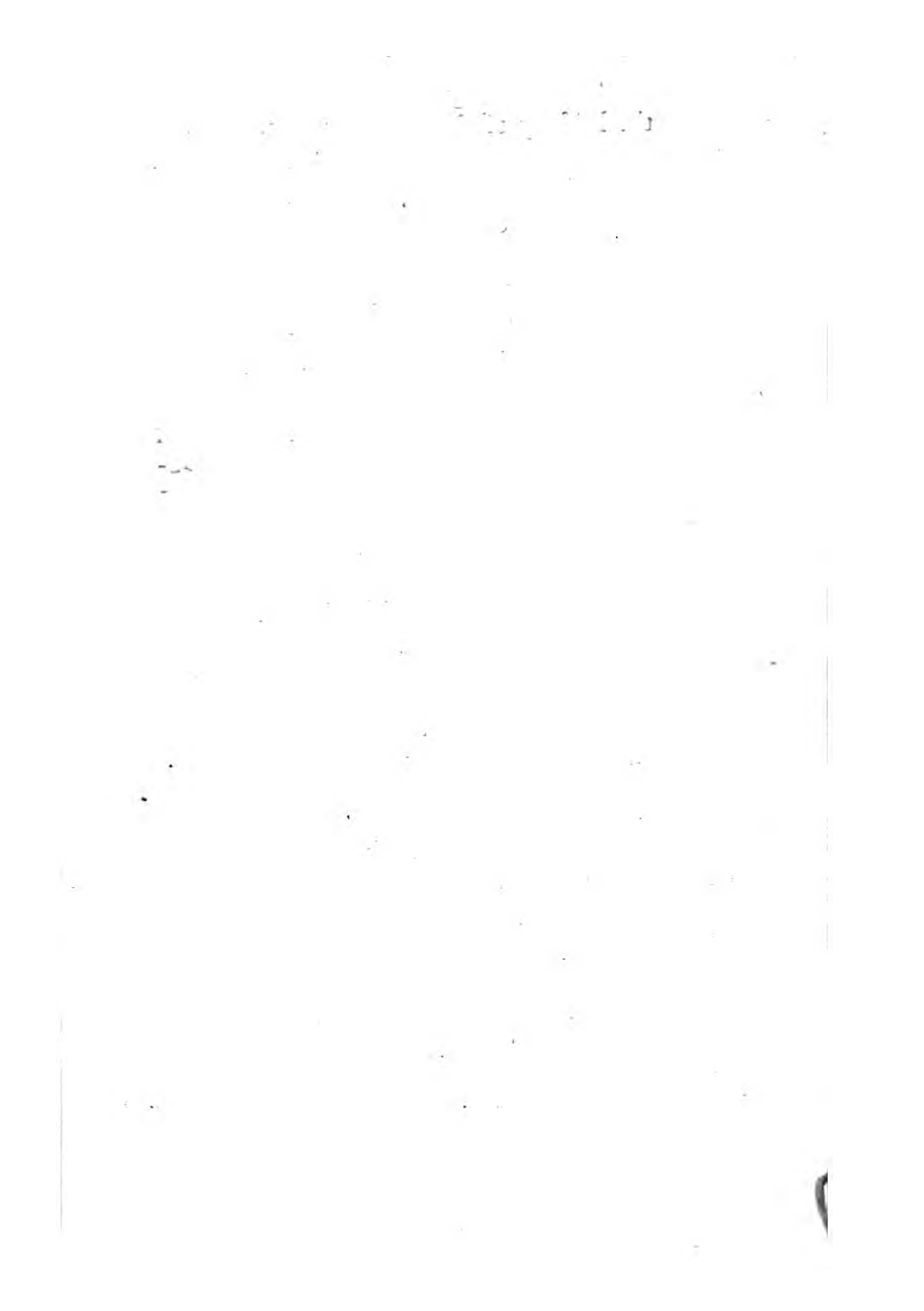
* The MEZZOTINTO in this edition, is an EXACT COPY of Prince RUPERT's, done by Mr. HOUSTON.





It is likewise to be acknowledged, that his HIGHNESS did indulge me the liberty of publishing the whole manner and address of this NEW WAY OF ENGRAVING, with a freedom perfectly generous and obliging. But, when I had well considered it (so much having been already expressed, which may suffice to give the hint to all ingenious persons how it is to be performed,) I did not think it necessary, that an ART so curious, and (as yet) so little vulgar (and which indeed does not succeed where the workman is not an accomplished DESIGNER, and has a competent talent in PAINTING likewise) was to be prostituted at so cheap a rate, as the more naked describing of it here would too soon have exposed it to.

Upon these considerations then it is, that we leave it thus enigmatical: and yet that this may appear no disingenuous rodomontade in me, or invidious excuse, I profess myself to be always most ready (sub sigillo, and by his HIGHNESS's permission) to gratify any curious and worthy person, with as full and perfect a demonstration of the entire art, as my talent and address will reach to; if what I am now preparing to be reserved in the archives of the ROYAL SOCIETY concerning it, be not sufficiently instructive.



T H E
C O N T E N T S.

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